GUIDE TO THE SS19 YARURO FILE

[The Yaruro, or Pumeh as they call themselves, were located on the savannas or llanos of Southern Venezuela, approximately between 6° 30' - 7° 30' N. latitude and 67° - 69° 30' W. longitude. The bulk of the population lived along the banks of the Capanaparo River and one of its tributaries, the Riecito, with some dispersed groups living north of the Capanaparo on the Arauca, the Cunaviche, and neighboring rivers, and to the south on the banks of the Orinoco between the mouths of the Capanaparo and the Cinaruco and near the rivers located between the Capanaparo, the Riecito, and the Cinaruco (5: LeBesnerais, p. 1). In the literature the Yaruro frequently were referred to as Saururi (Gumilla), Zavuri (Gilii), and more recently as Jaruros and Sayuros. Jaruro is a Guahibo word and is the term by which the Yaruro were known to that people.

In LeBesnerais' field study of the Yaruro made in the period of 1947-1950 (see 5: LeBesnerais), the author made an extensive census of the Yaruro population and found that the total group did not exceed 519 individuals (a density of 13 persons per 10 kms.). The breakdown was as follows: from the Orinoco to Madre Vieja Basiliero, the population was 220 individuals (a density of 10 persons per 10 kms.); from Madre Vieja Basiliero to Riecito, the population was 83 individuals (a density of 20.5 persons per 10 kms.); from Riecito to Caribe, 134 individuals (a density of 24.5 persons per 10 kms.); and on the Riecito alone, 82 individuals (a density of 9.0 persons per 10 kms.). On the basis of LeBesnerais' demographic study, including data on birth and mortality rates, there is a strong indication that the Yaruro population is rapidly declining.

Linguistically the Yaruros do not seem to have been connected with any other South American group. If Greenberg's tentative classification of the language was correct, the Yaruro were related to the Jivaro, the Cofan, the extinct Esmerada speakers, and others who were or are basically agricultural people, through the Esmerada did extensive hunting and fishing as well (7: Leeds, pp. 160-161). Until further investigations are made, the Yaruro language has been classified as part of the Jivaro Division of the Andean-Equatorial Macro-Phylum.

The Yaruro economy is overwhelmingly based on fishing and the capture of such river animals as turtles, crocodiles, and manatees, supplemented by a very limited hunting of land animals and small-scale maize growing. Men gather the hearts and fruits of palm trees and the women collect turtle and crocodile eggs, dig wild roots, and gather seeds.

Camps or settlements are located on sandy river banks or, in the interior, near water holes. The Yaruro live in low hemispherical huts of poles and sticks covered with palm leaves; in the dry season when they are more nomadic they frequently erect even flimsier structures of leafy branches stuck in the ground. The camp group and primary economic unit was the matrilocal extended family. This group recognized a headman, who, however, had very little real authority. The camp group was important in all matter of economic activities, but it was the moiety that predominated in social affairs. Each moiety had its own chief who in all cases doubled as the group's shaman. Every member of Yaruro society was born into either the Itciai or Puaná moiety. Descent, with its social affinities, prerogatives, and obligations, was traced through the female line, with the child belonging to its mother's moiety. Nothing was inherited

from the father, who belonged to the opposite moiety, except obligations (1: Petrullo, p. 215). Because of these moiety affiliations, the headman of the family camp or hunting group was socially a stranger to most of the people around him, for if he had no sisters or had sisters without sons and had no brothers living with him, then socially he was almost out of place in the family group. There was no inheritance of the position of chief or shaman among the Yaruro, but, in theory, if the nephew of a headman showed particular leadership qualities, he might inherit his uncle's position; in actual practice, the individual who showed a specific aptitude for leadership was chosen to fill the position. The Puaná moiety took precedence over the Itciai, and its chief was usually considered the chief of the entire Yaruro group.

Marriage was monogamous, and exogamous with respect to both the local group and the matrilineal moieties into which the Yaruro were divided, although polygynous and polyandrous marriages did take place at times. Polyandry was of the fraternal type and included parallel cousins. Both the sororate and levirate were practiced.

Inheritance and succession had a matrilineal bias, and kinship terminology was of the modified Crow type.

The Yaruro had a well developed cosmology, which was coupled with a belief in a supreme goddess of creation, Kuma, the wife of the Sun. Deities associated with Kuma and subject to her laws were Puaná, Itciai, and Hatchawa. Kuma was represented neither as an indulgent mother nor as an entirely benevolent creature in Yaruro mythology. It was

Hatchawa and Puana who favored human beings. Shamanism was an important part of the religion of the Yaruro and at one time there were both male and female practitioners. Their primary function was to cure the sick through spirit possession and magical curing rites.

The SS19 Yaruro file consists of seven sources, five in English and two translations from the French (5: LeBesnerais and 6: LeBesnerais). A general orientation source for the file is 1: Petrullo, which, although imcomplete and based on only three months fieldwork during the period of 1933-1934, does contain some basic background material on the Yaruro, especially on religion, mythology, art, and technology. The source is generally useful but not uniformly excellent in quality. The researcher should supplement his reading of 1: Petrullo with more recent ethnographic data found in 2: Leeds, 4: Leeds, 5: LeBesnerais, and 6: LeBesnerais. In addition to the general ethnographic data found in 2: Leeds, the source is primarily concerned with the relationship between a specific ecological system (here incipient tropical forest agriculture) and the resulting cultural pattern. In 3: Leeds the author presents and develops the hypothesis that the relatively weak position of chieftainship among the Yaruro is dependent or based upon their ecological development. 4: Leeds is an attempt to show the relationship between Yaruro socio-economic organization and their ideology, and to isolate from their ideological system various aspects or factors which could be used for comparative purposes in cross-cultural research. In addition to the general ethnographic data found in 5 and 6: LeBesnerais, there is some very specific information on house types, settlement patterns, diseases, and statistics on various aspects of Yaruro demography. 7: Leeds presents a critical evaluation of the ethnographic data presented by Petrullo and others regarding Yaruro horticulture, the existence of matrilineal clans, clan exogamy, matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, and totemism.

As a whole the SS19 Yaruro file presents a rather "bare bones" study of Yaruro ethnography. It presents several hypotheses and theories on Yaruro socio-cultural development, but is weak on solid factual data. All sources in the file were written by professional anthropologists from primary fieldwork or a combination of fieldwork and secondary source materials, with the exception of 1: Petrullo as previously noted. The depth of field coverage is rather shallow in this file, being three months in 1933-1934 for Petrullo, roughly one year for Leeds (1958), and approximately three years (1947-1950) for LeBesnerais. The file was processed between 1955-1966.]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

123 men. A female ethnologist might get an interesting, and perhaps different, picture of Yaruro culture. I do know that there were many things, especially in the field of shamanism, from which I was shut off. The Yaruros saw this and the women relayed a pressing request that on my next visit to them I bring my "wife" (I have none!), with whom they could lie on the sands at night and tell things about their world similar to what their men told me.

My visit took place in the months of February, March, and April of 1934. Several species of intestinal parasites acquired in Brazil not only precluded my roaming about the countryside, but forced the Yaruros to attend me day and night for many weeks, giving ample opportunity—once it lasted for thirty-four consecutive hours—to talk. A sedentary life is so foreign to a nomadic people that this chance to corner them for "talk" was too good to miss. In fact, after a while it was becoming too much for them, and besides, hunting in the area became impractical. Everything considered, we reached a saturation point and I started on my way back. Many of these friends may be dead by now.

The Yaruros and Their Country

Yaruro Daily Life

101 131 181 Peaceful and mystical, the Yaruros, or Pumeh as they call themselves, wander up and down the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers (fig. 15) gathering their daily dinner and thinking about the life awaiting them in the Land of Kuma when they leave this world.

341 133 As dawn breaks over the hills of Guiana we may discover a Yaruro camp on one of the sandy beaches of the Capanaparo River about a day's journey by canoe from where it flows into the Orinoco. It appears as a dark blotch on the wind-packed white sands at a distance of some 50 yards from the water's edge and more than that from the wall of vegetation which marks the bank of the river during the rainy season and hides the open savanna country beyond. The camp gives no sign of life until the sun shows clearly in the sky. Then we see that it consists of some leafy branches and 3-foot sticks bare of bark thrust in the sands, casting long shadows in the early morning to where the vultures are fighting among themselves at the refuse heap located to the west of the camp; or the white vulture, the "king," may be seen feasting alone while his black brethren await disconsolately on the side.

341 As the light becomes stronger we make out under the branches piles of debris, recumbent human forms, and mangy dogs tied to the sticks. The debris consists of baskets and pots, with here and there small

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Bats are plentiful, but they tend to be most abundant in the forests and hills close to the Orinoco. Armies of them fly nightly out of the caves of Guiana to feed on the fruit of the forests in the plains. One evening while crossing back from Guiana to the llanos we saw a stream of bats flying across the river. They seemed to come from a cave about 2 miles away. Though we watched them flying overhead for about half an hour, there did not seem to be any end to them.

Formerly the llanos were peopled by a number of tribes who have since disappeared, leaving behind them practically no knowledge of their societies. Only the Yaruros and the Guahibos inhabiting the Meta region have survived to this day. The Tamanachi, the Guamos, the Otomacos, which are best but meagerly known, have died or been killed off in recent years. I saw the last Otomaco survivors, an old woman and a boy of five, who had been saved from a reputed massacre. The Achaguas seem to have disappeared in recent years also. What has happened to these people can be easily understood when it is considered that during the past 25 years the worldwide unrest has driven adventurers to many corners of the earth, and these people have been exposed to the marauding "revolutionary" bands and to the equally destructive cupidity of the crocodile hunter and the rancher.

There are 150 Yaruros left in the region of the Capanaparo and on an island at the mouth of that river called the Linda Bara. It is claimed that on the Sinaruco there are other bands but no contact was made with them. Formerly the Yaruros occupied a large territory and perhaps roamed the plains, as well as the rivers, but since the land has been taken up by the ranchers they have been forced to the river banks.

The animals of greatest interest to the Yaruros are: jaguar, puma, wild pigs, capibara (the chiguire), armadillo, snakes, jivaro stork, vultures, manatee, tonino, crocodiles, iguana.

Plant life has great importance as a source of food, usable wood, medicines, and narcotics. The moriche and macanilla palms supply the Yaruros with fibers and bow wood. The chigua supplies him with flour; the changuango and barbaco with edible roots.

The Yaruros call themselves "Pumeh." In the literature they are referred to as "Saururi" (Gumilla), "Zavuri" (Gilii), and more recently as Jaruros, Sayuros, etc. According to my informants Yaruro or Jaruro, is a Guahibo word by which they are known to that people. The Guahibos are known to the Yaruros as "Tciricoa," "people of the forest." The word Pumeh has no exact translatable meaning. The closest equivalent is the Spanish "gente." When a Yaruro uses it he implies "the people," "the chosen people." Only the Yaruros are Pumeh, but the term occasionally includes other tribes. All non-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

aboriginal peoples are called by the Spanish word "Racionales" which is the equivalent of "civilizado," civilized. It was only after they came to the conclusion that I was a Pumeh also, and quite different from the Racionales, that they accepted me and made this study possible.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Yaruros are small and dark with a strong mongoloid appearance. The faces are heavy, broad, with the eyes very often showing the mongoloid fold. The average stature of the men is about 5 feet 3 inches and of the women about 4 feet 10 inches. One gets the impression that the heads are larger than the ordinary in comparison with the body size. The frame is light, both men and women possessing small, beautifully shaped hands and feet. The body is relatively hairless, as is usual among pure Indian peoples. They have strong teeth and seem to keep them until a very old age.

The Yaruros have had some contact with Europeans or mixtures of Spanish, Negro, and Indians for several centuries. Herrara reached the Meta River in 1535, and subsequently missions were established along the Orinoco and its tributaries. About 1750 a mission was established at La Urbana for the Otomacos, and one was later established at Barinas. Apparently at that time these people inhabited the region between the Capanaparo and the Apure. No missions were established for the Yaruros, and, according to Gilii, the Yaruros came to the Otomaco missions to be baptized. Father Gumilla wrote:

> Here, between the Sinaruco and Meta rivers were established the colonies of Santa Barbara and of San Juan Francisco Regis at the end of 1739, having pacified the Saruro (Yaruro) nation; of which nation Father Manuel Roman, the Superior of those missions, in a letter of February 20, 1740, gives me excellent news of their good will and docility and, which is receiving our teachings anxiously; with the hope that with the good example of these first two other Reductions will be established. He adds that in the colony of San Francisco de Borja of the same nation Sarura, of which Father Francisco de Olmo is in charge, who has reduced their language to writing and a dictionary. Christianity is flourishing; and that already schools for writing, reading, and singing are attended by children (a short while ago they were wild); and that they sing the mass, litanies, etc., in a fair way. So much does careful and diligent effort accomplish in those wild regions! Father Rogue Lubian takes care of the Santa Teresa village with the same efficiency; Father Jose Maria Cervillini is in charge of San Ignacio; he, with Brother Agustin de la Vega, attend as best they can the rest of the new villages, and they are clamoring for workers with the firm hope that you will send them as soon as possible.

Since there has been contact with the white man and some Negroes for several centuries, one would expect a certain amount of race mixture. However, I never saw a sign of the slightest trace of Negro blood. The hair which, more than any other characteristic, seems to indicate Negro contact, in the case of the Yaruro is coarse and straight,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

It is well to note that the llanos form a sort of cul-de-sac from which there is only one escape, and that is by way of the Orinoco River. It is quite likely that the llanos have been the camping grounds and the highway for a number of tribes migrating northward, southward, or eastward. For peoples practicing agriculture, Guiana and the lower Orinoco region would be more suitable than the plains of Apure, where, on account of the strong winds and the sandy soil, it is difficult to carry on any cultivation of the soil. The mountainous regions to the north and west are also fit for agriculture. Therefore it was only the culturally poorer tribes that would remain in the llanos.

We have, therefore, in the following pages, a people who are primitive hunters, whose history is unknown, who do not seem to be linguistically related to any other group, and whose appearance is strongly mongoloid—who have been in contact not only with foreign indigenous culture but with some European culture, and who are facing physical and cultural extinction. Perhaps this last fact should be allowed to dominate this study, because it can throw into relief much of Yaruro culture and will remind us that anthropology is not so much signs of things as the signs of man, and that his problems and the way he solves them is as important, if not more important, than purely historical problems and theories. The opportunity of studying religion, social organization, and general spiritual culture of a South American tribe was so strong that during my stay with the Yaruros I concentrated with these phases of their culture rather than on the material phases or linguistic problems.

My Journey To and Life With the Yaruros

Contact with the Yaruros is not easy. No one ever knows near what water hole or at what point on the river these nomads may be found. Several centuries of maltreatment have made them shy and suspicious of strangers and particularly of all "Racionales." Primitive and loosely organized, they could not and cannot today offer any effective resistance to civilized groups which may want to exploit them. At the time of my visit everyone along our route was indignant over the treatment that about 150 Yaruros had received at the hands of unknown local "jefes civiles" about a month before. They were seized and matcheted to death, reducing the total population of this tribe (excluding bands that may be hidden along the Sinaruco River) to one-half. My presence in their midst naturally aroused fears that some fresh calamity was about to befall them.

In the rainy season there is only one way of penetrating the llanos of Apure, and that is by boat. From the Orinoco one can sail or

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

311 177 In the case of the Yaruros all of these factors have played an important role and are currently active in reducing their territories and food supply to a degree that will mean imminent extermination of the people. It is true that since the first settler arrived in their country the Yaruros could have made readjustments in their culture which perhaps might have permitted them to survive. They could have learned, for instance, to raise horses, cattle, and to cultivate the soil as the [178] Guajiros, living in a country similar to the llanos, have done. But they have chosen to remain firm in their own culture, own traditions, and own universe, and as a result are expecting to pay the penalty. Why they have failed to make the readjustment which would have brought them into a livable relationship with the newcomers and have persisted in keeping to their primitive, nomadic existence may be answered in the pages that follow.

361 Dependency on hunting, fishing, and gathering of edible fruits and roots imposes nomadism upon a people and prevents living together in large groups. The degree to which a people have to wander, the extent of the territory over which they must roam, and the size of the group, is dependent upon the abundance of the food supply in the region. The Yaruro hunting groups are small and they stay in one camp not more than a few days; so, they are to be met plying up and down the river in their canoes or traveling over land to the water holes, ever hunting for food.

HUNTING TERRITORIES

224 621 596 Each hunting group has a territory over which it is free to roam. Over this region only its members are allowed to hunt and gather fruits and roots, but the rivers, the main streams, are open to all. The accompanying map shows the limits of the present hunting territory [174] of the Yaruros of the Capanaparo. It would seem that anciently, when the Yaruros were more numerous, they roamed over a vaster region cut up into small portions over which hunting rights were distributed among various hunting family groups. I was assured that the Yaruros of the Sinaruco also have divided their country into family units.

619 101 There is also a sort of division among the Yaruros which transcends family grouping. The Yaruros of the Capanaparo, for instance, consider themselves a unit, though loosely bound, as distinct from the Yaruros of the Sinaruco, so that they consider the land drained by the Capanaparo as theirs and the region drained by the Sinaruco as the land of the Yaruros of that river. And yet, above all this, there seems to be a tribal feeling as opposed to the tribal divisions. The real significance of this is that among the Yaruros there is permitted a degree of mutuality in the use of the hunting rights

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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not allowed to the neighboring peoples, such as the Otomacos or the Achaguas. The social and linguistic bonds seem to be strong enough to cause the Yaruros to recognize themselves as a distinct people.

FOODS

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In the llanos food is not plentiful except in and along the rivers; but the foraging activities of the Yaruros are restricted to the banks of the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers for another reason. The hunting of land animals has practically stopped for fear that they will be accused by the ranchers of killing cattle. In recent years the activities of the crocodile hunters have ruthlessly destroyed the game, and since such hunters live on the country they have consumed a portion of the available quantity of game on which the Yaruros depended for a livelihood.

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In the dry season game is concentrated along the rivers and the water holes. It is considerably easier to hunt it then than in the rainy season, when it is dispersed over the plains. The turtle, which is found in great quantities in the waters of the Orinoco and its tributaries, suffers a yearly mass hunt and destruction which has its effect on the food supply of the Yaruros. It has been discovered that the turtle fat and eggs will produce a fine grade of oil which sells for a high price. The result is that the breeding grounds of the turtles become yearly a scene of great activity and destruction. No one knows how many thousands of turtles and turtle eggs are gathered and converted into this oil late in the month of April.

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The meat staple of the Yaruros is the *Crocodilus babu*, a small crocodile which grows to about 6 feet long. This animal is hunted daily and eaten in its entirety. Its meat is esteemed above that of any other animal. On the other hand, the cayman, sought for its hide, is not hunted as a rule by the Yaruros. Perhaps this meat is not as savory as that of the babu, but the Yaruros give the reason that the large crocodile represents a race of mankind to which they are related. So that although occasionally it may be hunted for the price that its hide may bring, it is never eaten and never hunted consistently.

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Next to the crocodile, turtles, including the matamata and tortoise, are to be found broiling over the fires in every Yaruro camp, and if they are not broiling they can be seen in shallow pools of water with their forelegs tied to their hindlegs. In this way they can keep alive but cannot walk away. The armadillo is seldom obtained and other meats appear occasionally on the diet of the Yaruros. Fishing is resorted to when neither crocodiles nor turtles are obtainable. The caribe, which is the piranha of Brazil, is esteemed but little. The tonino, which can be seen gracefully playing in the water or can be heard snorting in the rivers at night, is never hunted. It also is

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

516 the Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-
502 tom of the canoe on several cross sticks without any back rest or any foot rest on which to brace himself. To one not accustomed to such a position it is clumsy and painful, and easily fatiguing. The paddler's stroke is short, quick, and choppy, like that of many South American tribes in Brazil.

SHELTER

362 Yaruro shelter is the simplest thing in the world. Nothing simpler could be devised. Shunning the forest and camping only on the open beaches by the river, the shelter is devised for two purposes—to protect the family from the winds, the insects, the sun,
342 and in the rainy season from the rain. They make, therefore, a variety of shelters. The camp shelter for daytime in the dry season consists of branches thrust vertically into the sands. If there are any persons about camp during the day, which there are generally, they will sit in the shade of these branches, moving around them as the sun changes its position in the sky. At night they dig holes in the sand and lie in them, protecting themselves from the winds by a shelter of branches or basketry at the head. These shelters, however, must allow a certain amount of wind to come through in order to prevent the gathering of large swarms of insects. Sleeping in holes in the sand, they keep warm, since the dry winds make it quite
361 chilly at night. All of the Yaruro in the Capanaparo are too no-
364 madic to build better shelter than the types described, since they stay in one camp only a few days, generally two or three. They move about so much, both for the lack of game in the area and the refuse that accumulates around camp, even though the vultures can always be seen feasting upon the remains of crocodile and turtle. The Yaruro are aware that if they stay too close to such piles of refuse they may become infected.

101 However, the Yaruro living on Linda Bara, the islands at the
361 mouth of the Capanaparo, have such an abundance of food that they
342 make somewhat more permanent structures. This consists generally of a low hemispherical structure covered with palm leaves which reach to about 2 feet from the ground, leaving the interior open to the winds, but even these structures are abandoned in a few weeks because of the insect life. This is the type of structure that is employed during the rainy season when life becomes more sedentary.

POTTERY

317 At certain places along the banks of the Capanaparo the proper
323 clay is found for pottery. The type preferred is whitish in color. Generally a small quantity of yellowish red clay is mixed with it.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

[P. 1]

Antropológica

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THE IDEOLOGY OF THE YARURO INDIANS IN RELATION TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Anthony LEEDS

121

It is the purpose of this paper to show the correspondence between the principles of socio-economic organization of the Yaruro Indians and their ideology and to isolate some dimensions of ideology which may be used for comparative purposes. It is hoped that by further isolation of such categories it will eventually become possible to compare the structure and content of widely different ideologies, as we today are able to compare kinship systems, so that we may be able to recognize synchronic regularities of a functional order and diachronic regularities of an evolutionary sort. Yaruro religious and philosophical beliefs are reduced to a series of postulates or axioms about the nature of the universe and man in an analysis somewhat like Kluckhohn's study of Navaho philosophy and Opler's of Apache themes. (1). No Yaruro would be able to express the axioms nor see them in the logical series as presented here, yet each would recognize them, when couched in the phrasings of his own language, as referring to his particular *Weltanschauung*. The postulates are derived from direct statements by informants about the cosmos or about human living, from other verbal materials such as discussions of disease and social organization, and, more occasionally, from observed behavior. The generalized titles introducing each of the summarized postulates appearing at the end of the paper comprise the dimensions, here inductively arrived at, which may serve for cross-cultural analysis.

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The Yaruro Indians have been living in the savannas or llanos of Southern Venezuela for an unknown number of centuaries. They have developed a socio-economic life well-articulated to the geographical conditions of life.

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The gross geographical characteristics of the alternately desert-like and flood-covered llanos cause all the best economic resources to be concentrated

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(1) Kluckhohn (1949); Opler (1945).

5: Le Besnerais SS19 Yaruro SS19

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[For a listing of dates during which the author observed various house types in numerous Yaruro settlements, see category 342, pp. 5-6.]

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101 The Yaruro Indians, who among themselve call themselves by the term "pumę," live in the Venezuelan llanos, the tropical savannas that border the left bank of the Orinoco. They are fishermen, hunters, gatherers, and agriculturalists whose original culture has already greatly changed. All of their past 197 is not yet known. As to their dialect, it has not as yet been classified in any of the known South American linguistic fami- 114 lies. The observations that make up this article come from investigations made on the spot by the author between 1947 and 1950.

I. The Territory (see Map 1)[1]

131 a) Boundaries.

At the present time the territory populated by the Yaruro Indians lies approximately between 6.30 and 7.30 degrees north latitude and 67 and 69.30 degrees west longitude.

The bulk of the population, which was the subject of our investigations, lives along the banks of the Capanaparo and one of its tributaries, the Riecito, that is, on some 400 kilometers of river.

The rest are dispersed north of the Capanaparo, on the Arauca, the Cunaviche, and the neighboring rivers, and, to the south, on the banks of the Orinoco between the mouths of the Capanaparo and the Cinaruco and near the rivers located between the Capanaparo, the Riecito, and the Cinaruco.

b) Neighbors.

101 The whole region located north of the Capanaparo, the banks of the Orinoco, and part of the banks of the Capanaparo itself -- going upstream, the northern part up to the junction with the Riecito and the southern part on 220 kilometers up to the Madre Vieja Basiliero -- are populated by Venezuelan peasants, the llaneros, who thus occupy part of the Yaruro territory.

[1][see p. 3. —Analyst]

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Y
● 101 On the other boundaries the neighbors of the Yaruro are Indians. They are the Cuiba to the west, and the Guahibo and the Chiricoa to the south (1). In addition, Amburua coming

1. Unverified information received from Yaruro, llaneros, or travelers.

from the south would have had intermittent contact with them. As for the Otomaco /Otomac/, whose territory formerly extended to the north of the Capanaparo, there remain only a few survivors who have become Venezuelan peasants and have completely forgotten their ancient culture. /Map 1 appears here./[1]

We shall deal with the llaneros and the Otomaco, with whom the Yaruro may perhaps be related, in subsequent articles, and we shall limit ourselves here to giving the little information gathered on the other Indians mentioned.

The Cuiba.

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131 Some Cuiba appear to live on the upper Capanaparo and the upper Riecito near the border which on the west separates Venezuela from Colombia, but their territory /111/ lies principally in Colombia along the Casanare and on the other bank of the Meta. They seem to maintain commercial relations with the Yaruro, bringing to the last Yaruro village on the Riecito (community 30) canoes (we saw one) or hammocks for barter against manufactured products of Venezuelan origin, cloth or machetes that they use in clearing forest galleries and in cultivating land. They may likewise trade with the Guahibo, but by silent trade.

J Y [139]

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101 Guahibo and Chiricoa.
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131 Guahibo and Chiricoa, according to the majority of our informants, may be two synonymous terms; only one informant claims that they designate two distinct groups, the first inhabiting

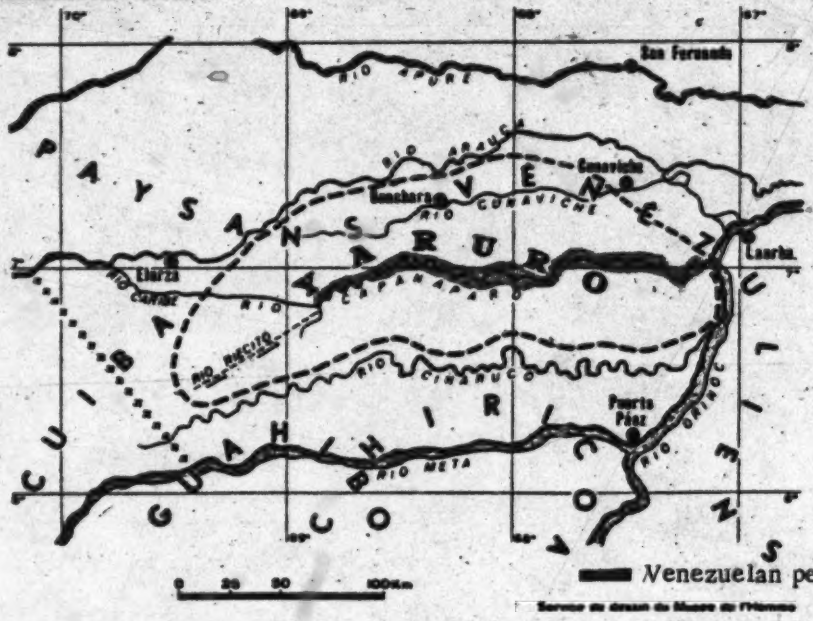
[1] [Map 1 now appears on p. 3. —Analyst]

G 101 114 131 G Y 491

/111 cont./

the territory mentioned above, in the west, and the second in the east along the Orinoco; they meet to the south of the Cinaruco, the northern limit of their territory which lies principally in Colombia. Like the Cuiba, they seem to trade with the Yaruro, exchanges taking place in the Yaruro villages located near the Cinaruco and consisting also of products of their making for manufactured ones.

J G 101 Y 101 102 131 133



Map 1

Correction: Elorza instead of Elurza.

/10 cont./

II. Notes on the Otomaco

101 From information gathered principally from Pedro Ramón
186 Camacho (10) it seems that the Otomaco or Tomaco were the

[115 622 756]

10. Chief and shaman of community No. 6, our best informant.

object on the part of the Yaruro of a regard completely different from that they had for the other Indians who were their neighbors (11).

101

11. In addition to the neighbors already cited in a previous article (see "infra" IV List...36) names of other Indians, known, it seems, by the Yaruro, were mentioned to us by various informants in the course of our investigations. Some appear to live at present in Colombia; the Mayaredo or Mayarero, "very far to the west of Yaruro territory, there where the savanna ends," which no doubt means at the foot of the Andes; the Saliba and Taparito cya koromę more particularly on the upper Meta; and the Tiapaco, Tiarua, and Mapoyó without fixed localization. The others seem to have disappeared: the Piquero (tabę pumę in Yaruro), who "cultivated conucos and had a game with a ball" and seem to have inhabited the banks of the Orinoco on the Cinaruco side, and the Guamo, Tamanaco, Tamanachi, and Guaruro.

/10 cont./

Y 186 10 Y 186 773 These are in fact presented as enemies or inferiors. The Otomaco, on the contrary, appear to have been friends or relatives who were superior to them. This hierarchy is apparently confirmed by the Yaruro myth of the creation of men (12) whose

12. See "infra" IV List...38.

the Otomaco were the first brought out of a hole in the ground by the masculine divinity Iţiai, the Yaruro arriving only in second place, followed by the other Indians and the Racionales who were the last born. Their birth took place, in addition, just after that of Iţiai but before the flood which submerged the world and only after which the Yaruro were born.

O Y 773 776 The Otomaco seem to have the same divinities and religious manifestations as the Yaruro, as comes out from the words of our informant, Pedro Ramón Camacho, reproduced word for word below.

"They knew who the Kuma (13) was and they were loved by

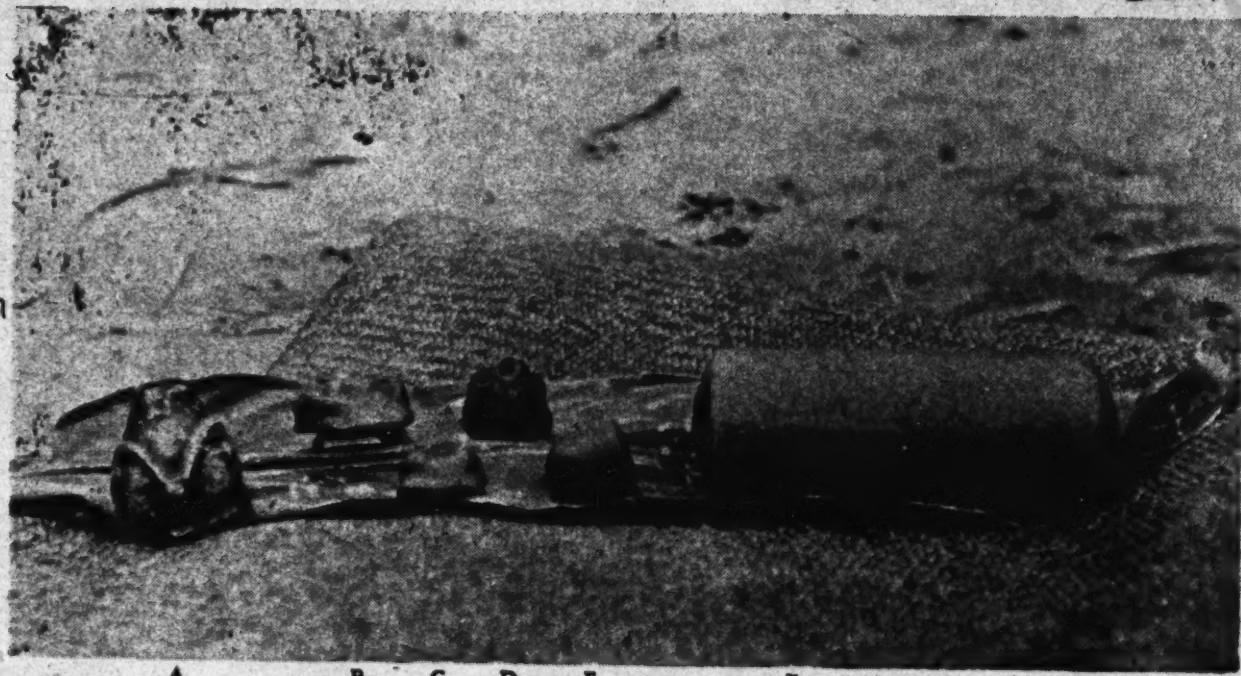
13. Female Yaruro divinity.

O 776 the Gods. Now in the other world whereas the dead of the other Indians inhabit an isolated village located at the edge of the Universe, on the shore of the sea and some leagues from the Kuma's village, the Otomaco live a little lower than the Kuma's village, like from here to the corridor of forest (some 200 meters), in a village perched on the /11/ mountain. They called the Kuma, Iţiai, and Puana (14) by their names.

14. Another masculine Yaruro divinity, Iţiai's brother.

O Y 775 776 They had, like us, tiyo (protecting spirits represented by stones or pottery remains) and when my spirit walks along the

172
[101]
[131]



A B C D E F

Among the objects in the possesion of the El Gomal Yaruro (ca. 6° 42' N.; 67° 43' W.), about 70 miles west of the Orinoco River, Informants claimed to have dug them up during house-building. No objects of these kinds are made by the Yaruro today. *A*) Hollow ceramic bird-head object, open and broken at the top. *B*) Solid ceramic object, unidentified. *C*) Polished stone object, unidentified. *D*) Solid ceramic object with punctate design, apparently a conventionalized animal (frog or snake?) head. *E*) Highly polished black stone, unidentified, about 1.25 inches long, apparently broken at one end. *F*) Highly polished tan stone object (mano?), about 6 inches long. No stones of these kinds are to be found in the area.

[facing p. 166]

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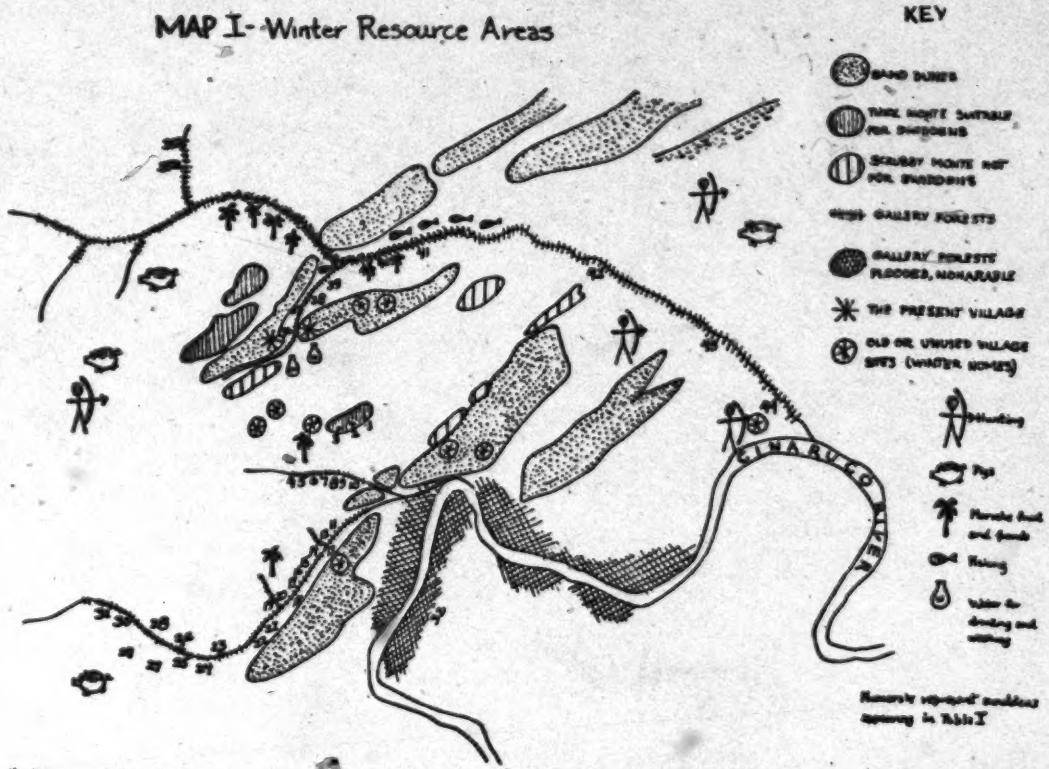
2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

MAP I- Winter Resource Areas



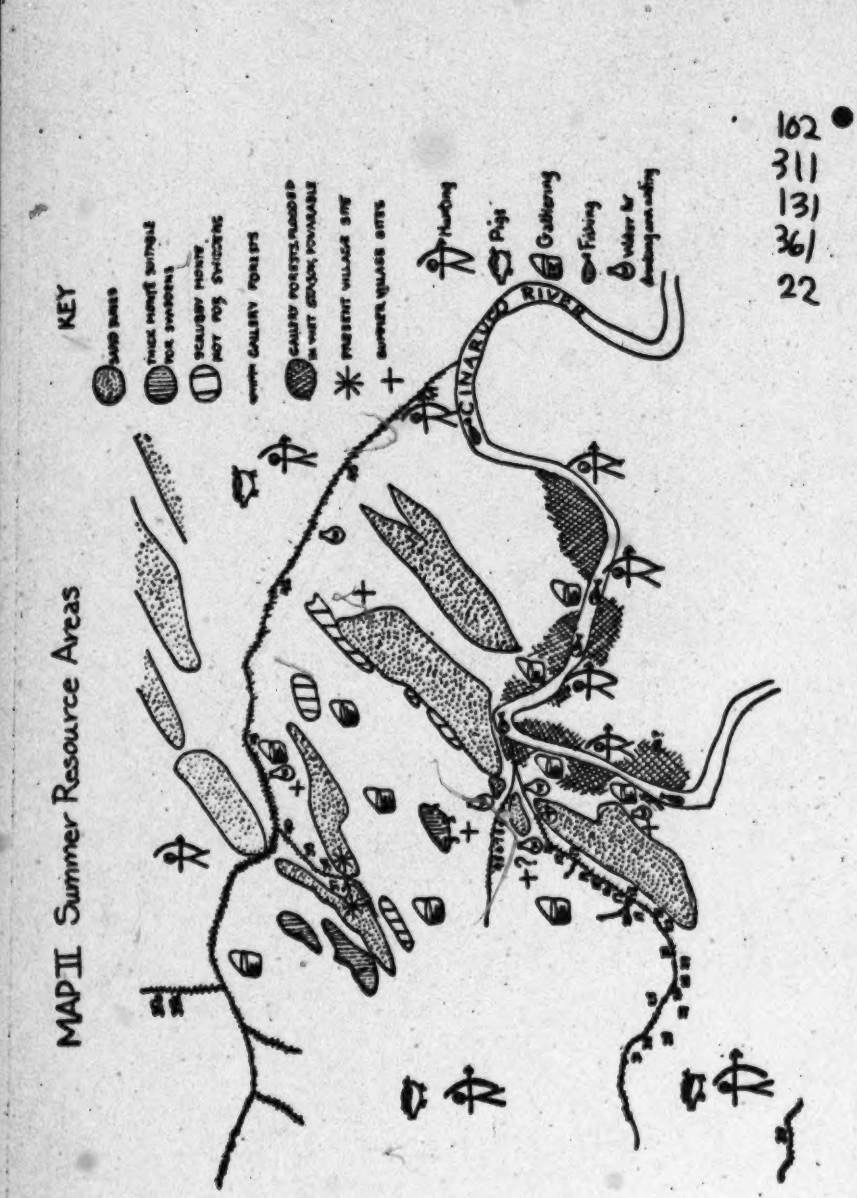
Numerals represent swiddens appearing in Table I

1 inch = ca 1.25 mi

Maps by Jo Leeds.

Cp. 40J

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19



102
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[p.41]

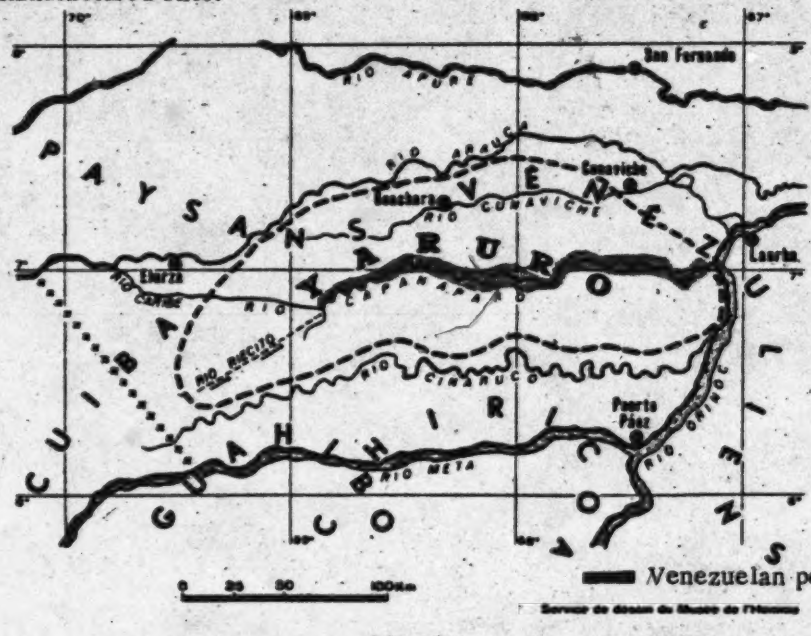
Jirajara SS12
Guahibo SC14

G 101 114 131 G Y 439

/111 cont./

the territory mentioned above, in the west, and the second in the east along the Orinoco; they meet to the south of the Cinaruco, the northern limit of their territory which lies principally in Colombia. Like the Cuiba, they seem to trade with the Yaruro, exchanges taking place in the Yaruro villages located near the Cinaruco and consisting also of products of their making for manufactured ones.

J G 101 Y 101 ●102 131 133



Map 1

Correction: Elorza instead of Elurza.

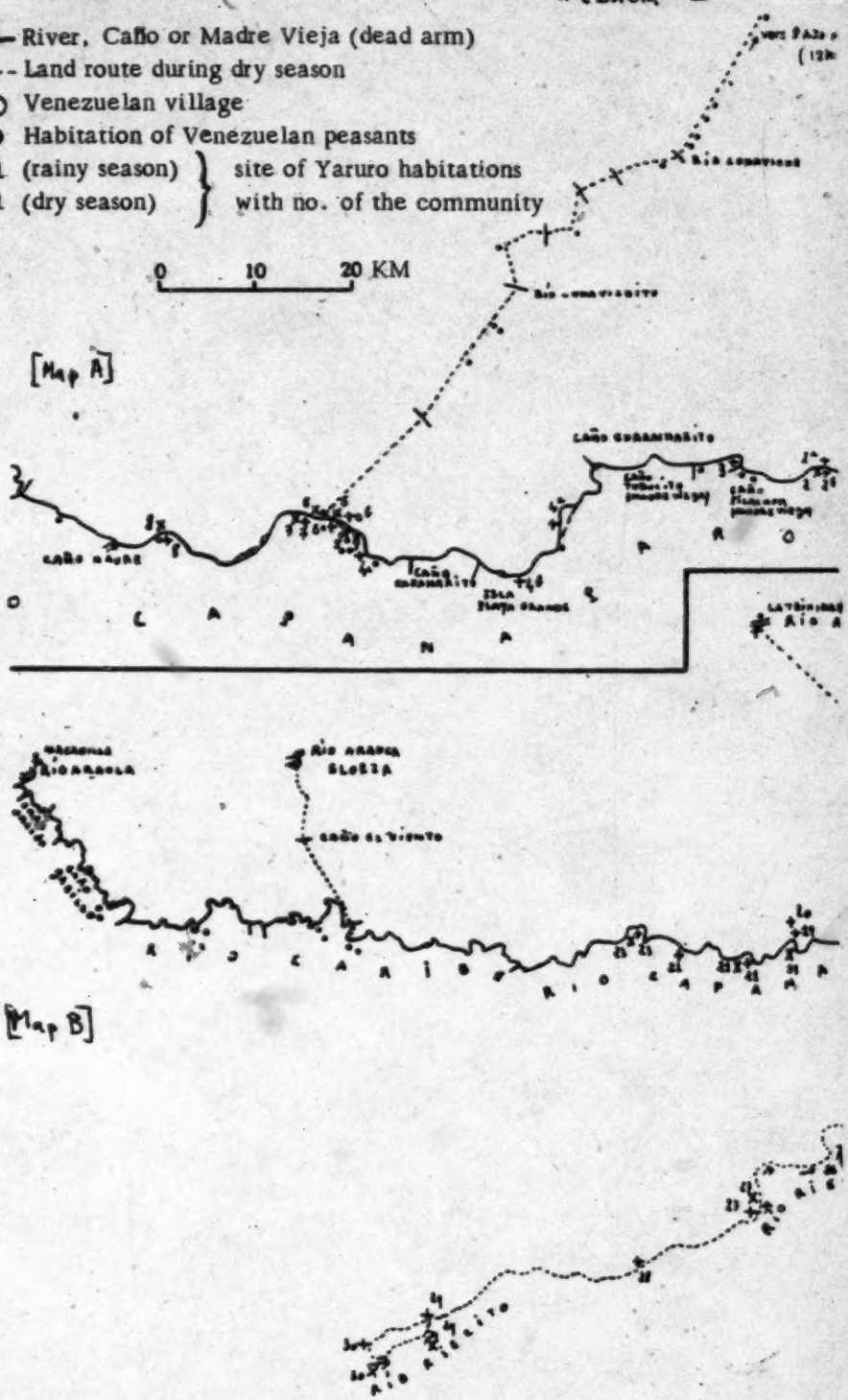
5:Le Besnerais--19 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Venezuela SS1

V
102
133
361
487

— River, Caño or Madre Vieja (dead arm)
---- Land route during dry season
⊙ Venezuelan village
● Habitation of Venezuelan peasants
+1 (rainy season) } site of Yaruro habitations
×1 (dry season) } with no. of the community

Y
102
133
342
361
487

0 10 20 KM



Map 2. Yaruro Territory

5:Le Besnerais--20 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Venezuela SS1

V
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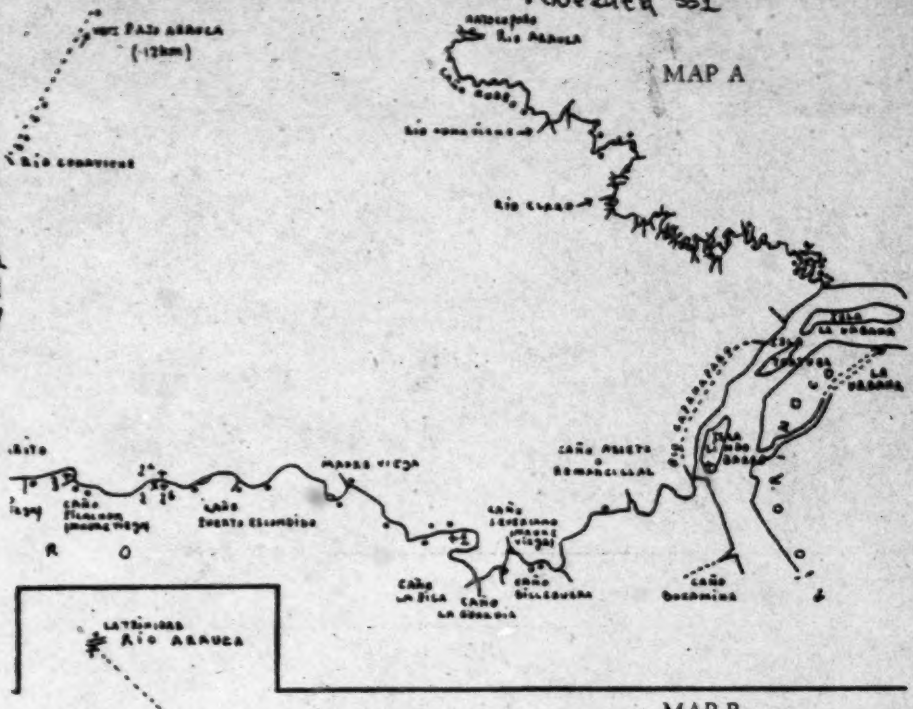
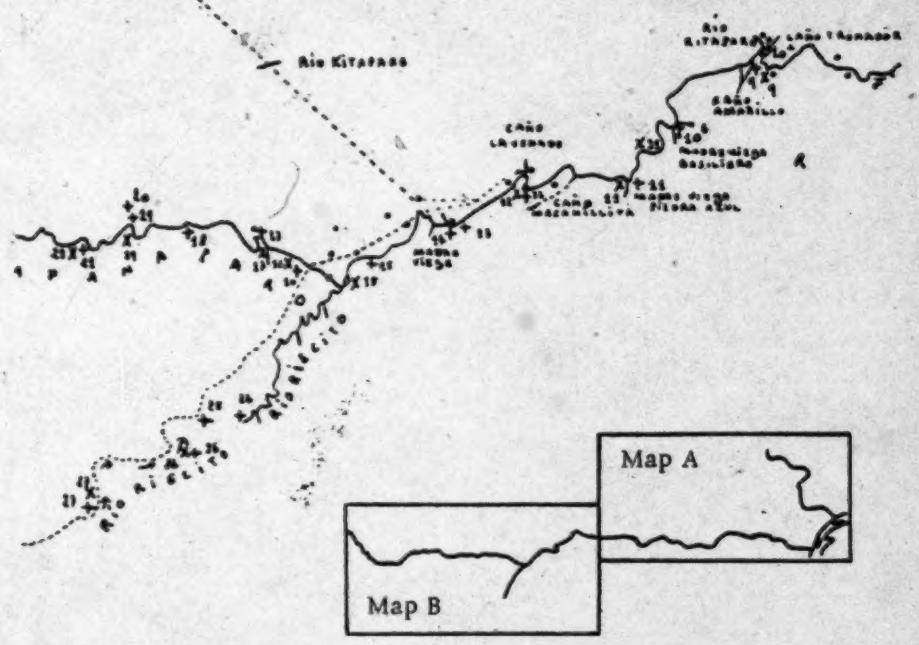
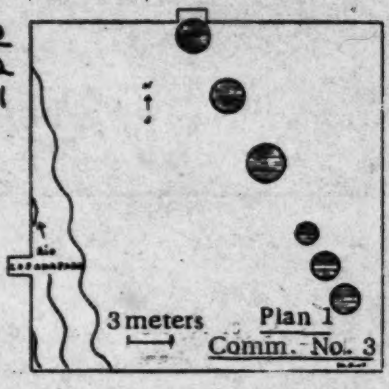
487
Y
102
133
342
361
487

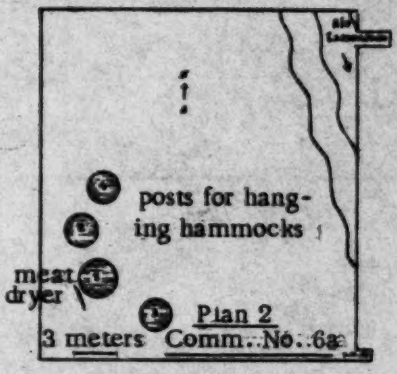




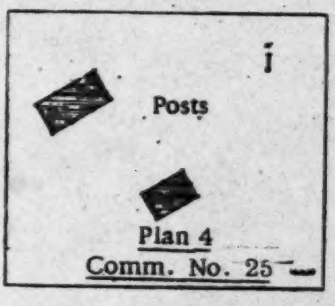
Author's correction: In MAP B, the first Yaruro community on the Capanaparo after the mouth of the Riecito should be 16 instead of 10.

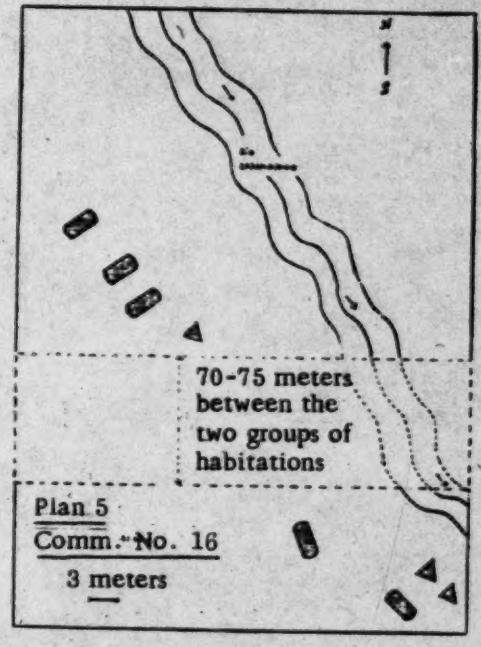
102
342
341


3 meters
Plan 1
Comm. No. 3


posts for hanging hammocks
meat dryer
Plan 2
3 meters
Comm. No. 6a

Plan 3
Comm. No. 6b


Posts
Plan 4
Comm. No. 25


70-75 meters between the two groups of habitations
Plan 5
Comm. No. 16
3 meters

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Maps*

MAPS *to Accompany Documents and Correspondence Relating to the Question of the* 1896 *Boundary Between British Guiana and Venezuela.* London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office. (LC). Cf., also, Great Britain, 1898. 102 113

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1656 Map of "Terre Firme..." (LC).
1657 Map of "T'Vaste Landt van't Niew Koningryk Granada". (LC).

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1748 Map of "Amérique Méridionale", extract. (LC, BG-VD, Map 4).

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CAVALLERO Y GÓNGORA, A.
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1817 Map of "Caracas and Guiana". From *New General Atlas* (Map 70). (LC).

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1818 Map of "New Grenada". From *A Modern Atlas.* (LC).

MALTE-BRUN
1828 Map of "Colombia and Guiana". From J. H. Young, *New General Atlas of the Globe.* (LC).

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BRAFORD
1835 Map of "Colombia and Guiana". From *Comprehensive Atlas.* (LC).

ARROWSMITH, J.
1958 Map of "Colombia". From Stanford's Series of New Library Maps. (LC).

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* *Note:* The maps are arranged in chronological order for convenience in tracing the development of the populations and because such collections as that of the Library of Congress are arranged chronologically.

● 103
114
342
361
551
622
631

6:Le Besnerais--13a E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

I. STATEMENT OF COMPLEMENTARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE COMMUNITIES OF THE YARURO (29)

29. For date of observations, location of communities on the Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, and description of habitation types, see "infra" IV List ...36.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30)							Remarks on Sites
			30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.							
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III		
On the Capanaparo River:										
1	Carlos José Delgado, then, after his death, his wife Severiana.	Santa Ana		2						According to Vicente Petrullo's (31) investi-
										31. See "infra" IV List...62.
										gations, the community was called Las Mercedes and was located near the Venezue- lan farm of the same name.
2	José Ledema	a) Lagunota abandoned for:		5						Same community as Petrullo's Lagunota (31),
										31. See "infra" IV List...62.
	or Juan Esteban Bellac (in the absence of the former)	b) Potrerito	x (32)	x		x				which was situated beside the Venezuelan farm of Piedra Azul.
		32. "x" indicates unenumerated habitations.								
3	Adán Matute	Potrero Grande		4 to 6						The summer encampment located on a shore and not observed is called San Luis.

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361
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602
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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...38. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
4	Marcelle Castillo	3 sites occupied simultaneously: a) Guacharaca		2					
		b) Agua Linda	2						
		c) Médano Alto		1					At the time of the observations (29), the site 29. /See footnote 29 above./ had only one type II 1 a habitation, temporarily occupied by one ♂, 2 ♀, and 3 children who were to return to Guacharaca.
5	Ramón Belmán	Médano Alto		5		5			
6	Pedro Ramón Camacho (33)	a) Guamacho abandoned for:		3 to 4				x	
	33. The underlined names are those of higher chiefs (in Spanish: capitán mayor) with greater authority than the other chiefs (in Spanish: capitán menor). This authority generally extends to the neighboring communities sometimes directed by a capitán menor and grouped together on this table by wavy lines.								
	His actual authority over Ramón Belmán is contested.	b) (island opposite it)		3 to 4				x	The island was later abandoned for a site farther upstream.

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361
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622
631

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...38. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
7	Ezequiel Padrón	Merecurito		x		x		x	
8	Ramón Jesús Caravajal (named by the Venezuelans) (34)	Magdalena							
	34. "Named by the Venezuelans" means that he was designated or confirmed as chief by a representative of the Venezuelan authorities.								
		or Caravajal	2			x			
9	Antonio Peraza (named by the Venezuelans and not recognized by the Yaruro)	San José and San Luis	3			x			The winter habitations are invisible from the bank. The summer encampment located on a shore is at San Luis.
10	José Carmen Garcillo	2 sites occupied simultaneously							
		a) Santa Rosa			1				
		b) Caño Amarillo	2						

6:Le Besnerais--13d E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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[313]

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.							Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III		
11	André or Juan Pío (subordinate of Bernardino Agustín Lopez, surnamed Venado --see community no. 18)	Puno El Bobo (briefly occupied)	x			x				
		then simultaneously Vuelta Mala I and Vuelta Mala 2	x			x				
12	Santo Bonifacio Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Chaparal or (Vuelta Mala) or (Barranca)	2					x		The type I habitations are located 400/500 m. from the bank.
13	Jacinto Lopez father of the preceding (named by the Venezuelans)	El Rosario	1							The community is located near a forest and a spring of clear water coming from the savanna.
14	Jesús Arcaya	Manguito	1							
15	Bernardino Agustín Lopez surnamed Venado; also has authority over André or Juan Pío (see comm. no. 11). (no doubt named by the Ven.)	El Colleto	2				1	1		The summer encampment is located on an island downstream from the mouth of the Riecito.

103 114 342 361 551 622 631

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...38.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
16	Ramón Dias	El Ceibote	3				5	3	The type I habitations are located about 300 m. from the bank.
17	Castillo	La Gavinera	5				x		
18	Simón Pacheco	Merecurito	1						
19	Simón Pacheco	Argentina	3			x			
20	Illegas	Argentina	x						The habitations are located on the savanna far from the bank.
21	Illegas	Garici	1 to 2			x			
22	José Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Matacaballo	3						The habitations are far from the bank.
23	Eloy	Monte Zamuro (La Pastilla)		x		x			

6:Le Beneréis--13e E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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632
631

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
On the Riecito River:									
24	?	?	2						The habitations are located about 200 m. from the bank.
25	Cecilio (Cecilito)	Manguito	6 to 7						The habitations are located 1 km. 500 from the bank. They are surrounded by mango trees.
26	Felipe (Felipito)	?	2			1		1	
27	Jerónimo	?	x					x	The summer encampment is set up under some trees.
28	Gregorio	?	1						
29	José Blanco	?	2			3		1	
30	Luis	?	4	1		5		8	

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361

6:Le Besnerais--13g E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

II. LIST OF YARURO COMMUNITIES NOT OBSERVED BUT MENTIONED BY OUR INFORMANTS (35)

35. For the approximate location of these communities see "infra" IV List...64.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
On the Arauca River:			
A	?	?	Opposite the Venezuelan farm La Trinidad
B	?	El Viento	On the upper Arauca
On the Caño del Agua:			
C	?	La Mata	
On the Caño del Medio:			
D	?	Palmarito	

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
On the Cunaviche River:			
E	?	El Gavilán	A little upstream from the Venezuelan village Cunaviche. According to the inhabitants of community no. 1, these Indians are not the same as themselves.
F	?	El Burón	El Burón de Petrullo (31) 31. See "infra" IV List...52.
G	?	San Vicente	
H	?	Carolina	Near the Venezuelan village Guaracha
I	?	Fruta de Burro	Upstream from the Venezuelan village Guaracha

6:Le Besnerais--13h E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
J	?	Camaguán	id.
On the Caño San Felipe:			
K	?	?	
On the Isla Lindo Barro and at the Boca del Capanaparo:			
L	?	?	
M	?	?	
N	?	?	
O	?	?	On Fraile Island

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361

622
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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Between the Capanaparo and Cinaruco Rivers:			
P	?	?	One day downstream from R
Q	Joseito Menor	La Vigía	2 km. downstream from R
R	Olivet	El Gomal	One league (5 km.) from the Cinaruco and one day in summer or 1 1/2 days in winter--because the Casanarito, which is deep, must be crossed with a raft--from community no. 7, the spot on the Capanaparo which is closest to it.
S	?	?	Near R
T	?	?	

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
U	?	Lagunota	Traversed by Raymond Fiasson (36) in 36. See "infra" IV List...21 and 22. Nov./Dec. 1946. At sources of the Náure.
V	?	?	On the Caño Amarillo
W	Alfonso (reputed a thief)	Ceiba	At sources of the Macanillita
Between the Capanaparo and Riecito Rivers:			
X	Nicolás	?	On the right bank of the Capanaparo between communities No. 22 and 23.

6:Le Besnerais--13k E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Y	Padrón (reputed a thief)	?	At the sources of the Caño Perro de Agua.
Z	?	Moriche	Near a lagoon and not far from community no. 28.
Between the Riecito and Cinaruco Rivers:			
AA	Pablo and José Losa Cardona (other name cited: Leyi)	Reicero	On a dune located at the sources of the Cinarucquito, the Cinaruco, or the Riecito, or near the Cinaruquito and 1/2 day's travel on foot from the right bank of the Riecito or one day by canoe (up to the Paso Reicero) from the Boca del Riecito.
AB	Nicolás	?	

6:Le Besnerais--13L E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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361

551
622

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
AC	Basilio	?	On the Cinaruquito, to the South of the Venezuelan farm Sol y Sombra.
On the Cinaruco River:			
AD	Pablo Emilio	?	At the Paso Mina
AE	?	Santa Rosa	
AF	Julio	?	South of the Venezuelan farm Sol y Sombra
AG	José Lopez Paez	?	

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
On the Meta River:			
AH	?	?	
AI	?	?	On the upper Meta
On the Tomo River:			
AJ	?	?	

6:Le Besnerais--13n E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Venezuela SS1

SUMMARY

The Yaruros are river nomads, practicing no agriculture and keeping no domestic animals except the dog. Their material culture is meager, being limited to what they can carry in their canoes as they wander from one camp to another. Expecting extermination within a short time, they have turned to life after death for consolation.

We know practically nothing of the Yaruros as they were several hundred years ago. According to the missionary accounts they had a simpler culture than the other tribes inhabiting the region of the delta of the Apure. However, lacking descriptions of the Yaruros, we cannot make sound comparisons. There is very little in the modern Yaruro culture which resembles that of the Otomacos and Tamanacos as described in the missionary accounts.

The things that distinguish the Yaruros from Racionales (as the "civilized" people are known) are lack of permanent abodes, no domestic animals, and no agriculture. The things that are common to both groups are the bow and arrow, the canoe and paddle, and hunting. Among the Yaruros there is a closer communal life than among the Racionales.

In the material culture of the Yaruros we can discover but few elements which have been borrowed from the Europeans. Of these, the use of iron is the most important. Formerly the Yaruros had only bone and wood out of which to shape arrow points, but now iron has displaced these other primitive materials. The use of iron knives, an occasional ax, a hammer, and a heavy iron hoe used by the women on their digging sticks, has, of course, been introduced by the traders. In exchange for these elements the Yaruros have given to the Racionales the bow and arrow, the canoe, the gourd rattle, basketry, and pottery.

The Yaruro in recent years has been even further removed from European culture than he was several centuries ago. The policy of the late dictator, Gen. Juan Vicente Gomez, of disarming the Venezuelans to keep down revolutions, left the people of the llanos without any ammunition, even though they might have old shotguns and rifles. Guns and ammunition were smuggled in at a premium and were far beyond the means of the Llanero peasant and cowboy. As a result, those who were not attached to the household of some powerful absentee rancher were forced to eke out a living with bow and arrow.

The world depression and the cattle monopoly of General Gomez affected the Llaneros also in two ways. Cattle could no longer be sold at a profitable price and the workers were forced either to abandon the country and withdraw to the cities or to Guiana, to become farmers, or to live in an even more primitive style than they

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Venezuela SS1

were accustomed to. That is, they had to fall back on a life somewhat similar to that of the Yaruros. Today one finds close to some river bank a little hut, the home of one of these Llaneros. In such a household one may find a man, his wife, and children. Their only possessions are what they can gather and make from their environment. They may have a garden in which they raise plantains and bananas, a little maize, and yucca. But the soil of the Llaneros is not fit for fertile gardens, so these people have to depend on hunting and fishing for most of their food. These are the people with whom the Yaruro have most contact. There is nothing in their houses and nothing in their mode of living to attract the Yaruro. As a matter of fact the Yaruros themselves made the comment that a Racionale's house was dirty and full of vermin and insect life, whereas they, preferring to live on the open beaches behind no shelter, had the advantage of moving about from one clean camp site to another.

How much the Yaruros have borrowed from Spanish lore and religious ideas it is impossible to say on a basis of our knowledge. In their religious ideas one might guess that the conception of the existence of an evil spirit and the personality of India Rosa may be the two strongest elements. All these, however, were introduced a long time ago and with the breaking off of communication with the missionaries during the past century they have become weaker and weaker. Today India Rosa is confused with Kuma. The evil spirit appears in only one or two legends and plays hardly any part in the shamanistic performances.

The tenor of the Yaruro culture is typically conservative. Their reaction to any European idea is one of suspicion and fear. For instance, they will not raise domestic animals or learn to cultivate gardens. The Yaruros had their chance, they say, when the world was created, and refused to take it. Now there is only one thing left to them: to live as their ancestors have done and to die.

This patient acceptance of their lot is the most characteristic attitude of the Yaruros. They have abandoned all hope of maintaining themselves against the destructive forces of the world around them, and even of dying out peaceably. Their only consolation lies in their firm belief that Kuma is waiting for them in the other world. In other words, not unlike many other American aboriginal groups, they have built for themselves an indestructible heaven, and one from which foreign peoples will be excluded. There they will recapture their ancient mode of life. They will have plenty of food, clothing, horses, and the companionship of their relatives. Kuma's land is a world of bliss, an expression, really, of the living Yaruro's yearning to be allowed to hunt, fish, and live peacefully with each

1: Petrullo, Vincenzo. The Yaruros of the Capanaparo River, Venezuela. Anthropological Papers No. 11, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 123, pp. 161-290. Smithsonian Institution, 1939.

Pp. 130; 12 text figures: 14 plates; preface; bibliography.

Yale: A52.72.122-123.

/This monograph is based upon a three month field trip among the Yaruros and investigation of relevant historical sources. The consequent coverage, as the author himself allows, is far from complete. Most aspects of Yaruro culture are described in a general way. The most detailed information refers to religion and mythology and was gathered principally from one informant. Art and technology are treated adequately. The superficial treatment of other phases of Yaruro culture is not enhanced by the author's repetition of data under several headings. Since apparently no first hand information exists on this extremely primitive culture on the verge of extinction, this is an invaluable source. --Analyst/

Field date: 1933-34
Analyst: Richard Schaedel

Evaluation: Ethnologist--3
Processed in 1955

2: Leeds, Anthony. Yaruro Incipient Tropical Forest Horticulture: Possibilities and Limits. In J. Wilbert, ed., The Evolution of Horticultural Systems in Native South America: Causes and Consequences. Antropologica, Supplement no. 2, pp. 13-46. Caracas: Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle, 1961.

HRAF copy.

[This source is primarily concerned with the relationship between a specific ecological system and the resulting cultural pattern. The author uses the Yaruro of the central Cinaruco area to illustrate this relationship using the incipient tropical forest horticulture system as the ecological framework. There is much material on the physical area inhabited by the Yaruro, their subsistence activities, technological advancement, land use, and the lack of occupational specialization, social stratification, warfare, etc., as a result of the relationship between habitat and cultural complexity. The footnotes will be found in the 116 category. --Analyst]

Field date: 1958 Evaluation: Ethnographer-5
Analyst: Millicent Kim Processed in 1963

3: Leeds, Anthony. Ecological Determinants of Chieftainship among the Yaruro Indians of Venezuela. Akten des 34. Internationalen Amerikanistenkongresses, pp. 597-608. Wien: Verlag Ferdinand Berger, 1962.

Yale: C2 054 34.

/The author presents the hypothesis that the relatively weak position of chieftainship among the Yaruro, and by extension among the South American Indians as a whole, is dependent or based upon their ecology. He presents a model of an ecological type which he believes will set the limits within which any sort of chiefly function will operate, and which will be applicable to all cultures having the same basic technology, habitat characteristics and similar types of food surplus./

Field date: 1958
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1964-65

4: Leeds, Anthony. The Ideology of the Yaruro Indians in Relation to Socio-Economic Organization. Antropologica, No. 9, pp. 1-10. Caracas, Venezuela: Sociedad De Ciencias Naturales La Salle, 1960.

HRAF Copy.

/In this study the author attempts to show the relationship between Yaruro socio-economic organization and their ideology and to isolate from their ideological system various aspects or factors which could be used for comparative purposes in cross-cultural research. These aspects of Yaruro religion and philosophy are listed in the form of seven axioms or postulates relating to the cosmic structure of the universe, the good, the not-good, the good society, the determinants of action in the good society, the nature of precepts and principles of action, and freedom or restriction of will. In addition to the above, there is information on the division of labor, horticulture, property, kinship, cosmology mythology, spirits and gods, shamans and the tonghés, the ceremony in which the shaman contacts the spirits for assistance./

Field Date: 1958 Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Analyst: John Beierle Processed in 1964-65

5: Le Besnerais, Henry. Contribution à l'Étude des Indiens Yaruro (Venezuela) /Contribution to the Study of the Yaruro Indians (Venezuela)/. Journal de la Société des Américanistes, N.S., Vol. 43, pp. 109-122. Paris, 1954.

2 maps; 5 tables.

Yale: C51 +So13 II. 43-44.

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Priscilla Reynolds.

[This source presents some brief notes on the territory occupied by the Yaruro, and various surrounding tribes with whom they come in contact, principally the Cuiba (Jirajara), the Guahibo, Chiricoa and Amburua. More extensive notes and tables are then presented on Yaruro house types and location of settlements and on Yaruro and Venezuelan peasant populations, including data on density, birth, and death statistics. The article concludes with a list of the various diseases common to the Yaruro. Corrections from Bulletin de la Société Suisse des Américanistes, No. 24, Sept., 1962, pp. 21-23, have been added to the text.]

Field date: 1947-1950
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966

6: Le Besnerais, Henry. Contribution à l'Étude des Indiens Yaruro et Otomaco (Venezuela) /Contribution to the Study of the Yaruro and Otomac Indians (Venezuela)/. Bulletin de la Société Suisse des Américanistes No. 24, pp. 7-25. Genève (Suisse): Musée et Institut D'Ethnographie, 1962.

Yale: C52 014 24. /HRAF MS: pp. 1-25/.

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Priscilla Reynolds.

[Although the first two parts of this source, entitled respectively "Notes on the origins, way of life, and history of the Yaruro" (dealing primarily with inferences made by other authors regarding Yaruro subsistence and agriculture), and "Notes on the Otomaco" (which presents comparative data on several minor aspects of Yaruro and Otomac ethnology), only give the most general type of information pertinent to the Yaruro file, part three of the source compensates for these deficiencies by presenting a number of excellent tables indicating names and locations of various settlements, house types (based on the author's typology outlined in 5: Le Besnerais, this file), names of the chiefs of the settlements, and numerous miscellaneous notes on the various sites, while section four of the source presents an exhaustive bibliography on the Yaruro. The rather cryptic footnotes appearing in the text, as for example, "see 'infra' IV List...36", refers the reader to section four of the text (pp. 15-25), containing the bibliographical citations mentioned above, and to item number 36 in this list.]

Field date: 1947-1950
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966

7: Leeds, Anthony. Some Problems of Yaruro Ethnohistory. 35th Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Mexico, 1962, Actas y Memorias, Vol. 2, pp. 157-175. Mexico, 1964.

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Personal copy of T. J. O'Leary.

[This source presents a critical evaluation of the ethnographic data presented by Petrullo and others regarding Yaruro horticulture, the existence of matrilineal clans, clan exogamy, matrilateral cross-cousin marriage and totemism. This evaluation was undertaken by the author because much of the data that he gathered in the field contradicts the earlier reported evidence of such phenomena. In an attempt to resolve the apparent conflicting data the author has resorted to a reinterpretation of the available historical sources of information, primarily archaeology, linguistics, and written history. The source terminates with some very tentative conclusions regarding the "ethnohistory" of the llanos, and particularly the Yaruro, based on the author's present knowledge of geography, archaeology, linguistics, and historical data. Some of these conclusions, Leeds admits, are presented as hypotheses requiring proof or disproof through further research.]

Field date: 1958
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1966

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
SS18 Warao SS18
SS19 Yaruro SS19 ●

Chaffanjon, Jean. L'Orénoque et le Caura. Relation de Voyages Exécutées en 1886 et 1887 /The Orinoco and the Caura. Relation of Journeys Made in 1886 and 1887/. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1889.

Pp. iii, 351; many illustrations; map.

Yale: Ehdd 886.

/Pp. 9-16 of this work give a quick sketch of the Warao. Chaffanjon saw them in January 1886. He writes briefly on clothing, hair style, marriage, birth, religious ceremonies, superstitions, sickness, death and funeral, geographical dispersal, housing, nutrition, language and "perfectability." These Warao lived at the mouth of the Caño Rico outlet of the Orinoco. Since the data presented are inadequate and obviously inaccurate at some points, e.g., equating sago and cassava, and because of the brief time spent among the natives, this source has not been processed for the Warao file. Pp. 169-173 contain a brief description of the Yaruro, while pp. 307-314 contain a brief account of his meeting with the Waica. Since little information is contained in these accounts, they have not been processed./

1: Petrullo E-8 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Humboldt et Dompland mention that there exists a manuscript in Roma on the Yaruro language.

Juan Rivero, S. J.

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2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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19. Cf. Holmberg, 1950; Murdock, 1957. Holmberg suggests, incidentally, (p. 9) that the Siriono were pushed into their present area, and were deculturated by this event. This implies that they were at a higher level of organization, which is also suggested by their linguistic affiliations with more advanced Tupian groups. These data suggest that the Siriono should always have been classified, like the Yaruro, as Tropical Forest Horticulturalists rather than as Marginals (Steward, 1946-1950, Vol. III, pp. 897-899). Cf, on this latter point, Hohenthal, 1951.

20. Nimuendajú, 1939; Murdock, 1957.

21. Conklin, verbal communication, estimates that about 50% of the land surface possessed by the Hanunóo was capable of being cultivated.

22. This figure refers to a unit of land of the same size we have been discussing for the Yaruro — 65 square miles, 50% tillable land is a factor of 100 times the Yaruros' present tillable land. We estimated 125-150 people for this area, which, multiplied by 100 produces the figures given in the text.

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distance of the gardens is too far from the village for effective or efficient exploitation. At this point a village or part of a village must move. Moving the villages involves decision-making with respect to time, new location, and so on. Plainly, moving a village involves a community decision. A community institution for handling the decision-making is necessary. Technologically speaking, the moving itself is not a community task and does not involve supervision and direction. Therefore, one would not expect the institution of decision-making to be a directive one, but a consultative one. Again this corresponds to the observed modes of action of the Yaruro chiefs. The chiefs' function is to facilitate the formation of the decisions of the community by funnelling and interpreting individuals' feelings and expressions to the rest of the members of the community.

In sum, I have presented a model of a form of ecology which, hypothetically, determines the limits within which any sort of chiefly functions may operate. This model, again hypothetically, is applicable to all cultures having the kind of technological and habitat characteristics and forms of surplus here described. I think the model applies particularly to cultures which grow root-crops such as manioc, which utilize no labor-concentrative techniques, such as irrigation, and for whose food resources notable seasonality is absent. Such cultures have been noted widely in tropical South America and also in Melanesia. In both areas, chiefly functions are notably limited as contrasted, say, with Circum-Caribbean corn-raising cultures with some irrigation and other intensive techniques[24] and with Polynesian high cultures with elaborate irrigation and other public works.[25] It should be noted, first, that the Yaruro were not far from these Circum-Caribbean chiefdoms and even show a number of trait similarities, and, second, that the Yaruro have been under Spanish acculturation, which has involved encouragement of chiefly functions, for probably 250 years. Yet, despite the pressures of both diffusion and acculturation to produce a more developed chieftaincy, the attenuated form described persists. The explanation of this persistence seems to me to be ecological. I suggest that the model of explanation presented here is based on a set of analytic dimensions — the characteristics of the technology, those of the habitat, those of the harvest surplus, and the interrelationships of these — which may be used for all cultures, but whose formal, systemic relations vary from culture to culture, or class of cultures to class of cultures, thus giving different models for different cultures or classes of cultures. By using such dimensions, one can account for cultural differences by means of a standard set of principles, thus facilitating genuine comparisons and generalizations.

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4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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riences in shamanism, dreams, unconsciousness, and immediately after death show, is conceived as being undifferentiated and unitary, though divisible into like, but unequally active parts. No mind-body distinction is made. Again in a static and limited universe within which, however, all parts, visible and invisible, sensible or not directly sensible, are in a flux of interaction, all things have some degree of reality. The distinction "real-unreal" as it is understood in the West is lacking among the Yaruro. Further, in this same universe, those parts which we might designate "immaterial" are, to the Yaruro, quite as concrete and sensed as the so-called "material" objects and events. The western distinction between "material" and "immaterial" is not a meaningful one to the Yaruro. Finally, the unity and continuity of what westerners would call "natural" and "supernatural" has been discussed above. Such a distinction is not made by the Yaruro.

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/121 cont./

b) Somatology and Pathology.

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162 River (1) has devoted one chapter to the physical characteristics

1. In Anthropological Papers, No. 11, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 123, pp. 161 to 290.

of the Yaruro. We refer the reader to this work, our own ob-
164 servations on this offering nothing very new. Let us add only that all the adults and some children of both sexes have their bodies and particularly the extremities of their limbs covered with white, painful plaques called carare, a fact already noted by Petrullo. According to the Yaruro, beginning with a certain, unspecified age—perhaps corresponding to puberty, for we have never observed it with the newborn and rarely with young children—the skin dries up in places and then loses its pigmenta-
164 tion. Again according to the Yaruro, this phenomenon, which
827 they seem to consider a blemish (they have frequently asked us if a remedy existed to get rid of it), is perhaps transmitted through the blood. When a wife is attacked by carare she infects her husband by pouring a drop of her own blood into his drink so that he will not abandon her.

164 Sanitary conditions among the Yaruro are on the whole extremely indifferent. Tests of blood from swords, carried out by Professor Mayer of the Institute of Hygiene in Caracas, and of blood previously drawn from some of the population reveal signs of severe anemia and very strong eosinophilia.

These Indians all suffer more or less, particularly during the rainy season, from colds, bronchitis, pneumonia, furunculosis, attacks of grippe with fever or marsh fever, headaches, caries and dental abcesses, pains which are doubtlessly rheumatic, and glandular inflammations. The colds, bronchitis, attacks

/15 cont./

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12 The community has two large type I houses, the base and roofing of which, however, are rounded at the ends.

13 This community is, from its appearance, less comfortable than the others.

14 In this one also the large type I house has its base and roofing rounded at the ends.

/16/

15 The two type I habitations of the commuhity located on the hard ground of the high, steep river banks are laid out as plan No. 4 indicates.

16 These eight type II 2b and III habitations are laid out as plan No. 5 indicates.

17 The type I habitations are too low to stand up in, even that of the chief of the community, although it is larger than the others.

23 The community has type II 1a and II 2a habitations. This latter type has a rectangular base here and an elevation, cut along its breadth, which is pointed in form.

26, 29, 30 The type I habitations of these three communities have oval bases.

13 IV. List of works and diverse documents relating to the study of the Yaruro and Otomaco.

This list does not take account of unpublished documents resulting from the author's investigations.

/16 cont./

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1) Spain; without success at the National Library and at those of the Athenaeum and the Royal Palace (Madrid). The library of the "Real Academia de Historia" (Madrid) and the "Archivo de Indias" (Seville) have not given a definite answer.
2) France; without success at the Bibliothèque Nationale and at that of the Musée de l'Homme (Paris).
3) Italy (Vatican). Without success at the Jesuits' Library "Borgo S. Spirito" and at that of the "Propaganda Fide." The Vatican Library, which received the estate "Stefano Borgia" from the "Propaganda Fide," where the "Manuscrit sur la langue des Yaruro" (cf. 62) might well be, has not given a definite answer.
4) U.S.A. Without success at the Library of Congress, in the National Union Catalog, which includes the books of some 500 libraries of the country, and at the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution (Washington).
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Abbreviations

B	Bulletin
BAE	Bureau of American Ethnology
BG-VB	British Guiana-Venezuela Boundary (Cf. *Maps to Accompany Documents...* 1896)
HSAI	Handbook of South American Indians
J	Journal
JSAP	Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris
LC	Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
R	Revista, Revue
SJA	Southwestern Journal of Anthropology
U	University, Universidad
US	United States
USGPO	United States Government Printing Office
YUPA	Yale University Publications in Anthropology

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* *Note:* The maps are arranged in chronological order for convenience in tracing the development of the populations and because such collections as that of the Library of Congress are arranged chronologically.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

604 brothers they must make offerings of labor and food. In fact as soon
593 as they are old enough to do so, the boys will spend a good portion
476 of their time in the family group of their uncles on their mother's side. They hunt with him, they help him build his canoes, work for him, and take part in the feasts and ceremonies with him.

593 However, the father is interested in his children, especially when
604 they are young, and treats them with the utmost kindness and they reciprocate by acknowledging filial respect. Perhaps it was this difference in the attitude between the uncle and the father that led
● [114] the missionaries to comment that the Yaruros and the Otomacos showed no respect for their fathers and often killed them.

601 A Yaruro makes no mistake between those individuals in his group who are related to him biologically and those who are merely related to him socially. For instance, he calls his father "aia" or "aiamái," and he calls his father's brothers by the same word. In fact he distinguishes between the older and the younger brothers of his father, so that he may call his father's elder brother "aiamái otéh," which is translatable into "elder father". He will refer to the younger brother of his father as "aiamái durimé," meaning "younger father." Not only does he call the brothers of his father by the same term as he addresses his own father, but the parallel cousins also are addressed by the same term. Since his own father must show respect to his older brothers, the son assumes the same attitude as his father toward the older members of the family. In the female line, he refers to his mother as "aí" and his mother's sisters as "aí" also, suffixing the term for older and younger as the case may be. The female parallel cousins of his mother are called by the same term.

On the other hand the sisters of the father are addressed as "haí" and the brothers of his mother are addressed as "hademái". It is these classes of individuals whom we can refer to as aunt and uncle.

His brothers he calls "ajimái" or "anyimai" and his sisters "amí". These terms are extended to his parallel cousins both on his father's and mother's side. The children of his father's brothers, and his mother's sisters, he calls "anyiná," if male, and "ani," if female. His cross-cousins he addresses as follows: "keramái", the sons of his mother's brother, which is equivalent to brother-in-law; "nyohé" the daughters of his mother's brother; "avimái", the sons of his father's sister; and "haí haó", the daughters of his father's sister.

There is a striking resemblance between the terms which he employs to indicate his grandchildren and his grandparents. The children of his daughter, if boys, he will refer to as "hiamai," if girls, "hiatokwi." The children of his son, on the other hand, if boys, he will call "hadamai," and if girls "hadatokwi." His grandfather on his father's side he calls "hadaoteh." His grandmother

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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a pole. In general, therefore, organized play for child or adult is hardly present.

WAR

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The Yaruros did not speak much of war. None of their legends make any reference to it except in one case which says that they were killed by the "Racionales" and that they retaliated.* The known historical sources say nothing except Father Gumilla's account, which makes reference to the pacification of the "Saruri."

MORAL ATTITUDES

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On the subject of conduct, the outlook on life and the organization of life values, we must distinguish between theory and practice. The former grows out of reflection and represents the intellectualization of the universe as seen without much reference to practical life. The second springs from the social and economic relationships and the fusing of individual ends and purposes into the purposes and ends of the group, whereas the first is not strictly controlled by custom and practical needs. Both exist among the [791] Yaruros. For the first we have to turn to the shaman, who in addition to being a religious leader, a savant, is also a moralist; and for the second we turn to the entire social group and need to watch it in its behavior.

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In reading over the early account of the aborigines of the region, among which we must presumably include Yaruros, we gather that their moral concepts were different from those of the Christians, but perhaps neither better nor worse in practice. It must be doubted, however, whether a number of practices attributed to the Yaruros are authentic. We read, for instance, that a number of the aborigines were patricides, and we are given a picture of the male children, on reaching adolescence, rising against the fathers [682] through lust for the mother. Patricide is an abhorrent crime and [683] the motive behind it is equally abhorrent. It is to be doubted whether patricide, or even lesser acts, such as beating the father, were ever practiced, except in sporadic cases such as may occur in [684] any society. It hardly seems possible that women were the cause of it when it is known, as it is known today, that mating and extramarital relationships are very strictly controlled by tradition and social training. Disregarding, therefore, such allusions to the moral life of the primitive peoples of the Orinoco, let us turn to our informants for an understanding of their present mode of life. The

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* It would appear probable that the nomadic Yaruros were too weak to ever develop any warlike spirit.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

criticism of Kuma, and there is even an implication that she always acts with the greatest wisdom.

THE LAND OF KUMA

Kuma lives in the west, apparently beyond the horizon. In the month of March and in early April, about 9 o'clock in the evening, there is a glow in the western sky, a beautiful phenomenon, which the Yaruros explained is the reflection from Kuma's land. Its exact geographic position does not seem to be known and is as hazy as a Catholic's idea of the position of Heaven. For instance, we are told that the stars are both the lights from Kuma Land and the people from that land walking about at night, and yet the Land of Kuma is localized somewhere in the west.

This land is described sometimes as a vast and clean savanna, treeless and full of game, and at other times as a savanna with a huge town in which Kuma and her people live. This latter conception springs from the association the modern Yaruros have between wealth, comfort, power, and those material things which the civilized peoples possess. Towns are included among the products of the civilized. In the same way we find that although the Yaruros are a horseless people, Kuma and her people seem to have an abundance of horses. Apparently those things which are denied the Yaruros in this land are to be found in the next and shamanism is the means of expressing the longings of the living Yaruros.

THE LAND OF KIBEROH

In contrast with the beautiful world in which Kuma lives and to which all Yaruros expect to go, Kiberoh rules over a dark land inhabited by those unfortunate races of mankind left in the hole when the rope dropped by Hatchawa was broken by a too-heavy pregnant woman. Not much is known, nor is there much interest on the part of the Yaruros about this unpleasant region. However, this must not be taken that they have a belief in hell as Father Gumilla reported. According to this author the Yaruros believed in an evil spirit called Tighitighi. On the contrary, my informants identified Tighitighi merely as a large hawk which has no relation to the devil.

PUANÁ

Puaná stands out as the indulgent parent and teacher of Hatchawa. He is also the artisan who invented all of the implements now used by the Yaruros. He is conceived of as the great snake, and in fact is so portrayed on the gourd rattles of the shamans, yet there is a

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Yaruros of Laguneta. Note carrying baskets, digging sticks, bows and arrows. The author is standing at extreme right.

(End Plate 7)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Most direct

622 [191 177] commands, in so far as I was able to observe, were made in Spanish![4] — essentially in acculturation contexts. In general, they concerned village care, small services, and the like. No occasion was observed of commanding older men, except for a married youth of 19, who was the youngest adult male in the village. The two or three commands he received during my stay went unnoticed, and, in one or two instances, were even directly contravened. The capitans of the Cinaruco river group and of Palmarito de Guachara both consistently complained that no one paid enough attention to them, and the Palmarito chief complained that he never was kept [571] sufficiently informed of events by his people. The fact is that people do pretty much as they choose in all important decision-making situations which do not involve the community at large, or the relationship of some member of the community or the entire group to outsiders.[5] In the former situation, the chief serves as a consultative funnel through which the community discussion pours back and forth until the community achieves some clear but unstated consensus upon which 622 648 community members can act, individually of course. Only in the situations dealing [554] with outside groups does the Yaruro capitanship emerge as a more developed status which might metaphorically be described as a position similar to that of a minister of foreign relations. In behalf of his group, he talks with any representatives of outside groups, especially if they are non-Yaruro, and acts as gatherer of information and as channel of communication between the community and the outside entity. Even this is weakened, however, since it applies more by courtesy than by fact among the Yaruro themselves, and other members of the community may perform the same function even if to a somewhat smaller degree. It is also weakened in that no Yaruro is prevented from acting on his own with respect to non-Yaruro outsiders, and, in fact, many Yaruro do establish their own relationships with outsiders as a number of instances attested. Indeed, the rights of the individual members of the society to make their own decisions, at least internally if not also [682] externally, is insisted on. In one instance, a chief who took it upon himself to

[4] Commands and other stress situations, which generally appear to be uncongenial to the Yaruro and more overt as the people have been more subject to acculturation, seem to elicit from the Yaruro Spanish responses rather than Yaruro ones. It is as though it were not fitting to utter commands or express anger in Yaruro. Thus, the few times noisy altercation was heard among the Cinaruco Yaruro, the language used was Spanish. The chief's commands and his overt anger were always expressed in Spanish, even if he had just before been speaking in Yaruro. Though anger may often be felt, it is not shown if the participants are expressing themselves in Yaruro. Thus, the chief scolded one of the village boys for riding one of the recently acquired burros — in Spanish; he ordered a 19-year old young man to do some task — in Spanish; he complained of the actions of one of the village elders in taking on the job of guide without first consulting him (though he would certainly have permitted it) — in Spanish. [578] [152] [191]

[5] Cf. Leeds, 1960 a, with respect to the place of individual action in Yaruro society. Though there is individual action, choice, and responsibility, these are all carried out as an aspect of community organization and essentially with community affirmation. A person is not an individual set in counterpoint to his society — there is no polarity of individual-society, as we, in our culture, generally seem to conceive. Individualism in the latter sense does not exist among the Yaruro. The Yaruro should not be mistaken for an individualistic culture, as, I suspect, several of the cultures described as individualistic in Mead, 1937, should not have been. [181] [114]

46 433 sacre, the labor force actually observed in "my" group was a little more than 25% of that number, or 18, and neighboring groups were generally still smaller. These 154, 67, and especially the actual 18 workers, even if, at any given moment, *all* were working at subsistence activities, would be distributed over various parts of the 110 square miles of territory under the kind of dispersive habitat and technological conditions described. They are in fact so thinly scattered as to preclude any sort of continuing managerial functions.

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241 433 A consideration of the forms of the harvest surplus[39] is relevant to our discussion. Harvest surpluses must be considered with respect both to individual subsistence resources and to all subsistence resources taken together. In the annual cycle, there is considerable variation in the amount produced of any given crop, except for sweet and bitter manioc which together constitute perhaps 40% of the annual food supply of the Yaruro. Manioc produces throughout the year. Given that the manioc-growing areas are widely dispersed and that considerable labor is drawn from manioc areas by still more dispersed resources, it follows that most work units for manioc gardens will consist of only one or two men, each having their own swidden or sharing it with one or two others to supply themselves and their immediate families throughout the year. As might be expected, land tenure and land usage patterns are in accord with this inference. Occasionally small oscillations in the manioc crops may produce small harvest surpluses. These, at least nominally, belong to the man in whose swidden they grow and are his for disposal. The quantities, however, are exceedingly small, and present no problems of storage or disposal necessitating more centralized supervision and allocation. Most other resources display a similar pattern though to an even smaller degree. 262 Fish are obtainable, for the Cinaruco Yaruro, all year round with almost equal ease, though the Palmariteños have a more difficult time because of the grassy and muddy waters in the rainy season. Hunting windfalls and large pigs are the only animal sources which present harvest surpluses of any size. However, these are small enough so that they last at most two or three days, and they are so irregular both as to occurrence and as to personnel involved that no regular centralized [251] institutional mode of handling them is entailed. The virtual absence of meat storage [171] (for example, in the Trobriand Islands, in a good year, all the yams harvested cannot be eaten at once, nor can they be stored. Some portion of the crop is then lost by spoilage. We may construct, in terms of calories or other significant food values, two ratios:

[146 464] $\frac{C_h}{C_p}$ $\frac{C_c}{C_h}$

C — Calories
c — consumed
p — potential
h — harvested (= available for use)

The first may be used as a measure of the efficiency of the productive capacity of the technology; the second as a measure of the efficiency of the distributive capacity of the technology.

[39] The technological, producers, and harvest surpluses are defined in Harris, 1958, [114] and implied in Harris, 1959. They are dealt with in detail with respect to the Yaruro in Leeds, 1961. Other relevant discussions of surplus are found Sahlins, 1958; Jacobs and Stern, 1952, Ch VI.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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along the west-to-east flowing rivers in ribbons some kilometers wide. Most significant fauna and flora of economic use occur in these ribbons. This ecological distribution of resources governs subsistence activities whether they be mainly hunting, fishing, collecting, or horticulture.

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Yaruro subsistence comprises all these activities. (2). Horticulture in the rainy season appears considerably to outweigh all other sources of food together, but in the dry season, hunting, fishing, and collecting perhaps equal or outstrip horticulture. In any case, slash and burn gardening of manioc, corn, plantains, and a number of lesser crops is by far the single most important economic activity. The technology is exceedingly simple in all aspects of
[442] production, the main tools being the machete and digging stick. The most elaborate technology occurs in the conversion of food into edibles and in the manufacture of hammocks, pottery, objects of wood such as canoes, and woven containers of all types.

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The economic organization displays a sharp division of labor between men's and women's work. Men do all hunting and fishing, make all objects of wood, haul lumber and householding materials, make hammocks, and carry out the heavy labor of gardening. Women do most of the collecting of roots,
[222] seeds, and fruits. Since collecting contributes a substantial portion of the food supply in summer, woman's contribution, here, is of considerable communal importance. Women's work, a continuous activity from dawn to dusk, is, first, the conversion of raw foodstuffs into edibles. Second, women make all pottery, mats and baskets, the manioc squeezers, and much of the cord used to make hammocks. Another important contribution of women is their help in harvesting in the gardens. Men sometimes help the women with the cookery.

[476] Men may work alone, in groups of 2 or 3, or in larger groups on rare occasions. No occasion exists for all men to work at a single task since there is no technological need for it. Women's work groups for collecting or householding are of similar size. Work group alignments are often based on choice or
[592] accident but in other instances coresidence and kinship are determinants. The household, however, constitutes the only really necessary cooperative group for production. The man is a funnel for produce which the woman converts to

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(2) The present description applies to the Cinaruco River Yaruro where the major part of the writer's field work, supported by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, was done. The Capanaparo River Yaruro were reported by Petrullo (1939) and Le Besnerais (1948) as being hunters and gatherers, although Le Besnerais observed small horticultural patches which he claimed were diffusions from Venezuelan farmers which had occurred recently. Le Besnerais in 1954 states directly that they were horticulturalists, omitting any mention of possible diffusions from Venezuelans. The passing mention of horticulture by Fiasson (1947) confirms the present writer in his opinion that, although horticulture may be more restricted on the Capanaparo than on the Cinaruco and Cunaviche-Arauca (where the writer also spent several weeks) which are not discussed at all by Petrullo or Le Besnerais, nevertheless, the absence of horticulture is probably not aboriginal with the Yaruro as has been suggested by Kirchhoff (1948, p. 456). Rather the restricted gardening is a result of ecological conditions on the Capanaparo which are less favorable to horticulture than on the neighboring rivers, combined with extremely violent acculturation, including large-scale massacres of natives. The only other possibility, in my opinion, is that horticulture was introduced by the missionaries in the early part of the
[797 177] Eighteenth Century, which is certainly the period when the Yaruro first became acquainted with iron tools (cf Lodares, 1922).

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101 The Yaruro Indians, who among themselve call themselves by the term "pumę," live in the Venezuelan llanos, the tropical savannas that border the left bank of the Orinoco. They are fishermen, hunters, gatherers, and agriculturalists whose original culture has already greatly changed. All of their past
197 is not yet known. As to their dialect, it has not as yet been classified in any of the known South American linguistic fami-
● 114 lies. The observations that make up this article come from investigations made on the spot by the author between 1947 and 1950.

I. The Territory
(see Map 1)[1]

131 a) Boundaries.

At the present time the territory populated by the Yaruro Indians lies approximately between 6.30 and 7.30 degrees north latitude and 67 and 69.30 degrees west longitude.

The bulk of the population, which was the subject of our investigations, lives along the banks of the Capanaparo and one of its tributaries, the Riecito, that is, on some 400 kilometers of river.

The rest are dispersed north of the Capanaparo, on the Arauca, the Cunaviche, and the neighboring rivers, and, to the south, on the banks of the Orinoco between the mouths of the Capanaparo and the Cinaruco and near the rivers located between the Capanaparo, the Riecito, and the Cinaruco.

b) Neighbors.

101 The whole region located north of the Capanaparo, the banks of the Orinoco, and part of the banks of the Capanaparo itself -- going upstream, the northern part up to the junction with the Riecito and the southern part on 220 kilometers up to the Madre Vieja Basiliero -- are populated by Venezuelan peasants, the llaneros, who thus occupy part of the Yaruro territory.

[1][See p. 3. —Analyst]

/120 cont./

Y 16 These 519 Yaruro live along 400 kilometers of river, which gives an average density of 13 inhabitants for 10 kilometers of river. This average conceals considerable variance from one place to another in this part of their territory. On the first 220 kilometers of the Capanaparo starting from the mouth, that is, up to the last Venezuelan farm on the south bank (Madre Vieja Basiliero), the density is 10 inhabitants to ten kilometers. From kilometer 220 up to the mouth of the Riecito (near which the last Venezuelan farm on the Capanaparo is located) the density doubles and goes to 20.5 per ten kilometers and to 24.5 between this latter point and the mouth of the Rio Caribe. On the Riecito the density drops back to 9 inhabitants per ten kilometers of river.

V 16 The density of the Venezuelans on the two banks, between the mouth of the Capanaparo and the Riecito, allowing an average of eight inhabitants for each farm, is 13.5 inhabitants per ten kilometers of river up to the Madre Vieja Basiliero and 16 from the Madre Vieja Basiliero up to the Riecito.

We shall consider the interpretations that these figures have been given in another article.

Y 16 [114] For the rest of the Yaruro population dispersed to the north and south of this region, whom we have not visited, we can only rely on some estimates. With reference to the Cunaviche, who appear to have ten communities, Pastor Juan Van Kompen(2)

2. Evangelical missionary established at San Fernando de Apure, Apure State, Venezuela.

has quoted us a figure of 300, which is without doubt higher than the reality. The Indians on their part have given us a figure of 64 for five communities located between the Capanaparo and the Cinaruco, and for two others, one located between the Capanaparo and the Riecito and the other /121/ on the Cinaruco, respectively 17 and 11. These last estimates are certainly more accurate.

/7 cont./
121 carried by the latter the only causes for it, as was the case
174 for numerous tribes after the arrival of the Spaniards, or should one also search for other more distant ones?

/8/ Our investigations have not furnished us with any direct answer to these questions. We should not try to give any as long as there have not been carried out comparative studies of language--up to the present their dialect has not been linked with any of the known large linguistic families of South America --and culture with the other societies of tropical South America--and perhaps also of more distant regions. As for the ties which might have united them formerly with the Otomaco, for the same reasons we cannot say more about them than what they say themselves (see "infra": II Notes on the Otomaco) as a complement to Angel Rosenblat's study on the Otomaco and Taparita (2).

2. Id. 54.

b) Way of life

114 Relying on Vicenzo Petrullo's investigations (3), Alfred
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3. Id. 52.

Métraux (4) extends to the Yaruro the alternative he poses with

4. Id. 45.

regard to the way of life of certain tribes occupying the drainage basin of the Orinoco and the Amazon, which contrasts by its primitiveness--the absence of agriculture and nomadism--with that of the majority of the tribes of these same regions, who practice agriculture (5). He writes: "Are these Indians

/8 cont./

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5. This paragraph had been published when we learned of Anthony Leeds' articles (see "infra" IV List...42 and 43). The latter considers that agriculture, which exists among the Yaruro, as we acknowledge further along, was introduced by missionaries at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

descendants of the first inhabitants, hunters and gatherers who invaded South America at the beginning of the Neolithic Age, as Father Cooper suggests, or are they groups of Indians who after diverse vicissitudes have degenerated and adapted their civilization to a new way of life, as Levi-Strauss insists?"

121 Immigrants or not, hunters, fishers, and gatherers who evolved, or agriculturists who regressed, we shall not make a choice here between these alternatives and shall limit ourselves to presenting two observations which, gone into more deeply, will eventually permit opting in favor of one of the theses before us.

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241 1) The tropical savanna inhabited by the Yaruro, as a consequence of the absence of extensive forests, is hardly propitious for primitive agriculture. The latter could, however, be carried out there on a small scale.

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241 The Yaruro, in fact, and contrary to Vicenzo Petrullo's observations, are not only gatherers, fishers, and hunters, but also practice agriculture, in general on land cleared in the forest corridors. Petrullo probably did not observe this aspect of their way of life (6) because he carried out his investigations

6. We made, moreover, the identical error in the course of our first investigations (see "infra" IV List...40).

at the height of the dry season--when the soil /9/ is no longer

/9 cont./

114 productive and the Yaruro are living mainly on sandy shores, 121 leading the life of fishers and nomadic gatherers--and limited 241 them to the lower Capanaparo. There these Indians do not [64] work the land, or at least very little; apparently for reasons [464] linked with the proximity of Venezuelan peasants, such as: interdiction on the part of the latter who, with or without title, are masters of the land, the risk of being overrun by the free-roaming livestock, or simply work as peons on the farms, which would hardly allow them time to cultivate the land.

241 In fact, agriculture is only practiced on certain portions of their territory and particularly on those where they do not have contact with the Venezuelan peasants. This statement excludes at first sight the recent acquisition of it from the latter. Such a deduction is moreover corroborated by the accounts of the Jesuits (7) who lived for a while in the region in the eigh-

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

teenth century and who already described them as agriculturists--without specifying whether they had been before their arrival--and by the present Yaruro themselves, who affirm that they all formerly had conucos (8). But these points still do not

8. Kitchen gardens, in Venezuelan.

allow us to assert that they were in possession of the technique in the pre-Hispanic period.

172 2) The region, on the other hand, is rich in archaeological sites containing objects (pottery remains, figurines of baked clay and lignite, polished stone axes, funeral urns) which are of a completely different make from those made by the present-day Yaruro, who, moreover, do not recognize them as being of their making. Is it a question of remains of objects of forerunners or remains of objects of the Otomaco, who at the time of the Jesuits apparently lived in the present-day territory

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I. STATEMENT OF COMPLEMENTARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE COMMUNITIES OF THE YARURO (29)

29. For date of observations, location of communities on the Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, and description of habitation types, see "infra" IV List ...36.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30)					Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
On the Capanaparo River:									
1	Carlos José Delgado, then, after his death, his wife Severiana.	Santa Ana		2					According to Vicente Petrullo's (31) investi-
2	José Ledema	a) Lagunota abandoned for:		5					Same community as Petrullo's Lagunota (31).
	or Juan Esteban Bellas (in the absence of the former)	b) Potrerito	x (32)	x		x			which was situated beside the Venezuelan farm of Piedra Azul.
3	Adán Matute	Potrero Grande		4 to 6					The summer encampment located on a shore and not observed is called San Luis.

30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.

31. See "infra" IV List...52.

gations, the community was called Las Mercedes and was located near the Venezuelan farm of the same name.

31. See "infra" IV List...52.

32. "x" indicates unenumerated habitations.

6:Lc Besnerais--13a E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

6:Le Besnerais--13b E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...30. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
4	Marcelio Castillo	3 sites occupied simultaneously: a) Guacharaca		2					
		b) Agua Linda	2						
		c) Médano Alto		1					At the time of the observations (29), the site 28. /See footnote 29 above./ had only one type II 1 a habitation, temporarily occupied by one ♂, 2 ♀, and 2 children who were to return to Guacharaca.
5	Ramón Beltrán	Médano Alto		5		5			
8	Pedro Ramón Camacho (33)	a) Guamacho abandoned for:		3 to 4				x	
		33. The underlined names are those of higher chiefs (in Spanish: capitán mayor) with greater authority than the other chiefs (in Spanish: capitán menor). This authority generally extends to the neighboring communities sometimes directed by a capitán menor and grouped together on this table by wavy lines.							
	His actual authority over Ramón Beltrán is contested.	b) (island opposite it)		3 to 4				x	The island was later abandoned for a site farther upstream.

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
7	Ezequiel Pedroza	Merecurito		x		x		x	
8	Ramón Jesús Caravajal (named by the Venezuelans) (34) 34. "Named by the Venezuelans" means that he was designated or confirmed as chief by a representative of the Venezuelan authorities.	Magdalena							
		or Caravajal	2			x			
9	Antonio Perasa (named by the Venezuelans and not recognized by the Yaruro)	San José and San Luis	3			x			The winter habitations are invisible from the bank. The summer encampment located on a shore is at San Luis.
10	José Carmen Garcillo	2 sites occupied simultaneously a) Santa Rosa			1				
		b) Caño Amarillo	2						

6:Le Besnerais--13c E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
11	Andrés or Juan Pío (subordinate of Bernardino Agustín Lopez, surnamed Venado —see community no. 18)	Paso El Robo (briefly occupied) then simultaneously Vuelta Mala 1 and Vuelta Mala 2	x x			x x			
13	Santo Romillo Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Chaparal or (Vuelta Mala) or (Barranca)	2					x	The type I habitations are located 400/500 m. from the bank.
13	Jacinto Lopez father of the preceding (named by the Venezuelans)	El Rosario	1						The community is located near a forest and a spring of clear water coming from the savanna.
14	Judo Arcaya	Manguito	1						
15	Bernardino Agustín Lopez surnamed Venado; also has authority over Andrés or Juan Pío (see comm. no. 11). (no doubt named by the Ven.)	El Cedroso	2				1	1	The summer encampment is located on an island downstream from the mouth of the Riecito.

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...38.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
16	Ramón Díaz	El Calbote	3				5	3	The type I habitations are located about 300 m. from the bank.
17	Castillo	La Gavinera	5				x		
18	Simón Pacheco	Merecurito	1						
19	Simón Pacheco	Argentina	3			x			
20	Billegas	Argentina	x						The habitations are located on the savanna far from the bank.
21	Billegas	Garici	1 to 2			x			
22	José Lopes (named by the Venezuelans)	Matacaballo	3						The habitations are far from the bank.
23	Eloy	Monte Zamuro (La Patilla)		x		x			

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8:Le Beslerais--13f E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
On the Riecito River:									
24	?	?	2						The habitations are located about 200 m. from the bank.
25	Cecilio (Cecilito)	Manguito	6 to 7						The habitations are located 1 km. 600 from the bank. They are surrounded by mango trees.
26	Felipe (Felipito)	?	2			1		1	
27	Jerónimo	?	x					x	The summer encampment is set up under some trees.
28	Gregorio	?	1						
29	José Blanco	?	2			3		1	
30	Luis	?	4	1		5		8	

/17 cont./

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● [114] 24. Forneri, R.P., " 'Epitome' sur la langue yaruro /'Compendium' on the Yaruro Language/," annotated /18/ by Humboldt. (37). Work noted by:

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37. This work has been searched for in:
    1) Spain; without success at the National Library and at those of the Athenaeum and the Royal Palace (Madrid). The library of the "Real Academia de Historia" (Madrid) and the "Archivo de Indias" (Seville) have not given a definite answer.
    2) France; without success at the Bibliothèque Nationale and at that of the Musée de l'Homme (Paris).
    3) Italy (Vatican). Without success at the Jesuits' Library "Borgo S. Spirito" and at that of the "Propaganda Fide." The Vatican Library, which received the estate "Stefano Borgia" from the "Propaganda Fide," where the "Manuscrit sur la langue des Yaruro" (cf. 62) might well be, has not given a definite answer.
    4) U.S.A. Without success at the Library of Congress, in the National Union Catalog, which includes the books of some 500 libraries of the country, and at the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution (Washington).
    5) Venezuela. Without success in all the public and private libraries of the country.

a/ Hervas y Panduro, Lorenzo, Catálogo de las lenguas...(cf. 29).

b/ Oramas, Luis Ramón, "Contribución al estudio..." (cf. 48). (According to Oramas, Forneri's " 'Epitome'..." and the "Manuscrit sur la langue des Yaruro" (cf. 62) may be one and the same work).

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7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Some Problems of Yaruro Ethnohistory*

Anthony Leeds

I was first led to consider Yaruro history because the ethnographic phenomena I found differed radically from those described by Petrullo (1939 *a*). Only historical research could resolve these differences. I shall first examine the discrepancies, then turn to the kinds of historical sources relevant to resolving the problems and to some of the material already examined, and, finally, briefly discuss the direction that the results appear to be taking.

I

Petrullo, describes the Yaruro of the Capanaparo River as being hunters of river and llanos animals, fishers of river fish, and gatherers of seeds, roots, and fruits. He denies the presence of horticulture, except among a few "acculturated" groups. As far as the monograph informs us, he visited only Yaruro near the mouth of the Capanaparo and on islands in the Orinoco during the months of the dry season. He did not visit the Arauca, Cunaviche, upper Capanaparo, Riecito, and Sinaruco rivers, on all of which Yaruro are found today, and apparently have been living indefinitely into the past, according to old maps.[1] On the basis of the groups visited, he asserts that the Yaruro were not horticultural. Kirchhoff (1948 *a*: 456) repeats this assertion, adding that Gilij (1780-1784: Vol. 3) mentions the use of green corn — a sign, according to Kirchhoff, of the recent adoption of corn at that time. No basis is given for this statement. Le Besnerais, in several publications (1948; 1950*a;* 1951; and, with Dreyfus-Roche, 1954), repeats that the Yaruro were hunters and gatherers, but, in his most recent work (1950 *b;* 1954; Ms.; Personal communication,

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1 Cf. maps listed in the special section of the bibliography, many of which show the location of the Yaruro, Otomaco, Achagua ("as Chaguas"), Sáliva, Aruaca, Caribe, or a number of other tribes at various points in history.

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1959), on the basis of later field research, he completely rejects his previous stand.

In 1949, after his earlier publications, Le Besnerais (cf. 1954) made a census of the entire Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, discovering among other things:

A) That most Yaruro settlements had dry season locations on or near the river, banks or on the sand bars in the river, and wet season locations back from the rivers on higher sand dunes,

B) that there were corresponding house types for each kind of location,

C) that a great many of these settlements appear to have had two divisions mainly in the wet season locations — often at considerable distances from each other, sometimes very close,

D) that near all winter locations and in all settlements along the entire length of the Riecito and Capanaparo rivers gardens existed with standard crops mentioned in my own work (1961 *a*, 1962),

E) and, by implication, that these garden plots are not readily visible from the river nor from dry season locations.

Fiasson (1947), speaking of a trip probably made in 1943, mentions gardens for the Yaruro in the Capanaparo-Meta area. The missionary, Raymond Kook, showed me pictures in 1958 of gardens on the upper Sinaruco. And, in the neighborhood of the mission station, near Guachara and along the Caño del Medio and the Cunaviche River, all the Indians had horticulture. These Indians also reported gardens along the Arauca River. The linguist, Thomas P. Rootes, describes gardens along the Riecito and Sinaruco, and I have myself published in detail on Yaruro horticulture (1961 *a*).

In sum, present sources indicate horticulture for all Yaruro, going back at least to 1943 or 1946 and undoubtedly earlier — a period at maximum no more than twelve years after Petrullo's *dry-season* visit in 1934. It is hard to believe that the horticultural practice was diffused the length and breadth of Yaruro-land and integrated into a well-organized transhumance and even into the world view all in fifteen years. Nevertheless belief is not adequate proof. The only recourse is to try to resolve the problem by earlier evidence.

The second major difference between my findings and those of Petrullo relates to the asserted existence of matrilineal "clans", characterised, in localities, by a sib core of women and their children plus the locally-inmarried husbands. Nowhere in Petrullo is proof given for the *unilineality* which is implied by the term clan, though the *matrifocality* seems genuinely confirmed by the genealogies reproduced. Matrifocality is not congruent with matrilineality, and, try as I might, I was not able to establish the latter. I am not ready to assert that matrilineality therefore does not, or did not, exist but I was quite unable to elicit any evidence for it.

A related aspect is, of course, exogamy. Petrullo claims that marriage can only occur reciprocally between the two clans, marriage *within* which would

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constitute incest. I believe one can show from Petrullo's own genealogies that either incest occurred, possibly as a result of the process of depopulation, or that clan exogamy did not exist at all, since there were no clans, and the marriages concerned were not incestuous.

A third important feature that Petrullo asserts existed among the Yaruro is matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. Aside from the fact that, associated with the matriliny Petrullo's matriclans would possess, one would theoretically expect patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, if preferential cross-cousin marriage existed at all, I was unable to confirm unilateral cross-cousin marriage preferences but got statements of preference for bilateral cross-cousin marriage as well as reports of bilateral cross-cousin marriage and bilateral marriages between an ego and a parallel cousin's offspring.[2]

A fourth important feature discussed by Petrullo is totemism. The clans are assertedly connected respectively with the snake god Poanã and the jaguar god, Tió. Not only was I unable to confirm this, but the ethnographic evidence, on the whole, appears to contradict it directly. Totemism, for example, would be quite inconsistent with the social organization of the *toŋ'be* ceremony, the central socio-religious institution of the Yaruro which I have described elsewhere (1960, 1961 *b;* cf., also, Le Besnerais, 1951, 1950 *b*, and, with Dreyfus-Roche, 1954).

Thus we have not only ethnographic disagreement among three observers, but also the theoretical improbability of the original description which attaches matrilineal clanship to hunting and gathering nomadism, and to matrliateral cross-cousin marriage. Virtually all further published anthropological material on the Yaruro has taken the Petrullo report at face value. Some of these publications include a caveat about the report, but, unfortunately, others have, explicitly or implicitly, assumed its correcteness since they have used it as the starting point for historical, functional, or evolutionary reconstructions.[3]

Specifically the assertion is repeatedly made by Steward, Kirchhoff, and Steward and Faron that the Yaruro are one of a series of marginal tribes left over from an earlier wave of settlement and occupying interstitial areas among more advanced peoples. Steward (1946-1950, in various passages, esp. Vol. 5, pp. 678 *ff.*) tries to justify the marginal classification generally by designating characteristic traits present as well as those that should be absent. The Yaruro possess a large number of the latter, including horticulture, basketry, canoes,

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[2] The theoretical expectation of *patrilateral* cross-cousin marriage with matriliny is discussed in Homans and Schneider (1955, especially pp. 56-57) and elsewhere. The preference for bilateral marriage with cross-cousins or with offspring of parallel cousins is also found among the Jívaro (cf. Steward and Métraux, 1948, especially p. 626). This fact, with a great many similar traits of social organization and world view shared by the two cultures, is of considerable interest to the cultural origin of the groups discussed later in the paper where other parallels are mentioned.

[3] Cf. Kirchhoff, 1948, *a;* Steward, 1946-1950; Vol. 3, pp. 807-899; Vol. 5, pp. 669-679, *et passim;* Steward and Faron, 1959; Layrisse, *et al.*, 1961; Needham, 1960; Murdock, 1957.

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thatched houses, pottery, etc., all of which are, according to Steward, Tropical Forest traits, consistent with that possession of horticulture which Le Besnerais and I both found for the Yaruro. Kirchhoff (1948 *a*: 436) and Steward (1946-1950: Vol. 5, p. 680) try to reinforce this argument by stating that Gilij's Eighteenth Century mention of the Yaruro's practice of eating green corn is proof of their recently having acquired corn-planting.

One can, just as well, argue to the contrary that, had they borrowed corn-use from the Spanish or any tribe long-accustomed to the utilization of corn, they would never have thought of using it green at all but rather yellow in the manner of their cultural creditors. Judging by both historical and present-day reports[4] of raiding, a pattern which appears to have been substantially elaborated in the area, we may argue that the use of green corn was one way of saving the crop from neighboring human predators and possibly from animal ones as well. In other words, eating green corn can well be considered an adaptive use of corn, possibly in an old pattern, given the ecological relationships of the area.

The Layrisse, *et al.*, article (1961) dismisses the horticulture that Le Besnerais and I find as being of recent origin but gives no basis for this judgement except that it makes more consistent their correlation of a population having a low or absent Diego antigen frequency with an older culture-layer and with various asserted linguistic connections. Such a procedure is scientifically not valid as proof, however useful it may be to set up hypotheses.

II

Clearly the only *final* resolutions to the ethnographic discrepancies are historical ones, however much logic may convince us that the introduction of horticulture to all Yaruro groups and its integration even into their mythology and social life in the fifteen years between Petrullo's and Le Besnerais' visits is unlikely. As for the social organization problem, all possible documentary evidence must be brought to bear.

Three major sources of historical reconstruction are potentially available — archeology, lingustics, and written history — as well as several minor lines of evidence.

First, linguistic reconstruction of genetic relationships would provide us with better hypotheses. If Greenberg's tentative classification (1956; cf., also, Steward and Faron, 1959: 22-23) is correct, the Yaruro are related to the Jívaro, the Cofan, the extinct Esmeralda speakers, and others, all of whom were, or are, actively horticultural peoples though the last named were also

[4] Cf. both Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*, and the sources he cites; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961; also my own observations.

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significantly hunters and fishers. The distribution of these peoples suggests a geographical radiation from a common location that is implied as well by the relationships among the languages — probably from the west or southwest of present Yaruro country. Work on the centuries of separation, on the degrees of relationship of these languages among themselves and to other groups of the putative Andean-Equatorial family is urgently needed as is archeology in the supposed area of radiation.

Second, archeology would provide most interesting evidence. Petrullo (1939 *b*) collected a series of artifacts, mainly potsherds, which suggest a degree of culture well beyond minimal Tropical Forest level. Le Besnerais (Ms.) mentions not only the variety of potsherds to be found but also polished stone axes and funerary urns (cf., also, Vernau, 1901). I myself saw an immense number of crude, friable, slipped potsherds; many potsherds generally of the Arauquín type; a polished stone celt; a polished stone mano, beautifully made (cf. photo), and so on. None of these objects, except the crude potsherds, have been found in situ, but the Indians assert that they dig them up all the time.

The archeological items would suggest that cultures previously in the area, whether Yaruro or not, were horticultural. Though no archeology of any kind has been done in the South Venezuelan llanos, these meager indications suggest that the Kirchhoff-Steward hypothesis is erroneous since the Yaruro of our times could not be a remnant of aboriginal hunters and gatherers if the area was previously at a much higher cultural level. The general hypotheses of Cruxent and Rouse (1958-1959: 263 *ff.*) — especially that relating to a fusion between a western corn area and an eastern manioc area — would further tend to cast doubts on the whole Handbook scheme since the obvious routes for this fusion to have taken place are the great east-west llanos rivers. Archeological work is desperately needed here, and seems to me of central theoretical importance. It is hard to understand why so many workers have skirted the area.[5]

Before turning to written history I wish to take up some minor lines of evidence which are suggestive for the resolution of the ethnographic discrepancies. One has to do with the content of the ideology. Quite a number of items such as the earth mother, the ancestor cult, the serpent rainbow, the anaconda god, and so on (cf., Antolínez, 1939; Steward and Métraux, 1948, esp. p. 628; etc.), appear to connect the Yaruro with tribes to the west and southwest including the Chibcha and the Jívaro.

[5] No one has done systematic work in the llanos. Only sporadic finds have been made there (e. g., Petrullo, 1939 *b*; Vernau, 1901). The intensive archeological fieldwork has all been in the great circle around the llanos (cf. a great many works by Cruxent cited in Cruxent and Rouse, 1958-1959; Evans and Meggers, n.d.; Howard, 1943; Kidder, 1944; Marcano, 1893; Meggers and Evans, 1955; Osgood, 1943; Osgood and Howard, 1943; Rouse, 1956; Rouse and Cruxent, 1957, and many other Rouse articles listed in Cruxent and Rouse, 1958-1959. Cf., also, unpublished work by P. Gallagher, by M. Sanoja, and by E. Wagner.

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Second is the rate of deculturation. It is quite clear from comparing the material culture items observed by Petrullo with those that I observed, as well as from the present distribution of culture traits, which shows a gradient of trait loss as one goes from less acculturated to more acculturated groups, that the Yaruro once had a more elaborate culture content than at present. Though temporal extrapolations backwards can of course only be securely made by means of the written historical sources, items gleaned here and there from sources so far examined tend to confirm the inference from spatial distributions.[6] The implication of this is that the Yaruro were formerly considerably more complex, at least in their cultural content if not also in their cultural structure, than at the periods of ethnographic observation.

Third, a series of arguments concerning the ecological relations of the Yaruro to the land, and of the various tribes to each other and the food supply, could be presented which would suggest ecological specialization by tribal or subtribal groups among the Yaruro, Sáliva, Guahibo, Kuiva, Achagua, and Otomaco, all in a complex system (cf. Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*).

Fourth, an interesting ecological argument can be made which would resolve the disagreement about horticulture: that Petrullo's statement regarding horticulture might possibly be correct for the small, highly special area he studied and — the Orinoco sand bars and the estuary of the Capanaparo River in which wet-season flooding appears to be exceedingly extensive, hence sharply limiting horticultural possibilities — but that they do not apply to other zones of the llanos which do not have the ecological peculiarities of the river-mouth area.[7] I have discussed some aspects of this in previous publications, especially with regard to the importance of flooding, the area of gallery forest available for horticulture, and the pattern of transhumance (Leeds, 1961 *a*, especially pp. 13-18). An ecological-geographical survey of the entire region between the Orinoco highlands and the Andean spurs to the west is needed.

III

We may now turn to the question of written historical evidences. No published work on the Yaruro or the llanos has made use of much more than a dozen

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[6] Cf. Crévaux, 1883: 570; Carrizso, 1910: 59; Acosta Saignes, 1961: 97, etc., as well as the loss of culture traits observable between Petrullo's and my visits.

[7] That this area is rather unique is clearly indicated by many maps which represent it as entirely flooded or as a welter of water-ways (cf. Gumilla, 1791). Acosta Saignes, in a foreword to Carvajal, points out that it was quite simple to mistake one river for another since, at least during the rainy season, they all flowed into each other near the mouth. The flooding makes any ordinary gardening impossible for a large part of the year. The hypothesis tends, however, to be contradicted by Le Besnerais's findings (1954; also, Leeds, 1961 *a*). It may be noted that in the almost absolutely flat Guachara area, between the Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, at the Indian village of Palmarito much of the llanos floods. The loamy-mud soils are excellent for crops, but crops are only grown in those areas which remain a few inches or a foot or two above highest rainy-season water-level.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

social features reported, ideological features reported, and relations with other tribes mentioned. The card sets will be arranged by geographical location of the tribe so that for any given time period one may pull out all the sets and arrange the tribes in their spatial order. Thus for any time period a picture of the trait distributions, cultural-ecological conditions, inter-tribal socio-ecological relations, and acculturational-social contacts and events should be obtainable.

V

Though, to date, I have been concerned mainly with collecting bibliography and documentary materials rather than with their analysis, I should like to hazard several very tentative conclusions, or perhaps guesses, with respect to the ethnohistory of the llanos, and particularly of the Yaruro, based on the geographic, ethnographic, archeological, linguistic, and historical data known to me now. Some, however, are presented more as hypotheses for proof or disproof through continued research.

First, Petrullo's description is erroneous at least as respects the subsistence economy. Late Nineteenth Century travellers like Crévaux and Vela and several persons in this century mention horticulture. Still earlier reports go back to the earlier Eighteenth Century when missionaries speak of horticulture. Their reports apply to the Yaruro, Otomaco, Guahibo, and other groups. It has not yet been possible to decide whether they introduced or found horticulture among these peoples. Petrullo's error appears to have several explanations:

A) That he was incapacitated for several weeks by sore feet and was unable to travel about the land away from the rivers. In my experience, a careful criss-crossing of the land on foot is an absolute necessity if one is to know how these peoples carry on their subsistence activities. I have paced off with a pedometer the entire area used by the group I worked with. In the course of so doing I discovered all kinds of gardens, houses, and other evidences of their land use. These would not otherwise have been discovered by an observer nor mentioned by the Yaruro, since mainly what is physically present is, to them, worthy of mention.[10] I should say a great portion of my most important data came from such accidental discoveries made while walking about.

[10] I would stand at a certain spot in a garden and ask "Whose garden is this?" "Juan's." Then I might walk perhaps ten feet and say, "Juan keeps his garden well." "But this is not Juan's garden." "You just said that this was Juan's garden." "That was over there on the other side of that row of corn." This happened a number of times. I also asked once, "Is there female shamanism here?" "No." Several days later, a group from an neighboring village came to visit. After an all-night session of the *ton'be*, several women performed shamanistic rites. I said, "I thought you said there is no female shamanism here?" "There isn't anyone here [i. e. in our locality] who practices — these women are from upstream." The same cleaving to locus was observed with respect to time. I was told that Miguel was a shaman ("musico"). I said "Miguel, are you not a musico?" "I am not a musico. I cannot sing." A few weeks later, he was singing. I said,

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

B) Petrullo restricted his visits to the sand banks along and in the river, and, after his first arrival, most of his travelling was done on the streams. Gardens are never to be found on the sand banks and bars, but rather, usually, on the affluent creeks which are just above flood level of the rivers in the rainy season. Therefore he was not in a position to see the gardens which Le Besnerais later saw in the same area when he explored back from the river.

C) Petrullo was in the llanos in the dry season when the Yaruro move nearer the rivers both to secure a water supply as the water table lowers and to avail themselves of the much more plentiful and accessible river fauna[1] at a time when vegetable harvests are reduced because of drought. He was therefore observing dry-season subsistence — and perhaps only a part of it.

D) The probability that he observed only a part of the dry-season subsistence pattern in his area is reinforced by two considerations:

1) He reports the fact that 150 Yaruro had been massacred by Venezuelans a month before his arrival (p. 181). Their response under such circumstances is, as fast as possible, to get off the land that the Venezuelans want and to move to the rivers. I myself had occasion to observe such a diaspora, occurring in response to a smaller massacre. In view of this sort of response, it is likely, therefore, that Petrullo's group was living off river resources and away from their gardens at the time of his visit.

2) Maps indicate that in the lower part of the Capanaparo River, the flooding is greater and the number and size of side creeks suitable for horticulture is smaller than upstream on any of the large rivers. In other words, the available area for garden plots is much smaller, and riverine subsistence proportionately more important. Upriver, and more especially on the Sinaruco and on the middle and upper Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, there is much more tillable ground.

"I thought you said you could not sing and were not a musico?" "Yes, that was true last week when I had the grippe, but now my grippe is better I can be a musico again." And many similar examples of the extreme caution one needed to exercise regarding negative responses in order to be sure they were not merely descriptive of the place and moment. If Petrullo asked "Do you raise crops?", his informants would most likely have said, "No, we have no crops here", under the circumstances in which he found them.

[1] The river fauna is more plentiful and accessible in dry season because, first, it is more concentrated, and, second, it is more visible. During the wet, flooding season, fish, and other animals spread even into smaller streams and out upon the watery llanos — we caught a small piranha on the grassy, watercovered plain itself. On the plains, the fish are lost among the grasses and are virtually impossible to spear or shoot with bow and arrow. The river turbulence of the rainy season, meanwhile, has brought so much mud from further upstream that many of the rivers are opaque, especially in those parts of the llanos constructed of mud rather than sandy soils. Fish and the water reptiles and mammals are well-cloaked by the murky stream. The waters and the plains clear in the dry season so that the fish are concentrated in the limpid, grassless waters of the rivers, while land animals and riparian fauna are all crowded together near the banks in their search for food and water.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

and warfare as supra-tribal distribution mechanisms. It is interesting to note that the cultural characteristics ascribed to each of the peoples — "warlike," "peaceable," "brabo" — are ecologically funcional, in that they mirror value orientations which tend to drive people to maximize the food resources in ways appropriate to their socio-ecological environments.

Fourth, the evidence seems to me at present to point to the existence throughout the area, of pre-hispanic horticulture, enjoyed by at least some groups within each tribe, if not by all groups in part of every year. The evidence comes from the reports of travellers, missionaries, and from the archeological remnants, such as they at present are. The main Spanish and Venezuelan acculturational effects with respect to subsistence appear to have been the introduction of iron tools; seeds and plants not of native origin, such as sugar cane and bananas; and, here and there, cattle, pigs, or chickens.

Fifth, the evidence suggests a steady deculturation in an area capable of maintaining a more elaborate level of culture. One may hypothesize either that groups like the Yaruro came into the area with a level of culture reflected by the Arauquín-style remants and then gradually deculturated both pre-hispanically and in post-conquest times, to their present level, or that they intruded into such a culture at a time when they themselves were at a more elaborate level, and then deculturated largely under Spanish influence. It will probably be possible to shed light on this question with the historical data.

In summary, if these hypotheses are correct, the entire interpretation of the llanos area between the Andes and the Orinoco highlands, as well as of other nearby areas assertedly inhabited by so-called marginal tribes, is quite different from that presented by the *Handbook of South American Indians*. The marginals of northern South America seem to evanesce, and a picture of a highly complex ecological system in which horticulture is of central importance, even if not quantitatively predominant in this ecologically restricted area, appears. This picture seems to conform better to the recent archeological hypotheses of Cruxent and Rouse (1958-1959), to the historical mentions of horticulture, to the presently scanty archeological and linguistic materials, and to more recent ethnological data.

I have not, as yet, been able to make any determination whatever with respect to clanship, totemism, or matricross-cousin marriage. I hope that with a study of the word lists discovered and with possible older ethnographic data that this problem may be resolved. My own field data suggests an organization into demes with bilateral marriages between cross-cousins or between an ego and his parallel cousin's offspring. This interpretation incidentally tallies with, or at least does not contradict, the data, such as the genealogies, kin terminology, and locality features described by Petrullo in all pasages where inferences and assertions as to the existence of these institutions do not occur.

1: Petrullo E-8 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

791 ordinary citizen, receiving no compensation except the respect given
787 to an old man and a moral teacher. In the second place, shamanism
157 is a lifetime activity, and it would seem improbable that one would create such a life for himself which he would have to live until death if he were not suited to it. I saw cases of men who were striving to be shamans, some young and some old, with great regret admitting that they could not see the religious visions that others more successful had seen. In a primitive society such as that of the Yaruros, where life values are simple and evident to every one, where the intimacy existing between its members is thorough, there is very little incentive and very little opportunity for pr[illegible]ge.

791 Landaeta, my chief informant among the shamans, claimed that
787 he did not remember the specific events that he "dreams" when he
115 sang and that he could not sing during the day, nor could he remember the songs. He himself had to be told by the others what happened during a shamanistic performance. Thus he could tell me neither the words nor the tunes. I had to wait for another performance to try to take down both. Since the words were conversations between the shaman and the spirit forces, and thus varied at each performance, he was right. Yet there is a musical pattern and undoubtedly a word pattern also.

791 In the matter of making the sacred objects, he claimed that only
787 those who have "dreamed", have had religious experience, can make
531 them. Thus he himself was carving the rattles, and claimed that no
778 one else among his people could carve them. Some, like his nephew and son-in-law Juan Garcia, were learning.

791 At Landaeta's death probably the shaman will be either Brigido
787 Tovar, his son, or Juan Garcia, his nephew and son-in-law. Legend
554 favors the son, but Landaeta looks to Garcia. However, it is the son who sang behind the shaman in this case, but Garcia has had religious experiences already.

Landaeta himself claims that he sang behind his uncle for a long time without a moracca. Finally he had a "dream" and he was permitted to use a moracca. This religious experience is absolutely necessary to a future shaman.

791 That the shaman follows certain patterns of song, ritual, dream,
533 and revelation is quite certain, and it is these patterns that are trans-
787 mitted to the neophyte. Both dreams and revelations always have some bearing on current problems, and in fact attempt to solve these problems.

During a shamanistic performance the first songs describe the journey of the shaman's soul to the Land of Kuma. Upon reaching the desired land the shaman shakes his rattle violently and the songs

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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787 shaman eventually returned to us, being fed and greeted with affection by all.

The singing stopped at 6 o'clock. A number of rather remarkable facts are to be emphasized.

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796 1. By actual count the shaman sang no less than 3,000 musical phrases and verses and about 800 stanzas without any breaks or rest, ever changing the words, and subject matter, and jumping from one thing to another at a very fast tempo. How the shaman could make up his verses so quickly, while the people repeated the previous verse, is not easy to understand.

2. He shook the rattle without ceasing a moment, with the same sidewise motion of the hand, most violently for nine and a half hours.

[516] 3. He sat in the same posture—left leg doubled under him, right leg in cross-leg position, for the entire time. Not once did he move.

[276] 4. He smoked the long cigars with the thick leaves without taking them out of his mouth, producing so much smoke that I choked and my eyes smarted from it. He must have smoked at least 75 of them, and probably over a hundred. He smoked 35 cigarettes, in addition, in the same way.

[273] 5. He drank about 2 gallons of unfermented crushed maize in water.

The music was spirited and had a swing with the emphasis on the off beat that is as effective, if not more so, than the negro spiritual.

After the all-night singing there was a lull in the morning, everyone snatching a wink of sleep, but by the time I had finished writing and medicating my foot the men crowded around to tell me of the night's experiences. At noon the women started singing, sitting in their hammocks, and they kept this up until late in the day. They were singing mostly about me. I noticed that their songs seemed to be of a simpler sort and more monotonous than those of the men, generally consisting of one verse repeated over and over again to form the stanza. They sang in the women's language. [198]

JUAN BARIO ON THE EVENTS OF THE NIGHT

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796 Panemé Tsió brought a horse for the shaman to go to Kuma's house. Panemé Tsió is represented as a sort of "boss" of the figurines found in the sands. Then came the father of Fernando. He said that they should live well here and warned him not to mistreat his wife (talking to son-in-law). Then came the father of Brigida. He said that the new wife of his grandson should treat her husband well and vice versa. Then came a brother of Brigida. He said that he is wealthy in Kuma's land, possessing cattle and horses. Then came the mother of Brigida. She counseled her grandchild not to

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

115 787 776

mistreat his new wife, otherwise even his relatives in Kuma's land will lose their riches. She told Juan Bario, her brother, that she greeted him, that mother was happy (dead). Then came Garcia, the brother of Juan. He said that he had gone to the house of Kuma without having seen his relatives before dying (he died without being attended during his illness); that he was buried without even clothing, and thus he arrived at Kuma's without anything (his clothing was actually stolen); that the grandfather (father of Juan Bario) came to take him to Kuma's land since his uncle was far away and busy and did not know of the sickness (father rarely is mentioned as taking care of children).

Then came Itciai on horseback, shoes, hat, etc. He came to greet us, and said that he came to greet me also since I was also a Pumeh; he told Juan Bario to interpret what he was saying to me, since I didn't understand Yaruro very well; he loved me and my family very much; that he loved a man who visited his people with love in his heart like me; that when the world ends he will not be like the others but like you will be made rich in Kuma's land; to explain to me, since I lived near him, that his wife, son, and family are well and waiting for me; that he had made the world to live in as this man lived; that I was a very good man and knew very much, that is why I was waiting with a cigar for him; that Hatchawa was coming.

787 776

Hatchawa came on horseback, with bow and arrow, shoes, and gold necklace. He said: "I have come to greet this man and all of you. What do you say and think of this man? Isn't it true that he loves you? The man came with love for you. There are no people like him about here. He is like you of the same family. Puaná will come now."

Puaná came on horseback, which makes a noise like the anaconda, "teio, teio"! "I have come to greet the man and you. Didn't you in his land? He has come with love for you. He is of your family; take care of him. Raise him as one of your family. He knows a great deal, like the shaman. That is the reason that he sings as you do. I have watched from very near. He lives in a land just like mine, mountainous and very beautiful. Where he lives it isn't warm as here. Sometimes it is very cold. Ask him if he wants a drink. Kuma is coming to get you."

[539]

Kuma arrived and said:

"How are you? The man has come here as I want it to be. He is of our family, not like the people about here. That is the reason he loves you so much. He knows as much as the shaman; that is why he is waiting with a cigar ready. That is as I like people to be. Tell him that when the earth ends he won't live here in a cold world like the (?) but will live with you and like you very rich. He is of our family. Where he lives is very beautiful. For this reason I made this earth that people like him should live on it. For this reason I told Puaná to come to greet him, for I love him very much."

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Then came the father of Juan Bario on horseback. He said:

"I greet you. I am waiting for you. Your land is poor now but Kuma's land is good and rich. When you die you will be born in Kuma's land. I was living here with you, I died here, but I was alone in Kuma's land where I am wealthy. See, you are poor. I was the same way. It is different in Kuma's land. There is much cattle and horses. Live well with your wife. Treat her well. Kuma does not want you to do otherwise."

Then the shaman returned on horseback.

There is great reluctance on the part of the shaman to sing unless there is a strong reason for it. During my stay with the Yaruros many occasions presented themselves to justify the holding of shamanistic performances.

On one occasion I returned to camp after an absence of two days. This was enough. I arrived at their camp about 7.30 in the evening. Landaeta greeted me affectionately and then told me that he and his people considered me a member of the family. The women came to put their arms about me in greeting. Landaeta in one of his mystical moods talked of the beauty of the small fire with turtle roasting; of the sands glistening in the moonlight; the araguato monkeys which were roaring in the distance; the occasional birds that sang in the night; the toninos came up to blow and splash in the river. All of this fitted in with the soft murmur of women speaking, and laughing in the darkness. An occasional misfortune, such as dropping a sackful of stuff, brought merry laughter on everybody's part. The crunching of the sand gave notice that the women were digging deep to reach moist sand in which to bury the leaves to be used as cigar covers. Soon all of us, men, women, and children, were smoking.

The rest of Landaeta's people arrived in canoes. They sat on the sand with us. Landaeta talked with them at length. At a point he arose. His wife handed him some objects. He walked away to the west, immediately followed by one of his sons and a young nephew. He returned after a while, minus his trousers, wearing the shaman's breechclout and cap.

He went to sit alone at the bottom of the sand bank. After some time his wife gave him a cigar. He continued to sit alone and silent. At a sign his son and nephew took a slender pole and planted it in the sand. They retired. Men and women continued talking. After some time Landaeta rose, stood before the pole, smoking, facing it and the east. Several stars began to rise. He stood in front of the pole for some time. Then he weakly began to sing. After two songs his wife came to plant a shorter pole to the west of the long one, and hung from it a basket. Landaeta continued standing still and singing, pausing briefly between songs. His son went to stand behind him, his nephew at the left side of the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Landaeta, a shaman, weaving a hammock. Hammocks are made by men.

(End Plate 9)

/117 cont./

3. The Population.

a) Demography (see Tables III, IV, and V).

162 On the Capanaparo and the Riecito we have taken a census of 519 Yaruro (29 communities out of 30). Two-thirds (65.1%) of this population are adults (we do not have a breakdown by age) and the remainder (34.9%) prepuberal children. Among the adults the sexes are divided into two almost equal figures: 173 (51.2%) are men and 165 (48.8%) women. We have the /118/ /Table III appears here/ /119/ /Table IV and Table V appear here/ /120/ breakdown by sexes for children only in five communities; the totals for each of them gives us, there also, twofigures which are practically equal: 23 male children to 21 female.

163 165 Our statistics on births and mortality bear on only three communities with a total of 38 inhabitants in 1947; they are thus rather imprecise. During the period 1947 to 1950, i.e., during three years, we registered 6 births and 9 deaths (6 adults--2 men and 4 women--and 3 young children), that is, two births for three deaths (150% mortality) or, for the total population of the three villages, the respective percentages of 15.8% births and 23.7% deaths. The young children who died comprise one-third of the total of deaths (33.3%) and one half of the total births, which gives, for these 38 Yaruro, a 50% infant mortality.

161 On the basis of these statistics the Yaruro are on the way to extinction. This appears to be confirmed by the Indians themselves who state that they were formerly more numerous and that their number is going down each year. "We die with the first sickness," our old informant, Pedro Ramon Camacho (1)

[115] [756]

1. Head and shaman of community 6.

told us, "and that's why there are so few of us. We are disappearing."

[text continues on p. 16].

/10 cont./

II. Notes on the Otomaco

101 From information gathered principally from Pedro Ramón
186 Camacho (10) it seems that the Otomaco or Tomaco were the

[115] [622] [756]

10. Chief and shaman of community No. 6, our best informant.

object on the part of the Yaruro of a regard completely different from that they had for the other Indians who were their neighbors (11).

101

11. In addition to the neighbors already cited in a previous article (see "infra" IV List...36) names of other Indians, known, it seems, by the Yaruro, were mentioned to us by various informants in the course of our investigations. Some appear to live at present in Colombia; the Mayaredo or Mayarero, "very far to the west of Yaruro territory, there where the savanna ends," which no doubt means at the foot of the Andes; the Saliba and Taparito cya koromę more particularly on the upper Meta; and the Tiapaco; Tiarua, and Mapoyó without fixed localization. The others seem to have disappeared: the Piquero (tabę pumę in Yaruro), who "cultivated conucos and had a game with a ball" and seem to have inhabited the banks of the Orinoco on the Cinaruco side, and the Guamo, Tamanaco, Tamanachi, and Guaruro.

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The Yaruros of the Capanaparo River, Venezuela

By VINCENZO PETRULLO

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Preface

122 The material for this report was gathered by the second Venezuelan Expedition of the University Museum, of the University of Pennsylvania, 1933–34. The field trip to the Yaruros lasted three months. Mr. Arthur P. Rossi and Señor Carlos Defendini of Caracas participated in the work of the expedition for short periods of time. My thanks go to both.

670 It is impossible to list all of those friends who helped the expedition in its work, for to do everyone justice I should have to include many whose names I never learned or whom I knew only by their first names. The Caraqueños were most kind and generous but the Llaneros no less; and later when I came in contact with the Andinos I found them no different. I thank, therefore, the whole Venezuelan people for their wholehearted hospitality and the facilities which their Government put at the expedition's disposal.

I am especially indebted to Dr. Alfredo Jahn, who not only put his library at my disposal but gave me an insight into Venezuelan anthropology. He compiled the bibliography on the Yaruro language. My thanks go also to Dr. Gumersindo Torres for many introductions and much friendship; to Mr. Rudolph Dolge, whose vast library was always at my disposal; to Señor Don Manoel Sanchez for hospitality at his ranch and permission to excavate an archeological site on his property; to the Phelps family.

The expedition is further indebted to the United Fruit Co. for transportation to Baranquilla; to the Venezuelan Oil Co. for information about the llanos.

The Department of State and the Pan American Union introduced the expedition to the Venezuelan Government and scientific bodies. I am especially indebted to the Honorable Sumner Welles, Undersecretary of State; to the Honorable George T. Summerlin, at that time American Minister to Venezuela; to the late Mr. George Orr, Consul General to Caracas, who took more than an official interest in the work of the expedition; to Dr. L. S. Rowe, Director of the Pan American Union; and to Dr. E. Gil Borges, formerly Assistant Director of the Pan American Union. I thank also the Academia de Ciencias Matematicas, Fisicas y Naturales, whose members, in addi-

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tion to generously putting their information at my disposal, honored me with membership in the academy.

Miss Tatiana Proskouriokoff is responsible for the drawings of the shaman's gourd rattles; my brother, John S. Petrullo, organized the field notes during my illness; without the generous assistance of Miss Paula M. Jenkins and Mrs. Elisabeth Ives Jordan the manuscript would not have been made ready in time for the printers; Jane B. La Coste read the proofs.

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THE YARUROS OF THE CAPANAPARO RIVER, VENEZUELA

By Vincenzo Petrullo

Introduction

121 The American primitive aborigines are rapidly becoming extinct. Some groups are dying out, and others are being assimilated in the lowest laboring classes of the various nations. In any case, the American aborigines, as first found by the sixteenth century explorers, are rarely met today. Only in a few spots, difficult of access or geographically undesirable to the Euro-American, can one find a few primitive peoples still eking out an existence as did their ancestors of four centuries ago. Some of these groups have had intermittent contact with European culture; others do not even know of it at first hand. It is these tribes which can furnish the key to many problems of American anthropology and to some extent to world anthropology, but there is need for haste in studying them, for they may not survive this generation.

511 A simple hunting and fishing culture is the most primitive economic existence. When such a culture has not been able to lift itself above the wood, shell, and bone stage, it should be ranked among the primary. The presence of the bow and pottery may lift a culture slightly above the Australian, but not very much so. The Yaruro culture described in the following pages can be classified as being on that level. Certainly it is as primitive as the Fuegian. The Yaruros, like most tribes of the South American tropical lowlands, have been handicapped by lack of stone in the country. Wood, shell, and bone were [177] substituted until they came in contact with iron. Today they obtain scraps of iron, which they have learned to fashion into arrow points, from the cattle ranchers, but they would have done just as well without this new material.

911 361 A people like the Yaruros are forced to economize in every aspect of their material culture. Literally they may have only that which they are able to transport with them. All the worldly possessions of each family must be crowded into one small dugout canoe. The

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superfluous needs to be dispensed with every time camp is moved, which occurs every few days. Only in thoughts and feelings can they be as rich as any other people; but this requires a particular kind of temperament possessed by only a few individuals in the tribe.

Their economic life, social organization, mythology, and religion form a well-knit pattern of existence. There are no loose ends, but a knot here and there appears in the form of vagueness or contradiction. But I think that the fault lies with us who would introduce our type of organization into their knowledge. We expect more from a primitive group than we ourselves could offer. Besides, it is doubtful whether we ever present the picture of their culture as they see it; if we did we might not understand or we might even be surprised at its orderliness.

Although the Yaruros have been in touch with Euro-American culture for several centuries they have borrowed remarkably little. What culture they possessed several centuries ago we do not know. There is practically no information about them in the literature. There is justification, therefore, in publishing this record, in spite of many apparent deficiencies. Since plans for another visit to fill in the gaps in my field notes have not materialized and the Yaruros may be gone before another ethnologist can live with them it seems advisable to make this material available.

Anthropology, among other things, is concerned with the interrelationships of groups of men and with the functions of social structures as developed by man and his environment. I have tried to keep in mind that in presenting a first account of an unknown people it may not be at all out of place to draw a general but intimate picture of the daily life of the Yaruros, their emotional, cognitive and conative responses to the world about them, and even their attitude toward the ethnologist who appeared among them with only the objective of holding friendly conversations about themselves. At first they were suspicious, but they soon caught the point and enjoyed the experience as much as I did. An attempt has been made to give these pictures, and to explain the series of events which made possible with these nomads the intimate association that followed the first few days of unfriendliness.

No attempt has been made to reconcile differences in the information obtained from various informants, not even if there is a contradiction. It was the first time that the Yaruros had been asked to organize their knowledge of their own culture; contradictions and vagueness were to be expected. My informants were exclusively men, even for those phases of culture which admittedly belong to the female world. A cultural obstacle which I respected prevented any direct social intercourse with the women. The women's domain is respected by the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

123 men. A female ethnologist might get an interesting, and perhaps different, picture of Yaruro culture. I do know that there were many things, especially in the field of shamanism, from which I was shut off. The Yaruros saw this and the women relayed a pressing request that on my next visit to them I bring my "wife" (I have none!), with whom they could lie on the sands at night and tell things about their world similar to what their men told me.

My visit took place in the months of February, March, and April of 1934. Several species of intestinal parasites acquired in Brazil not only precluded my roaming about the countryside, but forced the Yaruros to attend me day and night for many weeks, giving ample opportunity—once it lasted for thirty-four consecutive hours—to talk. A sedentary life is so foreign to a nomadic people that this chance to corner them for "talk" was too good to miss. In fact, after a while it was becoming too much for them, and besides, hunting in the area became impractical. Everything considered, we reached a saturation point and I started on my way back. Many of these friends may be dead by now.

The Yaruros and Their Country

YARURO DAILY LIFE

101 131 181 Peaceful and mystical, the Yaruros, or Pumeh as they call themselves, wander up and down the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers (fig. 15) gathering their daily dinner and thinking about the life awaiting them in the Land of Kuma when they leave this world.

361 133 As dawn breaks over the hills of Guiana we may discover a Yaruro camp on one of the sandy beaches of the Capanaparo River about a day's journey by canoe from where it flows into the Orinoco. It appears as a dark blotch on the wind-packed white sands at a distance of some 50 yards from the water's edge and more than that from the wall of vegetation which marks the bank of the river during the rainy season and hides the open savanna country beyond. The camp gives no sign of life until the sun shows clearly in the sky. Then we see that it consists of some leafy branches and 3-foot sticks bare of bark thrust in the sands, casting long shadows in the early morning to where the vultures are fighting among themselves at the refuse heap located to the west of the camp; or the white vulture, the "king," may be seen feasting alone while his black brethren await disconsolately on the side.

361 As the light becomes stronger we make out under the branches piles of debris, recumbent human forms, and mangy dogs tied to the sticks. The debris consists of baskets and pots, with here and there small

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

cheesecloth contraptions no more than 2 feet high under which human beings are sleeping half buried in the sand.

Approaching the river, we see canoes pulled up on the sands and discover that there is more debris close by, but its owners are not in sight. In the water close to the canoes are turtles with their hind legs tied to the front ones. Some of these are also fastened to the canoes, by means of strings which pass through holes drilled in their carapaces. They make fruitless efforts to move away whenever anyone comes near to them.

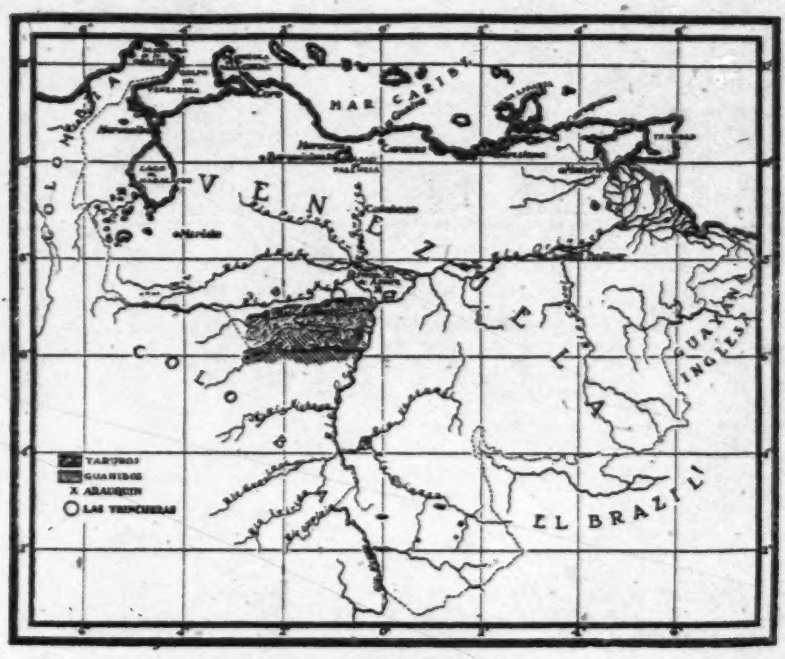

FIGURE 15.—Map of Venezuela.

It is not a large camp, and the sleepers do not number many. As we look around us they appear to be insignificant and lost in immense space, so distant and even is the horizon. Only to the east do we see a wall of shadow rising a little above the horizon. It is all that can be seen of the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco not far away. In the early morning light they look like mountains, though they are only a few hundred feet high.

The awakening of a Yaruro camp is quiet, almost surreptitious. As the grayness of the landscape gives place to bright orange-gold, some of the sleepers are up, squatting with their legs doubled under them. They face the west; they do not move, merely sit still watching

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

572 the horizon. There is no chanting as in the villages of the Xingu, no whistling, no marching to the river for an early bath. There is no conversation, no motion. After a while a dog may sit up and watch the world as silently as his master. More and more of the recumbent figures sit up; some old man becomes busily engaged in making string; a woman gives suck to a baby; others rise, and, walking with heads [372] high, chests thrust forward, go toward the bushes, to reappear soon with armfuls of wood and quickly start fires with their laurelwood fire drills. Soon everyone is sitting up, and the cheesecloth tents disappear. A few women huddle around the fires.

It is only when the wind resumes its violent blowing that the camp is stirred into activity. The chilliness of the night is forgotten, reverential thoughts are discarded. The vulgar stomach, however, is re- 512 membered. Preparations are made to take care of its daily needs. 225 Bows and arrows are examined. A harpoon arrow for turtles and 462 crocodiles, a fish arrow, a gourd, and if the hunter possesses one, a knife, comprise the equipment. Then the men go to their canoes two by two, though a young boy may be taken along to make three. He too must learn to satisfy the daily craving of his inner machinery. The hunters paddle away upstream and disappear around the bend of the river.

512 The women prepare for their own voyages. Sometimes they ac- 222 company the men, sometimes they go alone in a canoe or go inland. 462 They carry baskets on their backs suspended from the forehead by a strap. Each woman carries a digging stick. Little girls accompany them, with their little baskets and their own digging sticks, in imitation of the grown-ups. Some women carry babies astride the hip, 291 feeding at the large full breasts. Naked but for a loin covering, with hair falling down their backs, they seem to fit the wild landscape. Some may wear a camisole, but that is only a thin veil, and their bodies are seen underneath. The loin covering is tied at the back, and, as they walk with chests thrown forward and high, resembles a huge tail rolled under the camisole. Their smooth-skinned ape appearance is graceful but amusing; the naked ones fit the picture better.

512 At camp are left only the old people and some young ones who 461 are too lazy to go out or have been hunting hard and need a rest. They are soon busy fixing bows and arrows, making string, carving ornaments, weaving basketry, taking care of very young children. There is very little talking and no fussing. They almost ignore each other. Those who stay at home will wait patiently for their dinner. They will watch the sun climb the heavens, and they will move from one side of the branches to the other to keep in the shade. Beaten by the wind which by noon blows a gale, bombarded by

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

512 grains of sand, they wait patiently and quietly, though hungry.
461 They seek no shelter from the wind, preferring it to the myriads of insects lurking in any sheltered spot. And then, too, it is cool in the wind, terrifically hot away from it.

512 About midafternoon the hunters and food gatherers straggle in.
224 They bring small crocodiles and turtles, crocodile eggs, turtle eggs,
222 perhaps some honey; and the women return with full baskets containing changuango, a wild root that they have dug up in the savanna. They, too, may bring turtle eggs. Not always, of course. The men and the women may return with empty hands and empty baskets. In any event there is no boisterous reception, but the same silence, the same quiet acceptance of the day and what it brings as they have shown at its beginning. Fires are built larger, the women roast the
512 roots, the men help with the turtles and the crocodiles. These are
252 placed whole on the fire until the shells are toasted and then they
515 are cracked open. Wives become busy delousing their husbands, using a carved stick to help in the search. Sometimes the lice are picked and eaten. But the bodies of the men are covered with numerous black blisters, showing that they have suffered the daily torment from the insects. The wife crushes all of these blisters with the same delousing tool.

512 Dinner is a gala time. Calabash dishes containing the various
264 courses are placed in the center of the ring formed by each family.
262 The food is picked up and carried to the mouth with the fingers. There are crocodile eggs. These are opened and the contents are sucked up raw. The same is done with the turtle eggs. There is the course of roasted changuango, and the pieces of turtle meat. But the real delicacy is crocodile, the best meat of all. The crocodile is eaten in its entirety, except for the entrails, and when the dinner is over some of it is left by the fire, an open invitation to anyone to fill any empty portion of his stomach. The stomachs become distended as tremendous quantities of food are swallowed. This is the only real meal of the day, and the fear of a dinnerless tomorrow drives the eaters to exceptional feats of gourmandizing until their bodies can hold no more. The lean dogs fight among themselves over the refuse heaps. The vultures glide overhead or are busy at crocodile entrails.

512 There is no after dinner work—no kitchen or table ware to wash,
517 nothing to spoil the proper enjoyment of a full stomach. They eat
776 until they have had enough, and then they move to the east of the fires to lie on the clean sands and watch the sun hide beneath the western horizon. For about half an hour they watch the ever-changing colorful western sky and when rays of light emanate from below the horizon to streak the heavens with blue and gold and white, they

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

512 rejoice, for they know that Kuma, the goddess creator of all things,
519 is content with them and is sending them a greeting in token thereof.
776 On the wings of the wind comes the roar of the araguatos.

But life starts in the east and ends in the west. The day is done and the night comes on. The Yaruros turn to face the east to watch
821 the beginning of star travel and also the fiery appearance of the
776 moon and its transformation to a chaste white. The sands glisten and above flash "falling stars", but the Yaruros say that these are messengers of Kuma doing their errands.

512 Then the women roll cigars, light them, and pass them to their men.
296 Everyone smokes and there is great contentment. There is reluctance
462 to stand up, so if a woman has to fetch some object, say a firebrand,
[516] she will crawl on all fours, looking not unlike some large but indescribably graceful ape.

When several stars of the big dipper have appeared the women
512 rise in a body and walk into the darkness west of the camp. They
462 disappear from sight and hearing. What mysteries they perform they only know. The men are left alone and they talk about heaven. The children play merrily.

The women return and quietly take their places, ready to prepare more cigars. It is good to lie naked on the sand looking at the sky,
1060 listening to nature's symphony. With the same persistent effortless rhythm of the pulse beat the world outside of the individual is felt. There is the merry laughter of the children and the soft, deep, contented gurgle of the women; the soft voice of the shaman painting religious pictures, explaining existence; the murmur of the wind as a background to the calls of night birds, and the blowing of toninos, the splash of frolicsome fishes, the intermittent howl of the monkeys, the bark of the wolf, the roar of the jaguar; and the warmth of a full stomach.

512 A figure may detach itself from the camp shadows and disappear
796 in the darkness of the west. Several young men may afterwards take the same path—to join the shaman in his preparations for communion with the gods. They leave behind them a feeling of expectation but nothing is said. Someone has put up a bare pole where the sand is hard packed.

796 The shaman returns and goes to sit in front of the pole facing the
791 east. He sits quietly and alone in deep reverie. Later he may ask for a cigar. His wife will supply him with one.

After a period of contemplation he may begin to sing and dance. His people will join him. The music will become more and more animated, the singing and dancing will be done with increasing abandon. The stars and the moon will go their ways to rest in the west.
512 It is only when the sun peeps over the eastern horizon that they will

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

stop to talk, rest, and later sleep. Twenty-four hours of Yaruro life have gone by. The stomach must be considered again.

THE LLANOS

The country of the Yaruros is a low plain lying south and east of the Venezuelan Andean mountain spur between the fifth and sixth degree of North Parallel. On the east it is flanked by the Orinoco, with the hills of Guiana beyond the river, and on the south the plain rolls away to Colombia. This vast inland plain is burned by a tropical sun the year round and nowhere is there a degree of elevation to relieve one from the intense heat. Fortunately there is no barrier to the trade winds which often blow too hard for human comfort but which, nevertheless, make life bearable by cooling the body and blowing away insect life. During the dry season this plain is a veritable desert with scant vegetation except along the river banks and by water holes. In the rainy season it becomes a vast inland sea rich in animal and plant life. The temperatures during the day are always high. In the plains of Apure 130° F. have been recorded a few feet from the ground. In the middle of the day animal life is practically at a standstill. Cattle and horses which roam the plains half wild or completely so rest quietly. The cowboy withdraws to the shelter of a grass roof; the traveler retires to the shade of a bush, provided he can find one; but the Yaruro seeks the river banks where the winds are freshest and there is always the branch thrust in the sand to give him some shade. In midafternoon the winds abate somewhat, but rise again as the sun sets. There is another lull just before midnight, but in the early morning the wind blows a gale, driving the well-equipped traveler under his blankets and the Yaruros to the warmth of sand pits. Shelter from the wind means intolerable insect life. One must remain exposed to the ever-blowing wind to find any comfort.

It is said that a geologist prospecting unsuccessfully for oil ended his report with the statement, "The plains of Venezuela, or as they are known, the llanos, are rich—in water." He would have been more accurate had he said that the llanos are rich in winds, in dust and sand, insects, and, in the rainy season, flora and fauna.

The llanos would form a desert were it not for the rivers which, fed by the Andes, flow into the Orinoco. The largest of these are the Apure and the Meta. Between them flow the Capanaparo and the Sinaruco. Fishes are plentiful in these rivers. Along the banks are found an abundance of birds, among which ducks, cranes, and storks predominate. Smaller birds give color and song to the country. Near the Orinoco species of sandpipers crowd the sand bars. Hawks and vultures are a common sight.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

136 Bats are plentiful, but they tend to be most abundant in the forests and hills close to the Orinoco. Armies of them fly nightly out of the caves of Guiana to feed on the fruit of the forests in the plains. One evening while crossing back from Guiana to the llanos we saw a stream of bats flying across the river. They seemed to come from a cave about 2 miles away. Though we watched them flying overhead for about half an hour, there did not seem to be any end to them.

174 Formerly the llanos were peopled by a number of tribes who have since disappeared, leaving behind them practically no knowledge of their societies. Only the Yaruros and the Guahibos inhabiting the Meta region have survived to this day. The Tamanachi, the Guamos, the Otomacos, which are best but meagerly known, have died or been killed off in recent years. I saw the last Otomaco survivors, an old woman and a boy of five, who had been saved from a reputed massacre. The Achaguas seem to have disappeared in recent years also.

177 What has happened to these people can be easily understood when it is considered that during the past 25 years the worldwide unrest has driven adventurers to many corners of the earth, and these people have been exposed to the marauding "revolutionary" bands and to the equally destructive cupidity of the crocodile hunter and the rancher.

161 There are 150 Yaruros left in the region of the Capanaparo and
101 on an island at the mouth of that river called the Linda Bara. It is claimed that on the Sinaruco there are other bands but no contact was made with them. Formerly the Yaruros occupied a large territory and perhaps roamed the plains, as well as the rivers, but since the land has been taken up by the ranchers they have been forced to the river banks.

136 The animals of greatest interest to the Yaruros are: jaguar, puma, wild pigs, capibara (the chiguire), armadillo, snakes, jivaro stork, vultures, manatee, tonino, crocodiles, iguana.

137 Plant life has great importance as a source of food, usable wood,
222 medicines, and narcotics. The moriche and macanilla palms supply the Yaruros with fibers and bow wood. The chigua supplies him with flour; the changuango and barbaco with edible roots.

101 The Yaruros call themselves "Pumeh." In the literature they are referred to as "Saururi" (Gumilla), "Zavuri" (Gilii), and more recently as Jaruros, Sayuros, etc. According to my informants Yaruro or Jaruro, is a Guahibo word by which they are known to that people. The Guahibos are known to the Yaruros as "Tciricoa," "people of the forest." The word Pumeh has no exact translatable meaning. The closest equivalent is the Spanish "gente." When a Yaruro uses it he implies "the people," "the chosen people." Only the Yaruros are Pumeh, but the term occasionally includes other tribes. All non-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19 .

aboriginal peoples are called by the Spanish word "Racionales" which is the equivalent of "civilizado," civilized. It was only after they came to the conclusion that I was a Pumeh also, and quite different from the Racionales, that they accepted me and made this study possible.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Yaruros are small and dark with a strong mongoloid appearance. The faces are heavy, broad, with the eyes very often showing the mongoloid fold. The average stature of the men is about 5 feet 3 inches and of the women about 4 feet 10 inches. One gets the impression that the heads are larger than the ordinary in comparison with the body size. The frame is light, both men and women possessing small, beautifully shaped hands and feet. The body is relatively hairless, as is usual among pure Indian peoples. They have strong teeth and seem to keep them until a very old age.

The Yaruros have had some contact with Europeans or mixtures of Spanish, Negro, and Indians for several centuries. Herrara reached the Meta River in 1535, and subsequently missions were established along the Orinoco and its tributaries. About 1750 a mission was established at La Urbana for the Otomacos, and one was later established at Barinas. Apparently at that time these people inhabited the region between the Capanaparo and the Apure. No missions were established for the Yaruros, and, according to Gilii, the Yaruros came to the Otomaco missions to be baptized. Father Gumilla wrote:

> Here, between the Sinaruco and Meta rivers were established the colonies of Santa Barbara and of San Juan Francisco Regis at the end of 1739, having pacified the Saruro (Yaruro) nation; of which nation Father Manuel Roman, the Superior of those missions, in a letter of February 20, 1740, gives me excellent news of their good will and docility and, which is receiving our teachings anxiously; with the hope that with the good example of these first two other Reductions will be established. He adds that in the colony of San Francisco de Borja of the same nation Sarura, of which Father Francisco de Olmo is in charge, who has reduced their language to writing and a dictionary, Christianity is flourishing; and that already schools for writing, reading, and singing are attended by children (a short while ago they were wild); and that they sing the mass, litanies, etc., in a fair way. So much does careful and diligent effort accomplish in those wild regions! Father Rogue Lubian takes care of the Santa Teresa village with the same efficiency; Father Jose Maria Cervillini is in charge of San Ignacio; he, with Brother Agustin de la Vega, attend as best they can the rest of the new villages, and they are clamoring for workers with the firm hope that you will send them as soon as possible.

Since there has been contact with the white man and some Negroes for several centuries, one would expect a certain amount of race mixture. However, I never saw a sign of the slightest trace of Negro blood. The hair which, more than any other characteristic, seems to indicate Negro contact, in the case of the Yaruro is coarse and straight,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

142 and if not jet black, chestnut in color. The following table gives the measurements of practically every adult Yaruro met with:

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Measurements

EL BURON

141

Sex	Approximate age	Height	Sitting height	Head length	Head breadth	Cephalic index	Zygomatic breadth	Symbols refer to hair samples (unstudied)
		Cm	Cm	Cm	Cm		Cm	
F	20	144.5	75	17.3	15.2	87.9	13.2	F1a.
F	35	153.5	79.5	16.5	14.6	76.9	13.1	F2a.
F	35	146	75	16.7	14	74.9	12.5	F3a.
F	18	149	77	17.3	15.2	88.4	13.2	F4a.
F	40	151.5	82.5	17.7	14	79.1	13.2	F5a.
Average	28.6	148.9	78.0	17.9	14.6	81.8	13.2	
M	20	164.5	85	17.8	15	84.3	13	M1a.
M	20	158.6	80.3	17.7	15.3	86.4	13.8	M2a.
M	20	158.8	81	18.7	14.7	78.6	13.9	M3a.
M	20	160.5	81	19.3	15	77.7	13.8	M4a.
Average	20	160.6	81.8	18.4	15.0	81.8	13.6	

LAGUNOTE

F		153	75.8	18	14	77.8	12.7	F1b.
F		146.8	75.4	16.3	13.6	83.4	12.6	F2b.
F		142	71	17.5	14.5	82.9	13.1	F3b.
F		147	72.7	17.7	14	79.1	12	F4b.
F		152.3	74.4	17.4	13.8	79.3	11.6	F5b.
F		157	79.4	18.4	14.2	77.2	13	F6b.
F		150.3	81.4	17.6	14	79.5	12.5	F7b.
F		150.5	78.2	17.8	14.5	81.5	13.7	F8b.
F		144.3	78.4	18.6	14.4	77.4	12.7	F9b.
Average		147.8	76.3	17.7	14.1	79.8	12.7	
M		162.4	84.2	18.5	14.4	77.8	13.9	M1b.
M		156.5	79.6	18.4	14.4	78.3	13.7	M2b.
M		162.9	83.1	16.2	14.7	90.7	14.5	M3b.
M		168.2	81.5	18.7	15	80.2	13.4	M4b.
M		158.4	79.3	18.8	14.3	76.1	12.8	M5b.
M		154.5	76	18.7	15.1	80.7	13.7	M6b.
M		152	72.6	18	14.2	78.9	13.2	M7b.
Average		159.3	79.6	18.3	14.6	80.4	13.5	

MERCEDES

F		153.6	81	18.4	13.4	72.8	13.4	F1c.
F		146.5	77.4	18	14.9	82.8	13	F2c.
F		158	81.5	18.3	13.4	73.2	12.7	F3c.
F		144.5	74.8	19	14.1	74.2	13.7	F4c.
F		153.5	77	18.2	14.3	78.6	13.2	F5c.
F		147.9	73.5	17.7	13.7	77.4	13	F6c.
F		136.6	70.2	17.6	13.8	78.4	11.9	F7c.
Average		148.4	76.5	18.3	14.2	77.7	12.9	
M		167.4	84.1	19.9	15.7	78.9	14.7	M1c.
M		168.4	87.7	19.9	17.3	86.9	15	M2c.
M		166.2	83.2	18.5	16	86.5	15.2	M3c.
M		154.4	87.7	18.5	15.2	82.2	14.1	M4c.
M		158.4	81.5	17.8	15.6	87.6	14.6	M5c.
M		160.2	82.1	18.4	15.4	83.7	14.8	M6c.
M		154.8	81.4	18.7	15.2	81.3	15.2	M7c.
M		158.5	77.6	18.7	14.4	77.0	13.6	M8c.
Average		160.3	82.2	18.8	15.6	83.0	14.6	

N. B.—Hair samples of children.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

142 Among the llaneros the Yaruros have the reputation of being darker in color than any of the other tribes. This may be due to their daily exposure to the sun, for I have noticed that forest peoples tend to be lighter in color than those living in the open country. This observation was also made by the early Spanish missionaries. Gilii wrote:

> The color of the peoples of the Orinoco commonly is dark, but somewhat reddish. It is true that some tribes, for example the Otomachi' and the Guami', incline toward black. But they are of such a color, nevertheless, that there is no one among them who can be said to be similar to the Negroes, whose color they abhor. Generally the tribes close to the Orinoco like the Zaruvi (Jaruvos), and the Quaquari' are brown; even more whitish are the inhabitants of the interior, and of the forests. Whitish are the Maipuri, some Tamanachi, and above all the Macchiritari, and the Oji.[1]

The most striking thing in the appearance of the Yaruros is the skin condition referred to by the Racionales as "pintado," painted. When a Yaruro is first afflicted, some patch of his skin will become dry and almost sooty black in color. This will gradually lose all pigment and become as light as the skin of a white man. Practically every individual of the band I met at El Buron showed this patchy skin. The appearance is analogous to that of being profusely covered with [146] freckles. This condition does not affect the health of the individual in any way. By the Racionales it is attributed to the habit of eating crocodile meat and crocodile eggs. The Yaruros give no explanation for it.

304 They practice no mutilations except that the women drill small holes [752] through the lower lip through which they thrust bone pins. One woman wore 13 such pins. She often used them to prick blisters raised by insect bites.

516 The Yaruros seemed to be ambidextrous. In a group of approximately 150, I counted 6 cases of definite left-handedness, but generally, the left hand is used with a certain amount of dexterity. In addition to using the hands, the toes are used to pick up objects; for instance, if the man wishes to pick up his bow from the ground he will not stoop, but will pick it up with his toes and raise it to the level of his hands.

The posture of the Yaruros is an excellent adaptation to the soft sands on which they are forced to walk whenever they are out of their canoes. Their shoulders are thrown far back with the chest

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[1] Gilii, vol. 2, book 1, p. 84: Il colore degli Orinochesi, comunamente e fosco, ma inclinante alquanto all' rossicio. Vero e, che alcune nazioni, a cagion di esempio, gli Ottomachi, ed i Guani, tirano piuttosto al nero. Ma sono di color tale nondimeno, che niuno tra essi vi e, che possa dirsi simile a Negri, il cual colore aborriscono moltissimo. Generalmente le nazioni vicine all 'Orinoco, siccome le suddette, i Zaurui, e i Quaquari, sono piu brune; piu bianchi gli abitanti delle macchie interne, e de'monti. Bianchicci sono dunque i Mapoi, i Maipuri, alcuni Tamanachi, e sopra tutti i Macchiritari, e gli Oji.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

516 high and the hips carried well forward. As they walk along the soft sands they do not lean forward as a white man would to push against the yielding sands. The torso is held erect on the pelvis and the weight is shifted from hip to hip with the legs making a gliding motion beneath. In this way the walk is really a shifting of weight from one foot to another, the foot being planted almost flat on the ground. I noticed that on a hard trail the ball of the foot strikes the ground before the heel. They make a graceful picture as they walk about.

When sitting they double their legs under them, a position difficult to assume unless one has practiced it from childhood. The favorite sleeping posture is on the side with the knees drawn up close to the mouth. When sitting on the sands, if forced to pick up an object lying some distance away, the women especially would walk on all fours to it and bring it back without rising to a standing posture. In this manner I have seen women pick up firewood lying 50 yards away from the fire.

482 Loads are carried by men and women in nets suspended by a band
854 from the forehead. Young children, who generally accompany their mothers on their food-gathering expeditions, are carried astride the hip, feeding at the breast as the mother goes about her work.

147 The physical endurance of the Yaruros is rather low. A day of hard paddling at a speed greater than their ordinary style, and they are exhausted. It is difficult to say whether this is due to their poor diet or simply to low racial vitality. It is certain that the American primitive is not as acclimated to the tropics as the Negro who, living on the same food as the Indian, will nevertheless outwork the latter.

177 The Yaruros today have been pushed to the Capanaparo and the Sinaruco Rivers. Rarely do they dare to wander far away from the banks of these two rivers. Since the days of the missions the indigenous tribes have been the victims of exploitation, even to the extent of enslavement. They are free booty for anyone who can catch them. The ranchers have sought to enslave the Yaruros, but an even more general sport has been the taking of the Yaruro women. Bandits and revolutionary groups sweeping along the llanos have not eased the Yaruro problem. Crocodile hunters, upon meeting with a band of Yaruros, will demand their women, and if the Yaruros should be reluctant to turn them over, death may be the price. I was told both by the Racionales, that is the peons, and the Yaruros, that about one month before I arrived in their midst about 150 Yaruros had been
185 rounded up and killed by the local "Jefes Civiles." The Yaruros are a hunted people, and they know that their extermination is imminent.

In Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

There is little to be found in the literature on the Yaruros. Among the missionaries they had the reputation of being too wild to tame. They were accused of being parricides and were called eaters of clay. The Tamanachi and the Otomacos seemed to have had a more complex economic culture and received much more attention from the missionaries; but the Yaruros, due to their own shyness, were considered to be scarcely human, and little was done with them. They seemed to be especially sensitive to any scolding or maltreatment. Gumilla, writing in 1791, says "Their fear, completely beyond reason, is the root of their inconstancy and is the dismay of all the writers: more delicate than glass; if they feel that the missionary has looked at them fixedly, if they hear a word less gentle, it is sure that they will run away and, moreover, will take with them the entire family." This statement may be an indication of the early treatment received by the Yaruros at the hands of the soldiers and missionaries. It is a fear which has persisted down through the centuries and is no less intense today.

Linguistically the Yaruros do not seem to be connected with any other South American group. On the basis of a few limited vocabularies several attempts have been made to link the Yaruros to the Saliva or the Betoya. An examination of the text produced in this study will show no obvious affinity to other language families. However, this is a matter for future study.[1]

ARCHEOLOGY

The llanos of Apure have become legendary for many things, even archeologically. In the entire region no excavations have been conducted, but stories are current of the variety of archeological remains. The Calzada is probably the most famous of them all. According to verbal descriptions obtained from geologists and other visitors to the llanos, the Calzada has the appearance of an elevated roadbed running eastward for many miles from some point at the foot of the Andes. In it and in small mounds close by it has been reported that pottery and skeletal material have been found. There is no doubt that archeological remains are primitive. As we traveled about the country we found that most of the squatters had archeological pieces of varying degrees of interest. At La Trinchera there were even two amateur archeologists. One thing is certain, the archeological material which was uncovered, and which is being reported in another paper, has no relation to any of the Yaruro material. It is therefore certain that the Yaruros have not always occupied the region.

[1] See Bibliography.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

It is well to note that the llanos form a sort of cul-de-sac from which there is only one escape, and that is by way of the Orinoco River. It is quite likely that the llanos have been the camping grounds and the highway for a number of tribes migrating northward, southward, or eastward. For peoples practicing agriculture, Guiana and the lower Orinoco region would be more suitable than the plains of Apure, where, on account of the strong winds and the sandy soil, it is difficult to carry on any cultivation of the soil. The mountainous regions to the north and west are also fit for agriculture. Therefore it was only the culturally poorer tribes that would remain in the llanos.

We have, therefore, in the following pages, a people who are primitive hunters, whose history is unknown, who do not seem to be linguistically related to any other group, and whose appearance is strongly mongoloid—who have been in contact not only with foreign indigenous culture but with some European culture, and who are facing physical and cultural extinction. Perhaps this last fact should be allowed to dominate this study, because it can throw into relief much of Yaruro culture and will remind us that anthropology is not so much signs of things as the signs of man, and that his problems and the way he solves them is as important, if not more important, than purely historical problems and theories. The opportunity of studying religion, social organization, and general spiritual culture of a South American tribe was so strong that during my stay with the Yaruros I concentrated with these phases of their culture rather than on the material phases or linguistic problems.

My Journey To and Life With the Yaruros

Contact with the Yaruros is not easy. No one ever knows near what water hole or at what point on the river these nomads may be found. Several centuries of maltreatment have made them shy and suspicious of strangers and particularly of all "Racionales." Primitive and loosely organized, they could not and cannot today offer any effective resistance to civilized groups which may want to exploit them. At the time of my visit everyone along our route was indignant over the treatment that about 150 Yaruros had received at the hands of unknown local "jefes civiles" about a month before. They were seized and matcheted to death, reducing the total population of this tribe (excluding bands that may be hidden along the Sinaruco River) to one-half. My presence in their midst naturally aroused fears that some fresh calamity was about to befall them.

In the rainy season there is only one way of penetrating the llanos of Apure, and that is by boat. From the Orinoco one can sail or

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

122 paddle up the five rivers: the Apure, Arauca, Capanaparo, Sinaruco, and the Meta. In the dry season it is possible to make one's way southward from Caracas by way of Ortiz, Calabozo, San Fernando de Apure, to San Juan de Payara by automobile, and then on horseback to Cunaviche and beyond. Beginning our journey from Caracas at the end of January, we followed the latter route.

San Juan de Payara and Cunaviche are ancient colonial mission villages and the farthest outposts of civilization in the llanos. There are no missions there now. Their populations are typically llanero; that is, civilized mixed bloods. We rode southward across the dry and sandy plains, over which roam herds of wild cattle and horses. Mirages, which amazed the widely traveled Humboldt, were frequent. In the treeless plains forests were suspended in the sky, horses ran through the air, and great clear lakes stretched out before us. But water was scarce, and had we not been guided by men who knew every square inch of the ground we should have suffered for lack of it. We picked up our guides in relays on the way, a merry, capable lot, with much Indian blood in their veins, conscious of being free men of the llanos whom no dictator nor army has been able to tame. At night, if we stopped at a ranch, we listened to cowboy songs accompanied by the harp and rattle, music which reflected Indian, Spanish, and Negro influences. Our meager baggage was carried by an unwilling bull. Using a common cowboy expedient, we tied its nose to the guide's horse's tail and the bull was literally dragged all the way to El Buron.[2]

123 We made our first contact with the Yaruros at El Buron, a ranch owned by Don Manuel Hurtado. Don Manuel, like most of the native llaneros, is sympathetic to the Yaruros, and keeps on friendly terms with them. With his help and that of his household, particularly a young woman called Maria, we attempted to establish friendly relations with the Yaruros. In the llanos human beings are not plentiful, and consequently, it doesn't occur to them to erect social barriers that would tend to keep various groups apart.

361 511 There was not much about the camp of the Yaruros to interest the casual glance. There were present about a dozen women, eight men, and some children. The extreme poverty and simplicity of the camp were its outstanding features. There were no houses, nor shelters of any sort; only a few old baskets, a few sticks, a few rags, calabashes and water jars, and a few seminaked human beings lying half buried in the sand under the shade of thinly leafed branches thrust into the ground. Several fires were burning, and over them there were pots

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[2] In working cattle the llanero ties one end of his lariat to his horse's tail instead of to the saddle, which often he may be lacking. The horses are trained to keep the rope taut after the animal is roped.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

252 Several fires were burning, and over them there were pots containing turtle eggs. Several large turtles and small crocodiles were broiling over a fire. The shells of the turtles and the hides of the crocodiles had not been removed, and for a moment we thought that they were being cooked alive, but soon discovered that they had been killed before being placed over the fire. There was little else to be seen. It was easy to understand the reaction of the casual traveler who, upon coming in contact with a primitive group, stops, looks, and goes away quickly with the impression that there is nothing there more than the glance takes in.

123 609 On approaching the camp, Pedro, the guide, shouted words of greeting in Yaruro, "keramai" (brother-in-law). He patted some of them on the back, asked after their health in Spanish, called everyone brother or sister-in-law, and tried to make himself generally agreeable. Maria busied herself with the women. The Yaruros' only response to their demonstrations of friendship was to extend their arms half-heartedly, in a llanero gesture of greeting, and to answer their questions monosyllabically.

In spite of our friendly overtures they would not accept me as friend or guest. They remained reserved and aloof. The young man pointed out as the headman resisted my attempt to draw him into conversation. The Yaruros watched us closely, taking in our least movement, and only averted their gazes when we looked directly at them. If one has never come in contact with South American primitives before, such a reception is decidedly disheartening.

123 522 An accident relieved some of the tension. I picked up a bow. Choosing the remnants of an old basket about 50 feet away for a target, I took careful aim and shot the arrow. I missed by more than 10 feet. The eyes watching me lighted with amusement and contempt, for it was inconceivable to them that anyone could exist in this world without knowing how to shoot a bow better than that. I shot again and this time I came within 6 inches of hitting my mark, a feat which aroused some interest. I placed another arrow on the bow, raised it, pulled back the string, as far back as my ear, and then, with a loud snap, the bow broke. Laughter greeted this exploit, not so much directed at me as at the owner of the bow who had spent several days fashioning it. He was adequately compensated but that did not remove his feeling of resentment.

123 That evening we again visited the camp. The camp fires were low, so we were scarcely able to see our way about. Pedro and Maria sang out cheery greetings, while we picked our way between scarcely distinguishable groups of humanity and piles of debris. A few grunts and a few indifferent gestures of greeting were the only acknowledgments of our presence. Even the distribution of several yards of tobacco failed to melt their reserve. They did, however, put up a

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

hammock for me. They preferred to lie half buried in the sand, both for warmth and for protection from the mosquitoes.

Some of the bolder young men asked for rum. I had none with me. All along the road I had been told that rum was the only means of inducing the Indians to dance, but an ethnologist's work cannot be based on such an approach.

Through the diplomatic efforts of Maria, the Yaruros consented to sing and dance a little. I was able to arouse their interest in my flashlight, and to arouse their modesty and bewilderment when I flashed it upon them. My compass also drew an excited jabbering circle about me. But I was not able to engage them in conversation, and finally left them about midnight with the satisfaction that at least there had been no friction.

On the following day I sent them a pig, and later in the day again visited them. They were still shy and suspicious of me, but permitted me to go about the camp examining their artifacts.

There was not much to be done in this camp. The group was in a wretched state, still in mourning for their dead, living in fear of some fresh calamity, and although they were suffering hunger, too miserable to try to go back to the river where, at least, they would find food. Tribal customs prevented my engaging the old women in conversation and the men were too young and much too affected by llanero culture to tell me about their own people. Their advice, which I took, was to go farther south where we would find other Yaruro bands among whom I could find old men who could answer any questions.

I prevailed upon the leader of the band, Estaban, to accompany me. He was reluctant to go, not wanting to be separated from his young wife, and perhaps was afraid to trust himself alone with me. However, his desire for cloth and a mosquito netting was stronger than his fear. Estaban proved a loyal and faithful companion.

We found the next band encamped on a beach by the Capanaparo River. Here they were temporarily in the employ of a llanero engaged in building a house. For several days I had no more success with them than I had had with the other band, so during that time we studied whatever was on the surface. However, I was not doing all the studying. The Yaruros were watching me closely and weighing my statements carefully. During this time Estaban was busy building up my reputation. What impressed them most was that I did not ask for their women, and that all I wanted to do was to talk with them about themselves.

One night their attitude suddenly changed. I had been sitting for hours on the sands in the midst of these people, waiting for them to give me a sign of friendliness, but they were silent and apparently

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

123 resentful of my presence. Acting on a sudden impulse, I asked one of the men sitting near me for a gourd rattle. There followed a discussion among the men, and finally they decided to give me one. Without much heart, and no will, I began to sing a song of the Bororos of Brazil, accompanying myself with the rattle. It was the song of another tribe, and I sang it badly; but my unwilling hosts were listening, recognizing the musical pattern as being akin to theirs. I sang another when I had finished the first, and then still another, not failing to notice at the same time that they were listening carefully, and passing comments to one another. When my repertoire was exhausted, I placed the rattle on the sands and smoked in silence. Nothing was said for some time. Then a hand reached for the rattle and a voice said in Spanish:

"Ahora canto yo." (Now I will sing.)

533 The speaker sat on the sands, facing east. He began a song, the melody of which sounded as wild as the medley brought to us by the wind. His people joined us and, sitting behind him in a semicircle, took up the chorus at the end of every stanza. The song was first a murmur and then a shout, but maintained its steady rhythm. When the moon brightened the tropical night with its colorless light, sharpening the many shadows and turning the waving palm leaves into quivering ribbons of silver, the Yaruros forgot all about the stranger
535 in their midst. As though on a prearranged signal, they arose and began to dance, as they sang, around a pole. Women danced as well as men, and the children joined in too. They danced all night, and it was not until the sun rose above the hills of Guiana that they stopped to seek an hour or two of sleep before setting off on the daily task of hunting their dinner.

123 During the day I noticed that their fear of me had disappeared, but
791 it was not until that evening that I discovered the reason for the change. I gathered a confused tale that the one who had led the singing was a shaman. My singing and gourd rattling had indicated to him that I was a shaman also, since only the shamans use the rattle among the Yaruros. Furthermore, he had asked the Yaruro gods who I was, and the gods, as well as the spirits of the dead Yaruros living with the mother goddess Kuma, had instructed him to tell these primitive hunters that I was different from the "Racionales" (name applied to the "civilized" llaneros) and, as evidenced by my singing, that I intended no harm to them; in short, that I was a Pumeh, one of Kuma's people, and lived very close to her land.

772 From the recital of the night's performance I gathered that the Yaruro's universe is presided over by a female being called Kuma, who lives in the west and who waits for the living Yaruros to return to her land; that in some fashion the water snake and the jaguar are

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

772 considered to be their ancestorial relatives; that once upon a time
[173] the Yaruros were very many and now very few; that the Yaruros had been visited with great calamities the preceding year, and many of their people had died through sickness and other destructive forces.

123 Also, I learned that, though I could gather inklings of a rich spiritual culture and a good cross section of the material phases from this band, I had to go farther down river to meet the spiritual leaders of the remnants of this race if I wanted to reach the heart of the Yaruros' religion, cosmology, mythology, and ethics.

791 In all of the primitive groups with which I have come in contact,
123 certain individuals are recognized as the leaders and authorities, especially on such matters as religion and social organization. The younger people hesitate and often refuse to discuss such matters altogether, but age alone is not enough to qualify an individual as the mouthpiece of the group. The Yaruros were no exception. As soon as they grasped that I wanted to know a great deal about their history and culture they urged me to talk to "Landaeta", their leader and great "musico" or shaman. He, with his family, was hunting on the lower Capanaparo. They offered to guide me to him. Accordingly, we journeyed downstream by moonlight to avoid the heat of the day, and as I subsequently discovered, to avoid meeting with crocodile hunters.

361 About noon the next day we sighted several empty canoes drawn up
482 on the bank, and knew that there must be more Yaruros nearby. We
462 landed on the sandy beach and awaited their return. They came early in the afternoon, the men carrying turtles and crocodiles slung on poles, the women with baskets filled with changuango, leaning forward as they walked, looking not unlike grotesque apes under their heavy loads; and also, little children carrying their share of food,
[152] straggling behind. Upon seeing me they were frightened, but did not run away.

123 My Yaruro paddlers acted the part of mediators perfectly, for soon afterwards we were all embarked and moving downstream to join the main body of Landaeta's band which, I was told, was encamped
[152] several miles downstream. Their good humor almost amounted to
462 gaiety. The three canoes moved steadily down the river, the men paddling hard, and the women sitting quietly and casting shy inquisitive glances in my direction.

361 We found Landaeta and his people on a large exposed wind-swept beach. There was the white sand, the strong wind blowing from the east raising it into dust clouds, and the intense glare from river and sand; a few water jars, a few baskets, several refuse heaps with buzzards feeding at them, canoes drawn up on the beach, and some

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

361 captive turtles; and a few human beings were sitting or lying in the midst of all this, and exposed to all of the elements.

203 791 Among primitive people news travels rapidly. Landaeta, in this case, received me with the air of one who was expecting a visitor and it turned out that my reputation had preceded me. Not only did he know that I was in the country, but also why I was there. He was expecting me in order to teach me his ways and the ways of his people, and to learn my ways and the ways of my people. To him I was a shaman, no different than himself, who knew their mother goddess intimately and who was perhaps related to the gods themselves. He asked me for pictures of Kuma and Kuma's land. I soon discovered that he was under the illusion that in some way I was on intimate terms with the Yaruro's god.

763 A little to one side a branch was planted in the sand, and lying in its thin shade a girl was waiting to die. She was burning with fever and delirious. Her people were hovering over her, without being able to alleviate her sufferings or to help her to the end of life. Her malady was a new one to them, passed on by the newcomers to their world, and therefore they had no remedy for it.

758 123 The sick girl was Landaeta's daughter and as one physician to another, he came to me requesting that I save his daughter from death. Being neither physician, magician, nor priest, I responded to his plea the best way I could. Lest I be drawn into a situation of attempting to cure a sick person without adequate knowledge of the sickness or its remedy, I moved off the same day to seek other Yaruros; but only after Landaeta had promised that he would commence his journey in the cool of the evening and rejoin me several days later.

577 It has often been said that to accept the promise of a primitive Indian is to abandon all thought of its being remembered. Perhaps it would seem that I put too much faith and trust in my friends in sitting down to wait for them to join me. But a promise made and accepted without coercion is to the Indian one that has to be kept; and, as in many other cases of my experience with primitive people, this one was kept.

123 That the feeling of suspicion had not disappeared completely was proven by the attitude of another hunting group which I visited. I went alone among them, and unarmed. On my arrival in a canoe, carrying no equipment, they sullenly warned me to keep away from them and their camp. However, good will is never unproductive, and when they saw that I merely squatted on the sands, shared my tobacco with them, said nothing, and then cheerfully paddled away, their hearts must have melted, for several days later they too had joined my band of friends, later becoming among those most deeply attached to me.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

We camped on a large wind-swept beach on the Capanaparo and waited there for Landaeta. While waiting I made visits about the country, seeking out Yaruros wherever I could find them. In one nearby group I noticed that unlike most of the Yaruros, these had built permanent shelters, constructed similarly to the houses of the ranchers. However, there was one significant difference. With true Indian logic, they had left the walls open at the bottom, so that the wind could sweep through the house and keep it cool and free from insects.

One morning we embarked to visit a group led by Pablo Reyes, being on an island in the Orinoco, at the mouth of the Capanaparo. Pablo Reyes had been described to us as a very old and very wise man. Borrowing a small dugout, we set out to visit him, traveling mostly by night. On our way we saw and heard a great deal of animal and bird life, for the lower part of the river was less hunted by the Yaruros than the upper part. On the banks we saw numerous tracks of the cats, we saw many capibaros or "chiguires" and we were often serenaded by the roar of the howlers.

Our entrance into the Orinoco was dramatic. We were catapulted out of the swift waters of the mouth of the Capanaparo and staggered about among the powerful cross currents and eddies at the confluence of the two rivers. The east wind made travel no easier, as it was blowing a gale. On the far side of the Orinoco were the hills of Guiana, rough and jagged, with gnarled vegetation, and dark patches of jungle growth. There were several islands of odd shape, and one of them, about halfway across the Orinoco, was the Linda Bara, to which we made our way.

Encamped on this island we found Pablo Reyes' band and a number of "Racionales," that is, "civilized," Venezuelans of the llanos, who during the dry season take to living like the Indians, except that they clutter their shelters with civilized equipment. The result is that their houses are infested with parasites of all kinds. However, they too live upon crocodiles, turtles, and the eggs of the latter.

This portion of the Orinoco is, in late March and early April, the gathering ground of both Indians and Racionales. The region teems with turtles. By common agreement, stretches of the beaches where the turtles are known to gather in large numbers are not hunted until April, at which time the people dig up thousands and thousands of newly laid eggs out of which they make an oil for export. The center for this commerce is the little settlement of La Urbana, originally a Capuchin mission established about 1750.

Like Landaeta, Pablo Reyes had also learned of my coming, and was ready for me. He too is a shaman, and delights in speaking to a sympathetic listener about religious themes, of his conception of

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

the universe, his understanding of life and death, of the history of his people and their future, of morality, and of justice. Likewise he was anxious to hear what message I had to bring from my people in respect to these things. So, sitting under the shelter of some branches, we talked. As we talked we both worked. Pablo Reyes kept his hands occupied making string, fixing bows and arrows, and I, when not busy writing, pretended to carve little figures out of wood. The children played about us and Pablo's three wives kept shyly in the background, though listening carefully to what we said and often throwing inquisitive glances in our direction.

Profiting by our proximity to Guiana, I decided to visit Urbana where I could buy some goods for my friends and at the same time gather information about archeology. The wind blew so hard it proved necessary to drag the canoe along the shore of the island until we found the best place for a crossing. The sand was raised in clouds and our bodies were peppered with it so that we were forced to cover up closely. It finally proved impossible to continue and we were forced to stop and camp in the open with our backs to the wind and no shelter except what we could get from our hammocks. But holding them up was as much a hardship as to be bombarded by sand. We made one attempt to cross the Orinoco in the afternoon but we were forced to give it up. Finally, late in the afternoon, putting our trust in "God and the Virgin," as the Venezuelan canoemen say, we launched the canoe and reached La Urbana about midnight. Our stay there was necessarily short and we hastened back to Linda Bara the following day, but I gathered enough from the examination of collections at the Salesian Mission to determine that the archeology on that side of the Orinoco is quite different from that of the llanos.

At sunset as we were approaching the island we saw an army of bats in flight. The bats were coming as a cloud out of a Guiana hill in the far distance, and flew directly over us, and across to the other shore of the river, disappearing into the forest. We watched this vast army for about 15 minutes and then continued on our way, not because we had seen the last of the bats, but because time was short. I was told by my guide that this daily flight of the bats from the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco generally lasts two hours. How many thousands of them live in this cave and fly daily to forage for food in the forest is a matter of conjecture. The bat, so plentiful in this region, seems to have inspired the ancient potters of the llanos to use the head as a motif of decoration.

When we reached Pablo Reyes the next day we found there several other Yaruro families, relatives of Pablo, encamped with him. We talked some more, then departed several days later in order to return to Landaeta, who proved to be my best informant.

1r:Petrullo B-8 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

502 Without the aid of the Yaruros the crossing of the Orinoco would have been impossible. They are expert canoeists and safely ferried our baggage to the other side. Believing that I could handle a canoe, for by this time according to the Yaruros there wasn't anything that I could not do, since their gods had told them that I was one of them, I was asked to cross in an empty canoe, with the help of a 12-year-old boy. The canoe had several gaping holes in stern and bow about 10 inches in diameter. With serious misgivings, I embarked with the youngster paddling in the bow. Cross-currents, winds, and whirlpools made the half hour a very exciting one. Several times I gave up hope of crossing safely or of returning to our starting point, only to be encouraged by the laughter of my young companion who, when we were in extreme danger, would turn and grin happily at me. However, we crossed safely and soon afterwards we hoisted sail, which consisted of my mosquito net tied to an improvised mast, and with the east wind behind us and with gunwales even with the water, we went flying up the Capanaparo. Our sailing was far from being monotonous, for every few minutes it was necessary to use strength and skill to keep the canoe upright. Three days later we reached Landaeta's camp.

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123 The trip to Urbana had been exciting and interesting, but I brought back with me ulcers on my feet which incapacitated me for the rest of my stay with the Yaruros. My feet, swollen to immense proportions and with open sores, refused to support my body, and I was forced to forego any further trips, short or long. My life consisted from now on, for about six weeks, of lying on the sand or in a hammock, surrounded by my affectionate friends, talking about the universe, the Yaruros, and their ideas.

In order to make it possible for Landaeta and his people to stay with me on this particular beach rather than move about in search of food, I turned over all of my food stock to them, which was consumed in two days, and thereafter they shared equally with me the products of the hunt. From that day on, I was completely in their

224 care and Landaeta never left me. The burden of hunting fell on the

755 younger men who went out every morning in search of crocodiles and turtles, of honey, palm nuts, roots, and fish. My illness was of great concern to the Yaruros. They did what they could to make me comfortable and they went to special trouble to bring titbits, such as honey and nuts. Landaeta and a woman shaman sang over me often. This illness was a fortunate event in a way, for it permitted an uninterrupted intimacy between us.

181 There is a sharp contrast between the simple primitive material culture of the Yaruros and the wealth and poetic intensity of the spiritual. The casual visitor would see merely a naked people plying

lr Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

181 up and down the rivers in their canoes, or lying on the sand, feasting on crocodile or turtle. He would see stolid fixed faces, uncommunicative, affrighted. But if this traveler were to stay he would discover that from sundown to sunrise the Yaruro lives in an intensive romantic world which he cannot and rarely would care to share with anyone else.

576 787 821 We returned from the trip to La Urbana at sundown when bars of yellow, blue, and white light streaked the western sky. The Yaruros were sitting on the sands watching this phenomenon with a certain rapture. They sat quietly and in silence facing the west until the lights had faded and merged into a subdued golden glow. Then Landaeta came and greeted me affectionately. He spoke of what we had just seen in the western sky, explaining that it represented a greeting from the mother goddess Kuma, to her children the Yaruros and to me. The other men came also, and the women too put their arms about me, but the latter kept their faces averted as is proper in Yaruro culture. We settled ourselves on the sands. Small fires were burning with remnants of turtles and crocodiles broiling over them. The sands glistened in the moonlight that soon came upon us. Araguato monkeys roared in the distance. An occasional bird sang. Insects hummed. Toninos frolicking in the water came up to blow lustily. And Landaeta explained that these animals were also children of Kuma and that everyone in Kuma's world was glad that I had returned.

553 123 We smoked and Landaeta talked, recounting what his gods had told him about me; that now I was one of their family, and he affectionately called me "adjimai oteh" (elder brother), which became the standard form of address by all of his people. In return I was asked to call them little brother and little sister.

791 791 533 At a point Landaeta rose and walked away into the darkness. His son and nephew followed him soon afterwards. He returned after an absence of half and hour, wearing his shaman's ceremonial cap and breechclout. He went to sit on the clean white sands to the east of the camp, where he remained still and quiet for a long time. His wife went to him with a lighted cigarette. He smoked this in silence and alone. Finally he made a sign and his son and nephew rose immediately to plant a pole a few feet in front of him, and then retired again into the darkness. After some time Landaeta rose, and facing the east in front of the pole, continued to smoke in silence. It seemed a long time before he began to sing, softly and hesitantly, which time was measured by the rising of the stars. After he had finished two songs his wife approached him again, thrusting into the ground, close to the pole, a stick from which hung a small basket. Landaeta continued standing, facing the east and singing, pausing briefly between

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791 songs. His nephew went to stand behind him; his son went forward
796 to stand at the left shoulder of his cousin. These two boys joined in
533 the singing, repeating Landaeta's song stanza after stanza. A few women, led by Landaeta's wife and daughter, went to stand at his right side, and joined the boys in answering the songs of the shaman. They stood there in front of the pole singing until the Southern Cross hung high in the sky. Then Landaeta's wife took a gourd rattle from
534 the basket and gave it to her husband, who immediately began to
791 shake it, its liquid tone blending harmoniously with the voices. The
796 singers became more animated when they heard the rattle, and soon
535 they began to dance, jerking the body forward and backward, rhythmically and in unison. At times Landaeta would shake his rattle violently and his voice would betray his deep excitement. His wife from
[276] time to time would give a lighted cigarette to him, holding it to his mouth until it was consumed. At midnight the shaking of the rattle became more frequent and more violent, and finally, in the middle of one song, everyone began to move around the pole. The women put their right hands on the shoulder of the one ahead, and soon were running and stamping the right foot as they did so. The men formed an inner circle, dancing one behind the other. At the end of each song they paused for a moment lined up in their original positions. As the night wore on, both singing and dancing became more and more animated until the shaman appeared to be in a frenzy. His voice rose in pitch, his rhythm was faster, and more strongly accentuated, and all sang with greater feeling. The shaman danced in jerky movements, bending and twisting his body, half spinning about, first one way then the other, until he seemed to be quivering all over. The dance around the pole became almost a mad run, made more difficult by the soft sands and the complex movements of the body. The men would leap high and as the right foot was stamped in unison, a resonant beat was produced that seemed to blend with the pulsating roar of the howlers brought to us by the wind, and marked off by the rich rattling of the gourd and the choral singing. In the morning hours the wind rose again, blew more violently, and the roar of the monkeys became stronger, and the Yaruros sang passionately. It was then, when the morning star was already high, and dawn lighted the eastern horizon. that they stopped.

600 The sun awoke me, and though I had slept barely two hours I felt quite refreshed. I sat up to look about me. There was the vast stretch of sand, the fringe of jungle, and the sparkling river. My
513 Yaruros were sleeping half buried in the sand, behind basketry to
521 shelter themselves from the wind. The vultures were already at the piles of refuse, feasting on crocodiles and turtles. Soon the sun awoke
778 my friends, and they too sat up to gaze quietly at the western sky where they believe their gods live.

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where they believe their gods live. It was only when the sun began to burn our bodies that they approached me to chat. They expressed their concern over my illness and soon busied themselves to make me as comfortable as possible. While I distributed among them a few presents bought for them in Urbana, and turned all of the food over to Landaeta, the younger men were busy building a sun shelter, an arbor of the sweet-smelling guava bush, though for themselves they had only branches thrust into the sands, giving only a thin shade. From now on, I was completely in their care, and they were careful nurses and tender friends. The best of the hunt was mine, and even the women delighted in taking care of my clothing, and in bringing me delicacies.

They were glad to see me, and the women shamans soon began their chants while the men surrounded me and told me in their own language and in broken Spanish what had occurred the previous night. Men are prohibited from singing during the day, but the women sit in swinging hammocks and chant their songs. I learned, too, that Landaeta's daughter had not died, for there she was, grateful and shyly looking at me, completely well. They attributed her cure to me, though I was not at all responsible for it. During the night, they told me, the gods had come among us, and told them that I, too, was one of Kuma's children, and again they insisted that I was related to them.

I learned that Puaná and Itciai are cocreators with Kuma, the mother goddess, and they are directly responsible for the actual creation of the world. Hatchawa, in the form of a litttle boy, is another god who has given mankind fire, the bow and arrow, and many other blessings. Now, when the shaman sings at night his soul leaves his body and travels to the land of Kuma, leaving his body behind. The gods may come then, enter his body in the form of songs, and transmit their messages to the Yaruros. They had come the night before to greet me and to reassure my friends of my goodness and my own powers of shamanism.

We sat, smoked, and talked all day. In the afternoon we feasted on crocodile, turtle eggs, wild roots, palm nuts, and honey. Finishing our dinner, we sat quietly facing the west, watching the skies. As the sun set low again, rays of gold, blue, and white shot into the sky from the horizon, and my friends rejoiced at this certain greeting of Kuma to us.

Darkness came upon us, and in anticipation of a long night of singing and dancing—I could sing but could not dance, since I could not stand up—I lay on the sands to rest before the beginning of the ceremonies. but the skies interested the Yaruros and they came to tell me what they read there. The brightness of the stars and the changing

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821 formations held a deep fascination for them. I understood but little of it, for their Spanish was too broken, and I was unfamiliar with Yaruro. So we spent the evening in quiet conversation and amity, conscious of the soft voices of the women in the background, children, laughter, and always the throbbing roar of the distant bands of 825 howlers which was brought to us by the wind. To the Yaruros the howlers were formerly men.

Landaeta relayed to me questions uppermost in his wife's mind. Did I have a wife in my own country? Did I have any children? Why had they not come with me? Once in Brazil I had been asked similar questions by another naked primitive fold, and I had answered truthfully that I had neither wife nor children. I remember their confusion and amazement. In their eyes I was a great man, and therefore I should have had many wives and many children. It is certain that they really never believed or understood my answer. So, in this case, not wanting to make extensive explanations about our civilization, which not only does not insist that men and women marry, but even makes it very difficult for them to do so, I lied, answering that I was married and had one son. Of course I had to describe both wife and boy to the inquisitive women. They wanted to know if her skin was the same color as mine, and her hair as white as mine, and what did she wear on her body? Also, they made me 784 promise that some day I would bring my wife and boy to them, so that the women who, because of social taboos, could not converse directly with me, would be able to do so with my wife.

821 As we talked of these things, falling stars played in the heavens, "messengers of Kuma" according to the Yaruros, the big dipper swung higher, and the southern crosses began their journeys. For a while the wind died down, and the monkeys were heard no more. Always responsive to the world in which they live, the Yaruros became silent and still. And then, as the moon rose above the hills of Guiana, Landaeta disappeared in the darkness to return later and begin his singing.

796 Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at cre-
781 ating artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily under the very nose of the shaman without reproof, and the adults talked happily. The imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions and no restraints were put on normal and natural behavior before joyous events.

533 There was no dancing on this night, in deference to me, for I could not participate in it, but we sat in a semicircle and sang after the shaman.

787 Itciai arrived and I was helped to sit close to the shaman. Appar-
791 ently Itciai was talking about me, referred to as "the Man." I lighted a cigarette and held it to the shaman's mouth. Without interrup-

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787 tion of the song it was smoked in the shamanistic manner, or rather
791 spirit style, and Itciai began to explain who I was. He said that he knew me well, that I had visited Kuma's land many times, that I was a shaman; that my family was well, that my wife was waiting for me, and that my son was so anxious he began to fear that I was dead. He said that there was something big being saved fo. me in my country. I was a good man, and a man like the Yaruros; that he was glad I liked the Yaruros so much, and that he was glad I was living with them. I had nothing to fear, since on my death I would go to Kuma land. Itciai was saving for me a beautiful large horse to ride in the land of the gods.

During this long discourse about me from Itciai, which lasted about one hour and which was translated to me only in fragmentary fashion, the shaman often, at the beginning of a new thought, would shake the rattle violently before my face, and continue the same frenzied tone and shaking throughout. The people sang lustily, with feeling likewise, a great compliment to me.

[185] Itciai had something to say about the Yaruros in general, namely, that they were doomed to die, but that a better world and life awaits them with Kuma. They will have houses and cattle, clothing, tobacco, and all food; they will be born again there, young and [illegible]. This world will come to an end because the Yaruros are [illegible]g killed off.

Later Hatchawa[1] came. I had a cigarette ready for him. He appreciated it and asked the shaman why I didn't drink of the shaman's drink. He urged me to drink it. I was a Yaruro. He also acknowledged my acquaintance in my own country and in Kuma's, and expressed deep affection for me. He brought good news of my family, saying to hurry back to my wife since she had been waiting for me with much love for a long time. He got another cigarette and I was embraced several times.

The next to come was the father of one of the Yaruro men, and as soon as I heard of it I offered a cigarette. It was properly acknowledged and the people were told by the spirit that indeed I knew a great deal, since I had cigarettes ready to greet the spirits. At about 3 o'clock in the morning came the god Puaná, expressly to greet me. He said that I lived in another land which he himself had made and that he was glad I had come to visit this land. He received three or four cigarettes. He described my land as being like that of Kuma, high and beautiful. He gave me further news of my family and said that he was keeping for me much cattle and many horses in the land of Kuma.

781 Puaná[1] was greeted with happy laughter and general approval, the reception as demonstrated by the quality of the frenzied singing.

1[Itciai and Puaná are creator gods; Hatchawa is the fire-giver..... Analyst]

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781 Puaná stayed with us for about an hour and a half, talking most of the time about me.

787 And finally at about 5 o'clock Kuma herself came to visit me and, like Hatchawa, urged me to drink of the shaman's drink. I had to
791 drink a gourd full of it, since it was held to my lips until I finished it. She gave me messages similar to the others. Finally other Yarures came, and the shaman eventually returned, being greeted with affection by all. We stopped when the sun rose and began another day of primitive life. We had danced and sung almost continuously for 36 hours.

This was my reception among the Yaruros after my return from La Urbana. We talked day and night about religion, and about
606 the world in which we lived. I learned that a mother-in-law and
582 son-in-law must never look upon each other and never talk to each
604 other, though they must be careful to do each other service; that a man must marry his first cousin, and that socially he is under obligation to his maternal uncle who later becomes his father-in-law. Under Landaeta's tutelage the material in this report was compiled. In a sense, therefore, this is his report.

124 One day I announced to Landaeta that I would have to leave in the
123 near future, giving as a reason that my wife and child needed me at home. Actually, there were other considerations; my physical condition was becoming worse, though the sores on my feet were a little better; and for the time being I had quietly exhausted the possibilities of obtaining fresh material from my friends. After all, we had been in contact with each other for six weeks, the major portion of it living communely and conversing with the shaman continuously day after day, sometimes even from sunrise to sunrise. My daily schedule consisted of rising at sunrise, drinking a little coffee sometimes brought to me by Landaeta, and immediately plunging into discussions of religious themes. This would last up to about 10 o'clock when Landaeta would withdraw and busy himself making string or carving gourds for several hours. During this period I would seek clarification of some points from whomsoever was present, or work on social organization, or on genealogy. In the early afternoon Landaeta would be back with new material, new ideas, having thought over what he had said, what I had said, and what still needed to be said. This would continue until sundown.

521 Then there was a short intermission for dinner, but soon afterwards I was hurried over to the eastern edge of the camp, where Landaeta and his people sat after dinner, and there we would sit while the women made cigars for us, talking about mythology, religion and general philosophical concepts. These discussions would last until 10 or 11 o'clock, and often much later, and not rarely shamanistic

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521 performances would be given which would last until sunrise. Therefore there was an intense exchange of ideas for relatively long times with no rest.

361 The time came when Landaeta became a little restless. He was not accustomed to camping on one spot for more than two or three days at a time and he himself had done no hunting since I had joined them. Besides, the men and women had to forage farther and farther away for food. If my physical condition had permitted, it would have been well to continue living with them, moving from place to place, as is normal.

123 152 However, I knew I had to return to civilization quickly. The effect of my announcement on my hosts was interesting, and touching. It will be recalled that I had appeared in their midst as a stranger and a potential enemy and it was through a fortuitous event that I was accepted by them, not only as a friend but as a relative who worshipped the same gods. Since then I had actually been given an affectionate place in their emotional lives and they were sorry to see me go. They understood the reasons that were making it urgent for me to leave, especially understandable was the fact that my "wife and child" who had not seen me for many months were waiting for me to return. Nevertheless, they expressed sorrow, a certain amount of listlessness began to appear and they would come to me and sit by my side, telling me that they would be a rather lonesome people after I had gone; that they liked to talk about religious matters, and that when I would no longer be there with them they would have no one to talk things over with. This attitude affected the men and women in a very curious way. We had very little food in the camp, but still they would not go out and gather fresh quantities. And when I urged them to do so they answered that the knowledge of my coming departure made them very sad, and consequently they did not have the proper spirit to gather food, or even to eat.

609 511 These people have very little in the way of excess goods. Each family has a few baskets, perhaps a water jar, a mat or two, scraps of clothing and their tools, nothing more. And these generally were in very poor condition from long use. Knowing that I wanted to take back with me some of these things, they became busy weaving hammocks, making basketry and even pottery, so that I would take back to my "wife and child" objects new and well-made. This reaction on their part was spontaneous and they all expressed the idea that I should take back with me only new, well-made articles to remember them by; so for about a week before my departure there was intense activity around camp.

The day of my departure finally arrived and I said good-bye. There was no ceremonial wailing as had attended my departure from the

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609 Yawalapiti village in Brazil; but the very silence was expressive of the mutual sorrow at our parting. Landaeta loaded me and my baggage in a canoe and we drifted slowly away, leaving on the vast beach a few human beings alone in a strange world, but not lonesome, since they live with their gods.

Economic Life

231 The Yaruros practice no agriculture and keep no domestic animals except the dog, even though they inhabit country over which roam wild horses and cattle, and they come in contact with the "llaneros," who are typically pastoral. Therefore, their daily dinner is dependent upon, and determined by, indigenous environment and their own
262 energy. The quality and abundance of their food supply depends upon seasonal variations of climate. A period of drought or a too prolonged period of rain may cause famine. They would be allowed a degree of freedom from the daily task of acquiring dinner were they able to store any food for future use. The tropics, however, offer special difficulties to this which are not present in more temperate climates. Their knowledge of what is edible in various localities, where to find it, how to gather it, and how to keep it and what is available at different times of the year are all factors important to the satisfaction of their most fundamental need. Technical knowledge in the making of tools and methods of hunting and fishing are also important.

262 784 As if not satisfied by the degree of their dependency on it, and on their technical knowledge, primitives often self-impose other limitations. There may be an abundance of a particular animal which could be hunted easily or a particular plant which could be gathered in quantity, yet the primitives very often raise barriers against such practices. The fact that they have religious and perhaps magical reasons for such attitudes explains but does not change the situation. Thus, for instance, among them deer may be plentiful in a region, the people may be starving, and yet no deer is killed and eaten.[4]

177 Limitations such as these are not entirely imposed by nature and by the culture of the people; often, the proximity and the attitude of other groups of mankind play their part. A weak tribe will be restricted in its lands over which it may wander, hunt, and claim ownership, and very often may be reduced to seeking a less desirable environment where food is even scarcer. Or a new people may seize its lands and they will be prohibited even from hunting on these lands. Or there may be an influx of peoples who will live partially on the hunt also, though their main source of food may be agricultural.

[4] The peoples of the Kuluene river, Matto Grosso, Brazil, will not hunt nor eat deer.

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311 177 In the case of the Yaruros all of these factors have played an important role and are currently active in reducing their territories and food supply to a degree that will mean imminent extermination of the people. It is true that since the first settler arrived in their country the Yaruros could have made readjustments in their culture which perhaps might have permitted them to survive. They could have learned, for instance, to raise horses, cattle, and to cultivate the soil as the [178] Guajiros, living in a country similar to the llanos, have done. But they have chosen to remain firm in their own culture, own traditions, and own universe, and as a result are expecting to pay the penalty. Why they have failed to make the readjustment which would have brought them into a livable relationship with the newcomers and have persisted in keeping to their primitive, nomadic existence may be answered in the pages that follow.

361 Dependency on hunting, fishing, and gathering of edible fruits and roots imposes nomadism upon a people and prevents living together in large groups. The degree to which a people have to wander, the extent of the territory over which they must roam, and the size of the group, is dependent upon the abundance of the food supply in the region. The Yaruro hunting groups are small and they stay in one camp not more than a few days; so, they are to be met plying up and down the river in their canoes or traveling over land to the water holes, ever hunting for food.

HUNTING TERRITORIES

224 621 596 Each hunting group has a territory over which it is free to roam. Over this region only its members are allowed to hunt and gather fruits and roots, but the rivers, the main streams, are open to all. The accompanying map shows the limits of the present hunting terri- [174] tory of the Yaruros of the Capanaparo. It would seem that anciently, when the Yaruros were more numerous, they roamed over a vaster region cut up into small portions over which hunting rights were distributed among various hunting family groups. I was assured that the Yaruros of the Sinaruco also have divided their country into family units.

619 101 There is also a sort of division among the Yaruros which transcends family grouping. The Yaruros of the Capanaparo, for instance, consider themselves a unit, though loosely bound, as distinct from the Yaruros of the Sinaruco, so that they consider the land drained by the Capanaparo as theirs and the region drained by the Sinaruco as the land of the Yaruros of that river. And yet, above all this, there seems to be a tribal feeling as opposed to the tribal divisions. The real significance of this is that among the Yaruros there is permitted a degree of mutuality in the use of the hunting rights

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not allowed to the neighboring peoples, such as the Otomacos or the Achaguas. The social and linguistic bonds seem to be strong enough to cause the Yaruros to recognize themselves as a distinct people.

FOODS

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In the llanos food is not plentiful except in and along the rivers; but the foraging activities of the Yaruros are restricted to the banks of the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers for another reason. The hunting of land animals has practically stopped for fear that they will be accused by the ranchers of killing cattle. In recent years the activities of the crocodile hunters have ruthlessly destroyed the game, and since such hunters live on the country they have consumed a portion of the available quantity of game on which the Yaruros depended for a livelihood.

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In the dry season game is concentrated along the rivers and the water holes. It is considerably easier to hunt it then than in the rainy season, when it is dispersed over the plains. The turtle, which is found in great quantities in the waters of the Orinoco and its tributaries, suffers a yearly mass hunt and destruction which has its effect on the food supply of the Yaruros. It has been discovered that the turtle fat and eggs will produce a fine grade of oil which sells for a high price. The result is that the breeding grounds of the turtles become yearly a scene of great activity and destruction. No one knows how many thousands of turtles and turtle eggs are gathered and converted into this oil late in the month of April.

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The meat staple of the Yaruros is the *Crocodilus babu*, a small crocodile which grows to about 6 feet long. This animal is hunted daily and eaten in its entirety. Its meat is esteemed above that of any other animal. On the other hand, the cayman, sought for its hide, is not hunted as a rule by the Yaruros. Perhaps this meat is not as savory as that of the babu, but the Yaruros give the reason that the large crocodile represents a race of mankind to which they are related. So that although occasionally it may be hunted for the price that its hide may bring, it is never eaten and never hunted consistently.

[825]

Next to the crocodile, turtles, including the matamata and tortoise, are to be found broiling over the fires in every Yaruro camp, and if they are not broiling they can be seen in shallow pools of water with their forelegs tied to their hindlegs. In this way they can keep alive but cannot walk away. The armadillo is seldom obtained and other meats appear occasionally on the diet of the Yaruros. Fishing is resorted to when neither crocodiles nor turtles are obtainable. The caribe, which is the piranha of Brazil, is esteemed but little. The tonino, which can be seen gracefully playing in the water or can be heard snorting in the rivers at night, is never hunted. It also is

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

136 thought to be related to the race of mankind. On the other hand, the
225 manatee is hunted occasionally. Birds are hunted but seldom, but the
262 meat of the iguana is prized. This animal is not found in great
[224] quantities, however, in the open plains.

The vegetable diet is somewhat more plentiful and varied. There
262 are no restrictions or taboos on what can be eaten. In the dry season
139 it is the potato-like changuango, which is gathered by the women and
[25] which is to be seen broiling over the fires at all times, and which is the only food which the Yaruros are able to keep for a few days by burying it in the sand. In the rainy season it is the chigua seed and the barbaco which form the basic foods. The following list includes most of the foods eaten by the Yaruros:

Dry Season

221 *Eggs.*—Terracai (small water turtle) (mostly in February), turtle (March,
262 April), galapago (tortoise—December), crocodile (cayman—February), babu
(December).

136 *Meats.*—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire (capibara),
137 birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Changuango (root found in the savanna), barbaco (root found in the forest, mostly in May), guapo (a root found in the forest), wild yam (found in the savanna and the forests), fruit of the macanilla palm, honey, hearts of palm (in April).

Dry and Rainy Season

Fish.—(Local Spanish names) tapuara, caribe, toporo, tachiama, palumeta, pavon, cajani, temblador (electric eel).

Rainy Season

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire, birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Fruit of the moriche, chigua, barbaco.

Property

421 The Yaruros do not have much personal property. Nevertheless,
422 what each person possesses is respected scrupulously. This attitude is especially in evidence when, for instance, a visitor attempts to purchase such a thing as a pot. In my case I was forced to ask the men. In spite of any price that I might offer they never allowed themselves to give any kind of an answer to my offer. Instead they offered the explanation that the pots were the property of the women and, therefore, they had to be asked if they wished to sell them. My own property I left in camp often without anyone to watch over it, but never did I miss even a sheet of paper.

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593 The sense of strict inviolability of personal rights carries over to personal services. Never did a husband order his wife to do anything outside of her proper domain. While I lived with them, in spite of the excellent care they gave me, even to the point of anticipating my wishes in a great many cases, never did a husband request his wife to prepare food for me. He asked her if she would, acting merely as my mes-
604 senger. No closer relationship can exist than between maternal uncle and nephew, yet even he does not feel free to ask any service of his nephew, nor to take the latter's personal property.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 Sexual dichotomy in economic activities is clearly defined. In a
562 general way, it may be said that the rougher, harder, and more dangerous work belongs in the province of male activity and that there is no task which calls for strength or danger that properly belongs in the realm of woman's activity. Should any woman be engaged in a hard or dangerous piece of work and a man happens to be present there is a tacit assumption of the task by the latter. Hunting and fishing and presumably the act of fighting in war are man's tasks. The gathering of roots, fruits, seed, and their preparation belongs to
[222] the women. It is interesting to note that the gathering of honey, which entails some risk, is done by the men. The making of canoes, the making of implements, of hammocks, the activities in making camp are all in man's domain. The preparation of food and the making of pottery and basketry are woman's tasks.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 Hunting and fishing are male occupations exclusively. As soon as
868 the young boy is able to toddle about he is made to play with bow
857 and arrow and learns to make these indispensable tools. It is a common sight to see little boys who are too young to be taken along by the men on hunting expeditions playing at the game of hunting; and when a man is in camp busily preparing his hunting equipment his young son is by his side working industriously on miniature bows and arrows.

225 The equipment of the hunter is simple. Bow, arrow, and canoe are
411 indispensable. A Yaruro does not like to roam on land, but there
501 is no need for him to do so since he can get his game in the watercourses or along their banks. So he sets off in the early morning, generally accompanied by his hunting companion, to look for crocodile (*Crocodilus babu*). He will hunt for other forms of life only reluctantly, having a special liking for crocodile meat.

Because of the shyness of crocodile the hunter is most often forced to shoot at it from a distance. Since an arrow will seldom kill one

1: Petrullo E-S (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

of the beasts it is necessary to shoot it with a barbed arrow whose head becomes detached from the shaft but remains attached to the latter by a string. The babu will make for deep water and submerge, but the shaft will float on top, and the beast is drawn to the surface by its means, to be dispatched by another arrow or by a knife blow.

The technique for hunting turtles is similar but its execution is more difficult, due to the smaller size of the turtle. These generally can be seen floating on the water with their heads held erect above the surface.

Fishing is done mostly with bow and arrow. The hunter stands up on the prow of the canoe which is guided into the proper position by his companion paddling in the stern. When the hunter is almost over the fish he shoots his arrow some inches in front so as to allow for the deflection caused by the water.

Deer is seldom hunted since the Yaruro shun the land for fear that they may be accused of killing cattle. Unless the deer is caught on the river bank in the early morning or in the evening it is stalked. The hunter fixes his gaze on the deer and moves forward a few feet at a time, stopping stock still at the slightest sign of alarm on the part of the deer. In this way he can approach to within arrow range. This technique takes great patience and time. The hunter may camouflage himself by painting his torso white and pasting feathers on it. He wears a mask in imitation of the jivaro stork, which consists of a black head and beak and a red collar around the neck. He may use the beak of the jivaro or substitute his bow for it. Mimicking the motions of the jivaro, he approaches the deer. When he is close enough he waits for the deer to look up, when he transfixes it with an arrow. The arrow used is so heavy that it cannot be launched from afar.

In addition to these, the armadillo, the tortoise, and the chiguire are hunted. The hunter does not fail to gather turtle eggs, crocodile eggs, and honey as he roams along the river banks.

FOOD GATHERING

It is the task of the women to gather supplementary food. They organize their own expeditions. Armed with digging stick and baskets and accompanied by the children, they roam the plains, digging up the changuango, the barbaco, and the chigua.

MATERIAL CULTURE

In material culture the Yaruros are poverty stricken. Their nomadic existence limits their possessions to what they can carry with them in their canoes, which is very little. The whole range of objects made or possessed by the Yaruros consists of canoe, paddles,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

511 bow and arrows, digging sticks, baskets, small hammocks, a water jar or two, a mortar and pestle, several fishhooks, fire sticks, and scraps of clothing. As a rule, each family will possess the minimum of these objects.

501 [313] CANOES.—A typical Yaruro canoe measured about 18 feet long. Its longitudinal cross section was as shown in plate 16, *3*. It was made of the "salao" wood.

501 322 The only tools that the Yaruros have to fashion such a canoe are crude machetes, perhaps an ax, and fire. The canoes are never regular in outline and on the whole are rather crude. Both bow and stern end in a point and the bottom is round. These canoes are unstable, difficult to maneuver, and will split easily. No crosspieces are used to reinforce the canoe.

PADDLES.—Paddles are of two types, as shown in figure 16. The large paddles measure about 4 feet in length; the smaller paddles slightly over 3 feet. They are as crudely fashioned as the canoes and increase the difficulties of paddling.

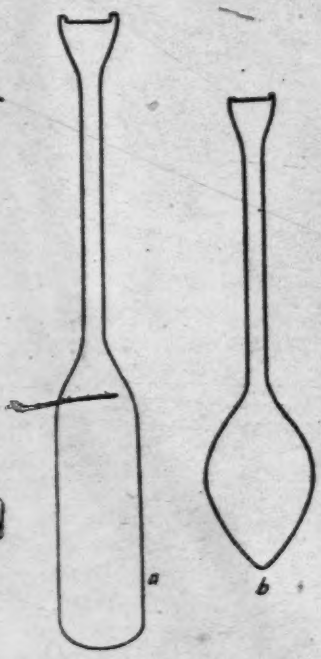

FIGURE 16.—Paddles. *a*, Type usually used by stern paddler. *b*, Generally used in the bow.

411 [313] BOWS.—The bows are fashioned from macanilla or the mahaguillo wood. A large bow will measure about 6 feet, but most of them are closer to 5 feet. The inner surface of the bow is generally flat and the outer is curved. The greatest width on one such bow was about 1½ inches and its thickness less than 1 inch. When the string is relaxed these bows are perfectly straight. They are not reinforced unless they show signs of splitting. On the whole, these bows are inferior to those made by many other tribes in South America. The bow string is tied as shown in figure 17, *e*, *f*, *g*,[1] with three clove-hitch knots.

[284] ARROWS.—The Yaruros, like most other South American primitives, have a variety of arrows, each type being designed for a specific purpose. A fish arrow consists of a reed shaft to which is attached a bone point with resin and string. Often the upper end of the bone point will protrude away from the shaft to form a small barb. Three feathers are used and fastened as shown in figure 18, *f*, *j*, *k*.[2] At the feathers' end of the arrow a notched piece of Brazil-wood is inserted.

411 226 237 A somewhat similar arrow with an iron point is made. In this case the point is inserted into a worked piece of wood which, in turn,

1 [See category 116, p. 205. ---Analyst]
2 [See category 116, p. 206. ---Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

411 226 237 is inserted into the reed shaft (fig. 19, *a*, *f*). The barb on the iron point is obviously more effective than on the bone point.

225 For crocodiles the arrow point is always of iron, barbed and detachable. Its length is considerably less than the other, measuring about 4 feet or less. A string about 30 feet long is attached to the point and wrapped tightly around the shaft. When the point strikes the animal the string becomes unwound and if the animal dives into the water the hunter can trace it by the shaft floating on the surface. He then proceeds to pull up the animal.

411 224 For deer and chiguire, land animals, a broad iron blade is used for the point, so heavy that one would suppose it would be a lance head. This is inserted into the shaft and at the point of insertion a crosspiece is fashioned to the shaft so that the point cannot penetrate more than 4 or 5 inches. The reason for this is that the Yaruro is afraid to lose his arrow should he fail to kill the animal and it were to run away. A barbless arrow will tend to fall out of the wound if the animal races away and then the hunter can recover it.

411 223 For birds, the bone-pointed arrows are used and sometimes a special arrow consisting of a shaft with a wooden knob. However, since birds are hunted so seldom there is very little use for special arrows.

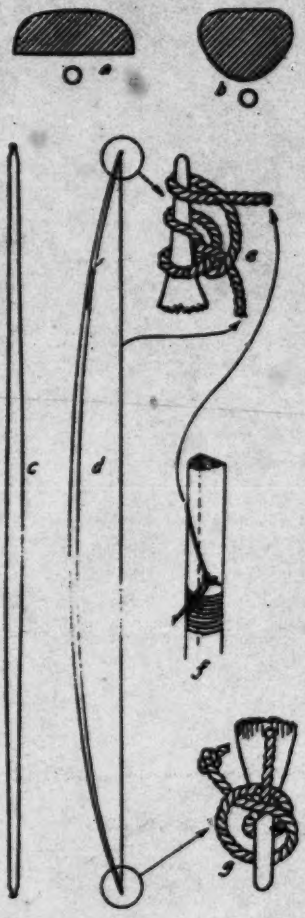

FIGURE 17. — Yaruro bows. *a*, *b*, Cross sections of bows. Circles represent original shape of wood, measuring about 7 cm before it is cut down to shape "*a*" and "*b*." *c*, *d*. Yaruro bow. One specimen measured 195 cm in length, 3.2 cm wide in cross section, 2 cm in thickness. *e*, *f*, *g*. Detail of knots on bow string.

411 326 412 The iron points are well made. Each man tries to possess himself of a stone and an iron hammer, but actually in the entire group that I saw, there were only two stones and one hammer. Iron is hard to obtain, and any scrap which comes into their possession is employed either as a knife or an arrow point. The iron is shaped both by hammering and by filing. I saw only one file in the group. At best, it must cause them a great deal of labor to fashion any of these points.

2 [see category 116, 207 --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Perhaps that is one reason why no man had in his possession more than three or four arrows—for the most part he had only one of the iron tip kind.

FISHHOOKS.—Most of the fishing is done with bow and arrow, but hooks are known to the Yaruros, and when they are able to obtain strong fine string they employ these hooks. Hooks are not only em-

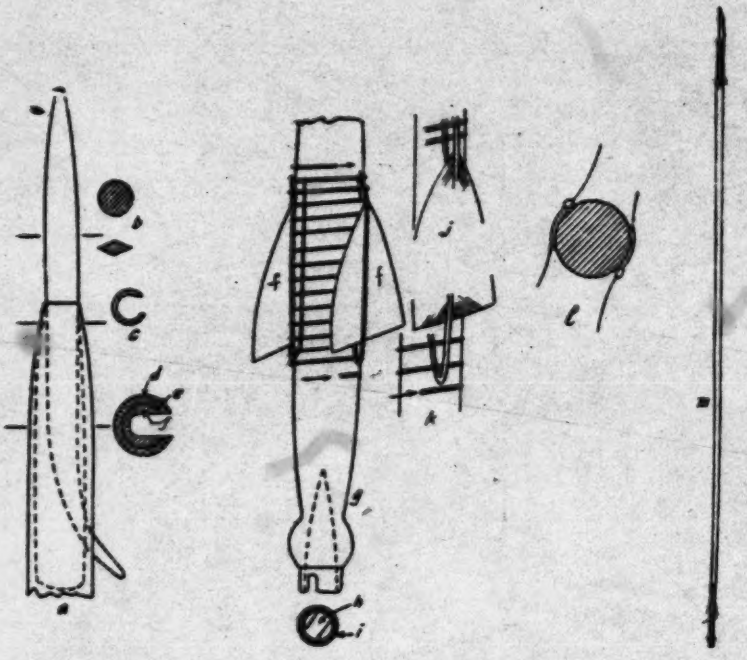

FIGURE 18.—*a*, Bone or iron point attached to shaft. *b*, Cross sections of points; round cross section is of the bone point; diamond-shaped cross section is of the iron point. *c*, Cross section of wax and twine binding. *d*, Cross section of reed shaft. *e*, Cross section of brazil wood to which point is actually fastened. *f*, Feathers. *g*, Butt end of arrow. *h*, Wooden plug nock. *i*, Reed shaft. *j*, *k*, *l*, Method of fastening feather to the arrow. *m*, Fish arrow.

ployed for fish, but even for the chiguire, and sometimes for the crocodiles. The simplest kind is that shown in figure 20, *c*, which may consist of bone or wood. It measures about 6 inches in length. A stronger point of iron or hard wood is used for the manatee. This type is shown in figure 20, *d*. For crocodiles, generally a hard stick sharpened at both ends and baited with a large piece of meat is used. The crocodiles will swallow the stick and, if it is attached to a thick wire, it makes an excellent means of capturing these beasts.

DIGGING STICKS.—Next to the bows and arrows, the most important implement of the Yaruro is the digging stick, which will consist of a wooden handle from 3 to 4 feet long slipped into the handle of an

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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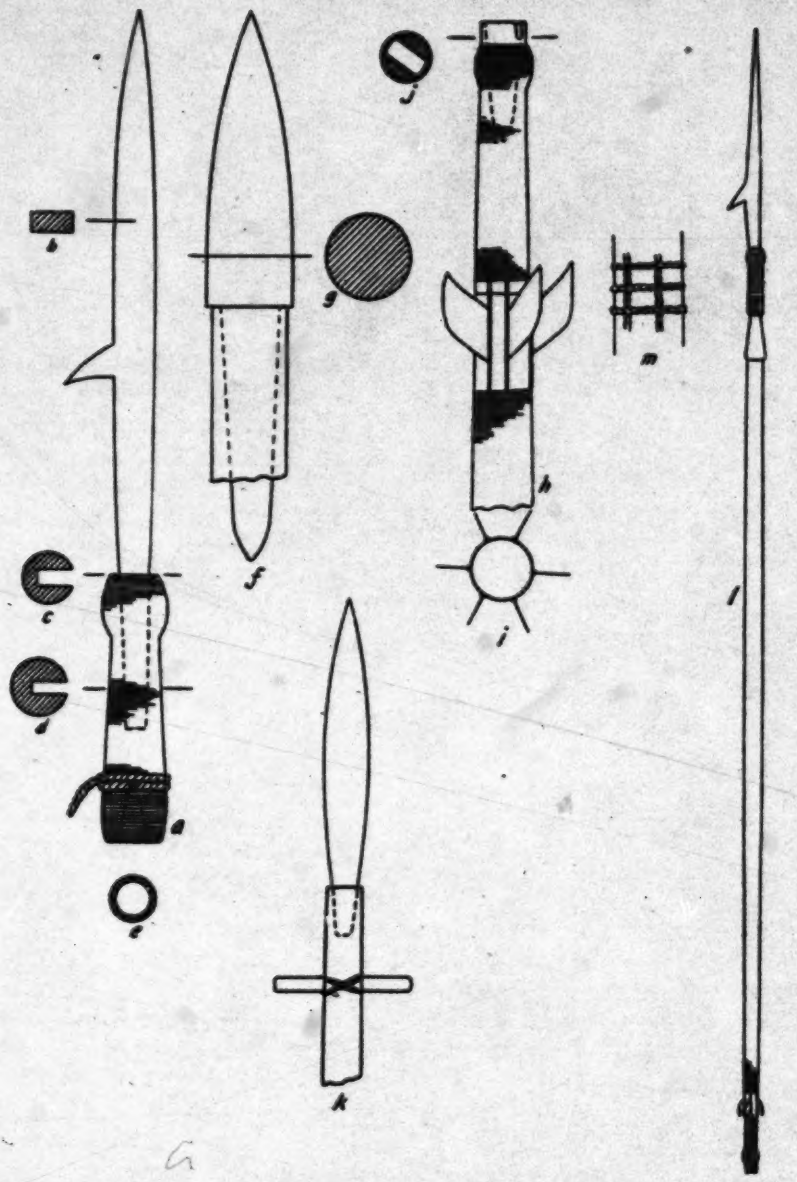

FIGURE 19.—*a*, Arrow point. *b*, Cross section of iron point. *c*, *d*, *e*, Cross sections. *f*, Details of point and wooden plug which is thrust into the reed shaft. *g*, Cross section. *h*, Method of fastening feathers to shaft. *i*, *j*, *m*, Details of *h*. *k*, Deer arrow, showing crosspiece. *l*, Harpoon type of arrow.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

412 iron hoe, which is also made by the Yaruro out of any heavy scrap
322 of iron that they may gather. Sometimes they will work for the
[137] ranchers and with their earnings purchase this type of hoe from a trader. However, such a digging tool is quite a luxury and sharpened sticks are more common.

[253] MORTARS AND PESTLES.—During the rainy season, the Yaruros
[222] gather chigua, a seed, which they dry and pound into flour. Mortars
415 of wood shaped as shown in figure
322 20, *a*, *b*, are used and the pestle is any ordinary hard stick.

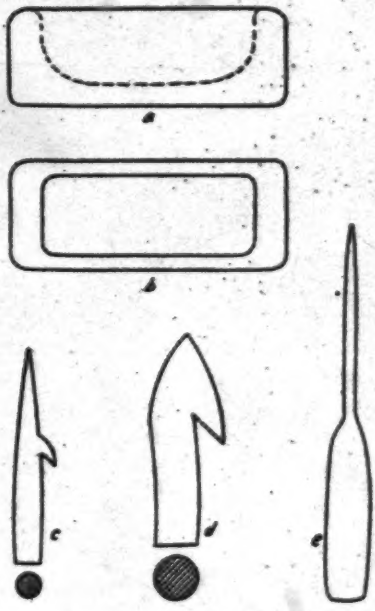

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FIGURE 20.—*a*, *b*, Wooden mortar. *c*, Bone or iron point used for hunting chiguire. *d*, Hook used for manatee. *e*, Cooking paddle.

COOKING LADLES.—These are small wooden paddles used in cooking, especially when meat is boiling in a pot (fig. 20, *e*).

HAMMOCKS.—The Yaruros prefer to sleep on the sands, especially during the dry season. The men make hammocks, however, small ones generally used by children as cradles, and by the women shamans when they sing, during the day. During the rainy season they may employ them for sleeping.

The fiber employed to make the hammock string comes from the moriche leaf. The string may be very fine, of course, depending on the interest of the maker. It is made by the men. To weave the hammock a loom is made of two poles thrust into the sand to which are fastened two crosspieces at both the top and bottom. The string is then wound around these crosspieces. The weaver employs a knotter's netting technique. When the entire hammock has been woven the weaving is held in place by another string thrust through one of the woven rows.

[137] ROPE.—The fiber mostly employed by the Yaruros is taken from
283 the leaf of the moriche and the macanilla. The inner cortex of the leaf is stripped off and dried and then is taken apart strand by strand. These long fibers are then moistened and twisted together in two's and th..ee's into a string by rolling them on the thigh with the palm of the hand. A stronger string is made in the same way and used for making hammocks. The bow strings are made from the fiber of the macanilla.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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BASKETRY.—The Yaruros make two types of baskets, a coarse kind which is used once or twice and then discarded, and finely woven pouches which are carried by the hunters. The coarse basketry is

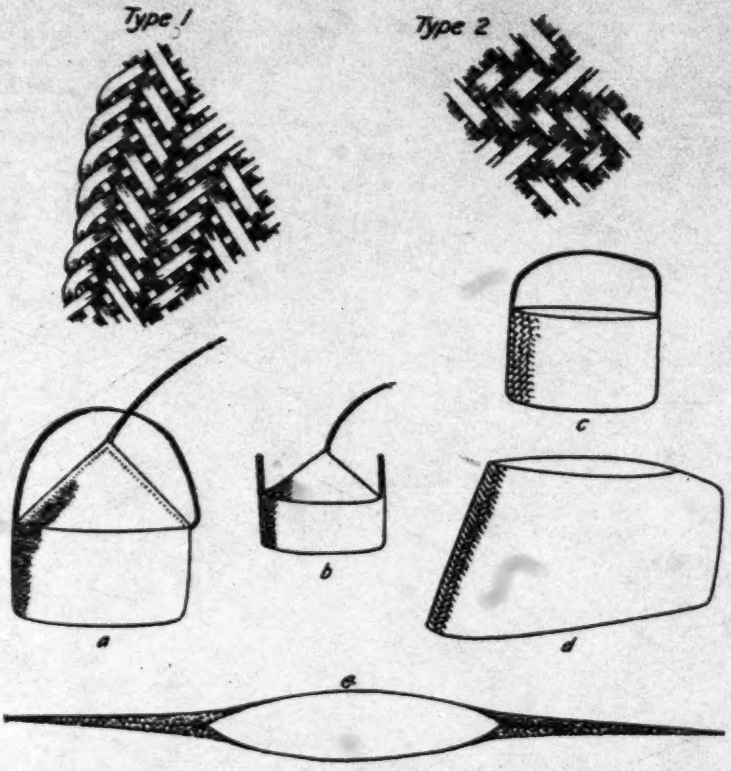

FIGURE 21.—Basketry. Type 1 and Type 2, weaves employed by the Yaruros. *a*, *b*, Pouches with flaps (Type 2 weave). *c*, *d*, Small baskets (Type 2 weave). *e*, Another type of basket used around camp (Type 2 weave generally). Only two weaves are employed by the Yaruros, both of which are shown (Type 1, Type 2). Baskets are used to carry food and to store objects. The coarser baskets, woven quickly and discarded after a few days, are woven as Type 1. The finer basketry, especially the pouches, are woven according to Type 2 technique.

often woven from one leaf. The finer type involves a more complex process. The outer cortex of the moriche leaves are stripped off and only the inner cortex, torn in narrow strips, is used. The techniques employed are fairly simple, as shown in figure 21.

372 FIRE STICKS.—The apparatus used for producing fire among the Yaruros is very simple, consisting of merely two sticks of laurel wood which is found in great abundance along the banks of the rivers. One stick is notched about the middle. This stick is placed on the ground and held in place with the foot, while the other stick, fitted into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the palms of the hands.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

CANOES

[481] 501 502 868 The Yaruros dislike to travel any distance afoot. The canoe, therefore, is practically his only means of transportation. As a result, they are extraordinarily good canoemen, learning both how to build and to manage one from childhood. It is not an uncommon sight to see little children of 5 or 6 years of age paddling furiously in midstream. Their expertness can best be illustrated by the following incident: The llanos are exposed to the trade winds in the dry season, which at times blow very hard. On our return from La Urbana we found the crossing of the Orinoco to the mouth of the Capanaparo a dangerous undertaking.

The Yaruro dugouts are clumsy affairs at best, but in addition to that, ours had a gaping hole about 10 inches in diameter in the stern and it was with some qualms that I stepped into it to negotiate the rather rough waters with the help of a 12-year-old boy. Since the Yaruro steers from the bow, that place of honor was allotted to the youngster, I furnishing the power. During the passage across I despaired several times of being able to hold the canoe in the right direction, but whenever we found ourselves caught in some especially difficult whirlpool this lad would turn and laugh, not in derision but in encouragement, which was calculated, I suppose, to bolster my spirit, but helped not at all in easing the strain on my arms. His knowledge of the currents and his proper timing in signaling to me to paddle one way or the other, as well as deft steering, finally got us across safely. When this incident was over and I looked back over the rough waters, my respect for Yaruro canoemanship increased manifold.

502 177 Sails are used on the Orinoco and its tributaries, both by the occasional traders and crocodile hunters. The Yaruros have had ample opportunities over several centuries to learn how to make use of them. In fact, some of the younger men who worked occasionally for the ranchers, or traders, do know how. However, in their daily plying up and down the rivers, hunting and fishing, they never employ the sail.

[181] Their conservatism is further illustrated by another fact. The Racionales will always pole their canoes when traveling upstream. The Yaruros know how to do this also, but only when they are working for someone else. In their everyday life they depend entirely on the paddle.

502 The steersman generally sits in the bow, especially when moving downstream and the paddler is alone, pulling the canoe after him. The paddler in the stern, if one is present, really furnishes the motive power. The Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

516 the Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-
502 tom of the canoe on several cross sticks without any back rest or any foot rest on which to brace himself. To one not accustomed to such a position it is clumsy and painful, and easily fatiguing. The paddler's stroke is short, quick, and choppy, like that of many South American tribes in Brazil.

SHELTER

362 Yaruro shelter is the simplest thing in the world. Nothing simpler could be devised. Shunning the forest and camping only on the open beaches by the river, the shelter is devised for two purposes—to protect the family from the winds, the insects, the sun,
342 and in the rainy season from the rain. They make, therefore, a variety of shelters. The camp shelter for daytime in the dry season consists of branches thrust vertically into the sands. If there are any persons about camp during the day, which there are generally, they will sit in the shade of these branches, moving around them as the sun changes its position in the sky. At night they dig holes in the sand and lie in them, protecting themselves from the winds by a shelter of branches or basketry at the head. These shelters, however, must allow a certain amount of wind to come through in order to prevent the gathering of large swarms of insects. Sleeping in holes in the sand, they keep warm, since the dry winds make it quite
361 chilly at night. All of the Yaruro in the Capanaparo are too no-
364 madic to build better shelter than the types described, since they stay in one camp only a few days, generally two or three. They move about so much, both for the lack of game in the area and the refuse that accumulates around camp, even though the vultures can always be seen feasting upon the remains of crocodile and turtle. The Yaruro are aware that if they stay too close to such piles of refuse they may become infected.

101 However, the Yaruro living on Linda Bara, the islands at the
361 mouth of the Capanaparo, have such an abundance of food that they
342 make somewhat more permanent structures. This consists generally of a low hemispherical structure covered with palm leaves which reach to about 2 feet from the ground, leaving the interior open to the winds, but even these structures are abandoned in a few weeks because of the insect life. This is the type of structure that is employed during the rainy season when life becomes more sedentary.

POTTERY

317 At certain places along the banks of the Capanaparo the proper
323 clay is found for pottery. The type preferred is whitish in color. Generally a small quantity of yellowish red clay is mixed with it.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

317 323 [302] [824] This same clay supplies the red and yellow ocher used for facial painting. The clay is tempered with the bark of the Mecla tree called "Toiin" in Yaruro. This bark is burned to an ash and the ashes are kneaded into the clay, which has been well moistened. Balls of this clay are then made, coiled, and placed one upon another. They are then flattened and smoothed out by hand or with the help of a piece of shell, water being applied liberally. The clay rests on a dish of pottery which is revolved when necessary. After the pot has been built up and smoothed down it is left in the sun to dry for two days. At the proper time a base of wood is made,

[531]

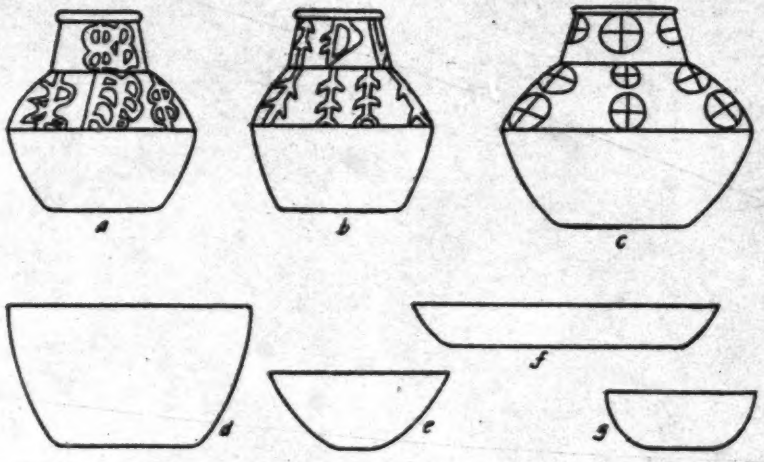

FIGURE 22.—Pottery forms and decorations. *a*, *b*, *c*, Water jars, showing painted designs. *d*, *e*, *g*, Bowls. *f*, Pottery plate used for toasting seeds.

the pottery placed on it and covered with other sticks, and then a hot fire bakes the pottery for about two hours. Such quick firing produces a poor quality of pottery, but leaves it porous. Since these pots are used only as water jars, this has the effect of keeping the water very cool (pl. 13, *2*; fig. 22).

CLOTHING

291 177 Most of the Yaruros whom I saw possessed some scrap of clothing which was worn both as protection against the weather and for social show. In many cases this clothing consisted of mere shreds, as can be seen in plate 15, *1*. The men wear coats and trousers or merely trousers. The women wear camisoles of the thinnest goods which in no way hides their nakedness. Most of this clothing is discarded when there are no visitors around camp, and

1 [see category 116, and plate 3 ----- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

291 177 after I had been among the Yaruros for a time the women often discarded their camisoles, even though I were present.

291 286 462 The men would normally wear a breechclout which originally was woven by the women from the fibers of the moriche palm leaf, but now it consists of a piece of cloth. Formerly the women wove wide belts of the same fiber for the men, but this is no longer done. The breechclout is held in place by a string tied around the waist.

291 287 The women, underneath their camisoles, still wear the old-fashioned Yaruro girdle, which is made from the fibers of the moriche palm. The fibers, which are about 2 feet long, are fastened together at one end. This end is slipped through a hair rope tied around the waist, and the whole mass of fibers passes between their legs and under the waist string. Plate 25, 4, shows a Yaruro woman wearing one of these girdles. It is fastened in such a way that an enormous knot is formed in the rear, and when wearing their camisole the women have the appearance of sporting large tails.

562 291 301 The women on the whole seem to be more conservative than the men in their clothing and body decorations. Below the knees and around the ankles they wear a thin string, and often they have necklaces of carved asabache figures, which are shown in plate 21.

DELOUSING TOOL

412 515 462 302 An implement that is in great vogue is the delousing tool shown in plate 20, 2. The serrated end is used as a comb to expose the lice, which are seized between the fingers and crushed between the teeth. The pointed end is employed to crush blisters raised on the body by mosquito bites. These tools, also fashioned by the men, are used exclusively by the women to groom their menfolk and each other.

CARRYING NETS

482 286 854 Carrying nets, of the knotless variety, are woven and used to carry children and food. When carrying children the net is slung across the chest from one shoulder; when carrying food it is supported by the head.

COOKING

252 462 The culinary art among the Yaruro is poorly developed. Much of the fruit and the eggs are eaten raw. Fish is eaten half raw and the meat of the crocodiles and turtles is merely warmed over the fire. Sometimes the meat is boiled. In the afternoon the women who have gathered firewood are to be found in camp waiting patiently for the men. On the hot coals they will have eggs and changuango. If the hunt is successful, and no hunt is considered

1 [see category 116, and plate 15, - - - Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

252 462 successful if the men do not come back with a number of crocodiles, the men build larger fires, upon which the crocodiles are laid. As the hide cracks the animals are split open, the meat is stuck on spits and upon reaching a stage of being warm it is eaten. Contrary to popular ideas that crocodile eaters only consume the tail, the Yaruro eat the entire animal but stop short at the entrails, which are thrown to the dogs. However, they accuse the neighboring Guahibos of eating the entrails as a special delicacy. Turtle meat and eggs are often boiled. [261]

263 261 Salt is known to these people but it is by no means considered an indispensable condiment in their food. In the only historical reference we have to the Yaruros they are referred to as clay eaters. Today, even though they are in occasional touch with civilized communities, the salty clay banks are still their only source of supply for salt. The food is generally eaten saltless, since they have no means of purchasing salt from the Racionales and they do not know how to make salt from the clay. As a result, they obtain the amount of salt necessary to life by chewing clay which they pick up in their wanderings over the plains. Food which I prepared with salt was always left untouched by them as being unsavory. In this respect, therefore, they act like the cattle and the deer which can be seen over the plains licking salt clay banks. [317]

STORING OF FOOD

251 The only foods that can be kept for any length of time in the lowland tropics are the roots and seeds. In the rainy season even this is impossible. The Yaruros during the dry season leave caches of changuango on various sandbars. They dig pits into which they place the roots. The hole then is filled and soon the wind will leave no mark indicating that the sand has been disturbed. In some cases where the landmarks are plain, and the Yaruros expect to return in a day or two, no markers are placed anywhere. But if they expect to be delayed, or the sandbar is so large that they might forget the exact spot of the cache, they will thrust a stick into the ground at some distance away. Apparently by sighting with this stick and some other chosen point, they are able to locate the food store. However, on a number of occasions I saw the Yaruros march to a place on the sands with certitude and excavate changuango. In such cases I saw no markers. [151]

In similar fashion they may store turtle eggs, provided they expect to return within a few hours. Baskets and other objects may also be left in the sand, to be retrieved when they are needed. Asabache, which is found in certain localities, may be gathered in quantities and stored until it is to be used.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

251 During the rainy season the seed of the chigua is gathered. It is crushed, toasted, and stored in small quantities in the same way as the changuango, provided, of course, that a spot is found high enough to keep it dry.

Social Organization and Social Customs

592 616 622 791 554 Economically the family hunting group is the basic unit, as has been shown in the previous chapter. In social matters, however, it is the moiety. Each family hunting group recognizes a headman and each moiety recognizes a chief who in all cases is the shaman. Both of these positions of authority are acquired only through personal merit. There is no inheritance of chieftainship or shamanism. If the nephew of a headman shows ability he may inherit his uncle's position, and theoretically this is the scheme. In natural practices we find that not only the Yaruros but perhaps a great many other primitive peoples are very realistic and are loath to give authority to an individual whose personality does not stand for leadership.

616 428 Every Yaruro is born in either the "Itciai" or "Puaná" moiety. Descent, with its social affinities, prerogatives, and obligations, being traced through the female line, the child belongs to its mother's moiety. Nothing is inherited from the father, who belongs to the other moiety, except obligations.

616 773 There is a legend among the Yaruros that two young men not finding any marriageable girls among their own people mated with the Jaguar and with the Snake. From these two unions are descended the two moieties. Since only among animals do brothers and sisters mate it has become a rule that two descendants of the Jaguar, "Itciai", cannot marry with each other; nor can two descendants of the Snake, "Puaná", marry with each other. They must seek a mate from the other group. Thus an "Itciai" must always marry a "Puaná", and vice versa. Cross-cousin marriage solves this problem.

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In this system, therefore, a man's children belong to his wife's moiety, from which he is socially excluded. His sister's children, on the other hand, are socially close to him since they too inherit moiety membership from their mother which is the same as his own. Deprived of his own children to carry on his traditions, a man looks to his sister's children to take their place. It is his nephews who will help him in hunting, who will come to his defence, who will take care of him in old age. As if in payment of such attention he gives them his daughters in marriage. Thus his sisters' sons become his sons-in-law.

604

621 596 Yaruro society is built around the hunting group, which in numbers is never stable. The hunt and the gathering of food such as roots and fruits calls for a certain amount of cooperative effort, but

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

621 596 rarely is there need to enlist the services of persons outside the family group for it.

A typical hunting family will consist of the "old man," his wife, their unmarried sons, unmarried and married daughters, their sons-in-law, perhaps an unmarried brother or two, or without a father-in-law with whom to live, the parents-in-law unless they be dead, and the grandchildren, that is, the children of the daughters. To this nucleus there may be attached, temporarily, stragglers from other groups, old people and young children without relatives to take care of them, and visiting children of the man's sisters.

When two hunting groups meet very often they will camp together for a few days. If food is plentiful they may spend some of the time in merrymaking. Those bands which are in touch with the ranchers may gather together to perform a given piece of work for the meager pay that they may receive.

621 178 In actual practice it is almost impossible for a hunting group to consist of a theoretical family as described. This is especially true now that the Yaruros are disappearing so rapidly. The women may have a series of husbands, as if one dies, or is killed, and the men may have a series of wives. Any genealogical table, therefore, is very confused.

616 621 596 The group of El Burron consisted of the following: Two sisters who had been married to Fauste, a cross-cousin but who was now dead; one of these women, Agapita, had two daughters, both of whom married. Isabel, one of these daughters, was dead at the time of my visit, but she had two children, a boy and a girl, who were still living. Her sister had married, lost her husband, but had four children, all living. The sister of the old woman, Agapita, had a boy and a girl, both of whom were living with the group. Fauste had a brother and a sister, now very old, and both living with the group. His brother had a daughter, Maria, who was also living with the group. On analysis we find, therefore, that, as the group existed at the time of my visit, there were twelve members of the Puaná moiety and three members of the Itciai moiety (fig. 23).

The other groups met show a greater confusion. So many individuals had died that there was no fixed form for any group. In some cases the groups would consist of several middle-aged men and women with wives and children and in other groups, such as Landaeta's and Pablo Reyes', they were led by old men—shamans. It is 601 because of the breakdown of the social system under current conditions that the genealogies are not reproduced in this study at this time.

606 This confusion affects the social relationships between various indi- 604 viduals. For instance, one Garcia was married to Landaeta's

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

daughter, but he should have married the daughter of one Juan Bario, who was a parallel cousin of Landaeta, therefore, he actually married not his immediate cross cousin, but his cross cousin once removed. He kept strictly within the cross moiety marriage rule. However, this marriage brought complications in his life, because for all practical purposes he had two fathers-in-law to take care of rather than one. He solved this problem by living with Landaeta, his wife's father, half of the week, and the other half he spent with his uncle,

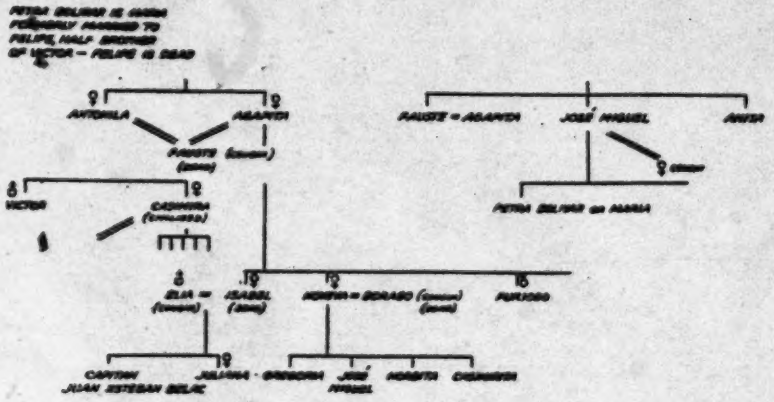

FIGURE 22.—Yaruro family hunting group at El Burro.

Juan Bario, whose daughter he would have married if she had lived. The sense of service which he owed to his true uncle, his mother's brother, was strong enough to persist, even though it visited a hardship on him.

Within the tribal organization the individual looks to his moiety for guidance, protection, and social intercourse. In return for this he is obligated to members of his moiety in a variety of ways. He acknowledges their affinity to him by seeking their company, by hunting together with them, and by sharing his food with them.

In the family hunting group its head is socially a stranger to most of the people around him. Indeed, if he has no sisters or has sisters who do not have any sons and has no brothers living with him, then socially he is almost out of place in the family hunting group. His wife, of course, belongs to the opposite moiety, and the children trace their descent through the mother. His wife's mother, sisters, brothers and their children belong to the same moiety as herself. When his own children are old enough to take part in hunting they look to their mother and to her brother, or brothers, for guidance and it is toward the latter that they have all sorts of social obligations. To their father they show respect, but to the mother's

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

604 593 476 brothers they must make offerings of labor and food. In fact as soon as they are old enough to do so, the boys will spend a good portion of their time in the family group of their uncles on their mother's side. They hunt with him, they help him build his canoes, work for him, and take part in the feasts and ceremonies with him.

593 604 However, the father is interested in his children, especially when they are young, and treats them with the utmost kindness and they reciprocate by acknowledging filial respect. Perhaps it was this difference in the attitude between the uncle and the father that led [114] the missionaries to comment that the Yaruros and the Otomacos showed no respect for their fathers and often killed them.

601 A Yaruro makes no mistake between those individuals in his group who are related to him biologically and those who are merely related to him socially. For instance, he calls his father "aia" or "aiamái," and he calls his father's brothers by the same word. In fact he distinguishes between the older and the younger brothers of his father, so that he may call his father's elder brother "aiamái oteh," which is translatable into "elder father". He will refer to the younger brother of his father as "aiamái durimé," meaning "younger father." Not only does he call the brothers of his father by the same term as he addresses his own father, but the parallel cousins also are addressed by the same term. Since his own father must show respect to his older brothers, the son assumes the same attitude as his father toward the older members of the family. In the female line, he refers to his mother as "aí" and his mother's sisters as "aí" also, suffixing the term for older and younger as the case may be. The female parallel cousins of his mother are called by the same term.

On the other hand the sisters of the father are addressed as "haí" and the brothers of his mother are addressed as "hademái". It is these classes of individuals whom we can refer to as aunt and uncle.

His brothers he calls "ajimái" or "anyimai" and his sisters "amí". These terms are extended to his parallel cousins both on his father's and mother's side. The children of his father's brothers, and his mother's sisters, he calls "anyiná," if male, and "ani," if female. His cross-cousins he addresses as follows: "keramái", the sons of his mother's brother, which is equivalent to brother-in-law; "nyohé" the daughters of his mother's brother; "avimái", the sons of his father's sister; and "haí haó", the daughters of his father's sister.

There is a striking resemblance between the terms which he employs to indicate his grandchildren and his grandparents. The children of his daughter, if boys, he will refer to as "hiamai," if girls, "hiatokwi." The children of his son, on the other hand, if boys, he will call "hadamai," and if girls "hadatokwi." His grandfather on his father's side he calls "hadaoteh." His grandmother

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

101 on his father's side he calls "hami." His grandfather on his mother's side is referred to as "hiateh," and his grandmother on his mother's side as "homa." It may be that these terms merely mean, as has been suggested by other authors in discussing relationship terms, "feeble one," the equivalent perhaps of old men and old women in [888] our own language. (Fig. 24.)

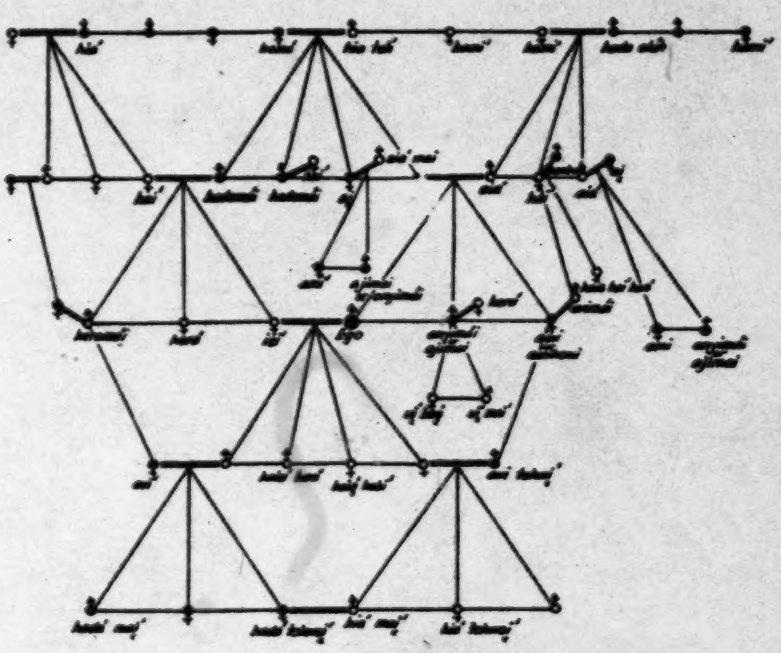

FIGURE 24.—Relationship chart.

Since a boy looks to his maternal uncle for instruction and spends with him a good portion of his time, he is also coming in contact with his future wife, who should be a daughter of one of the brothers of his mother. These female cross cousins he calls "gnohé," which was translated for me as the equivalent of "sweetheart", and his male cross cousins he calls "keramái" (brother-in-law), which is the usual term of address and greeting when a Yaruro meets another belonging to the opposite moiety. When he marries one of these girls, he refers to her as "ieyitokwi" or "young woman." Later he addresses her as "ieyi kui," which means "my woman". Her sisters whom, before marriage, he called "nyohé" (sweetheart), now he calls and refers to each as "kera." On the part of the girl, before marrying the boy, she calls him "nyowuh," and upon marrying him she refers to him as "oi," meaning "man." His brothers whom before

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

601 marriage she called also "nyowuh", are referred to as "keramai". The father-in-law calls his son-in-law "haiméma'", which means "the one my daughter married", and the son-in-law calls his father-in-law "huíteh". His mother-in-law, whom he never addresses directly, he [606] refers to as "kaikamúe". The girl refers to her father-in-law as "kuinté". Before marriage the boy would have called his uncle, the brother of his mother, "húidemái".

616 There do not seem to be any rites or ceremonies from which members of the opposite moiety are excluded. According to my informants, the Puaná clan moiety is preeminent over the Itciai moiety, therefore the person recognized as its head is considered to be the [578] chief of the Yaruros. There is no resentment, as far as I was able to learn, to this arrangement. Primarily, I suppose, because the biological descendants of an individual pass from one moiety to another and therefore share in its prerogatives. The Yaruros' social concepts in respect to moiety membership is best expressed by reciprocal duties, obligations, and prerogatives. Under the elementary local system the son-in-law is almost a guest among his wife's people with whom he goes to live. During the rainy season when more permanent shelters are built, according to my informants, they have more ceremonies, during one of which the unmarried boys of one moiety then sit in the house of the other moiety.

616 Although there is no exclusion of the members of the opposite
796 moiety in the ceremonies, if the shaman is of the Puaná moiety,
791 those that sit closest to him are members of his own moiety. But even in this case the other moiety is represented, and in fact indirectly serves him. His own wife sits at his right and it is she who assists him when her help is needed by handing to him the various pieces of his paraphernalia and tobacco. It is she, likewise, who prepares the various drinks. The rest of the members of her moiety, if they happen to be present, take their places following the members of the shaman's moiety.

604 When a man is undertaking a hunt or wishes to build a canoe he
476 calls on his nephews, that is, his sister's sons, for help, and they are obligated to be at his service. This obligation and service, which begins as soon as the boy begins to understand his position in the society, lasts a lifetime. When the uncle or uncles become too feeble to hunt for themselves it is these nephews who supply them with food and everything else they may need. This service may be interpreted as compensation to the uncles for their daughters who become the wives of these youths. But there was no indication that it was so considered by the Yaruro.

593 h. A man, therefore, does not have the services nor the social life of
604 his children, but has to look to his sister's womb for individuals to educate and to assist him.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

603 604 educate and to assist him. However, his grandchildren belong to his own moiety and the children of his daughters will be born in this camp and will live with him until the boys are old enough to seek wives in the other moiety. The bonds linking these nephews, uncles, grandparents, and grandchildren are morally strong and perhaps it explains why Kuma herself is thought of as being the grandmother of Hatchawa, rather than the mother. Several myths illustrate this uncle, nephew, grandfather, and grandchild relationship. It is curious to note that occasionally the uncle in these myths plays tricks on the nephew and may even be represented as being exceedingly wicked, but the grandfather is always benevolent.

[591] The children of a man's sons are brought up in a different hunting group, since the boys will live with their wives' groups, and although these grandchildren belong to the same moiety, the old man's contact with them is rather limited. It is different with the children of his daughter.

182 582 The basis of Yaruro social organization is cross-cousin marriage. Each hunting group tends to consist of one family and other groups hunting nearby are probably closely related to it. The chance of a member of one group meeting members of a group hunting far away from his hunting grounds would be quite insignificant. It would appear, therefore, that a Yaruro man would have the option to marry

[584] his sister's cousins, aunts, grandchildren, and grandparents. Of these it is considered incest to marry his sisters, his mother, and the sisters of his mother, whom he calls mother also, the children of his father's brothers, whom he calls father, and the children of his mother's sisters, whom he calls sister also. The only two classes of women whom he can legitimately marry are the daughters of his mother's

[616] brothers and the daughters of his father's sisters. The latter, however, belong to the same moiety as himself and are therefore excluded. His choice is restricted to the daughters of his mother's sisters.

However, a number of factors may enter to allow a man a wife other than his cross cousins on his mother's side, and in fact in some cases he is forced to marry others than his cross cousins on his mother's side, who may not be available. Theoretically he may marry any of the following: His father's sisters, his father's mother's sisters, his daughters' daughters, his wife's sisters, his wife's mother's sisters, and his wife's mother's mother and her sisters. We find in actual practice that this is done. At Landaeta there was one young man married to a woman of about 40 whom we would call his aunt-in-law, that is, his wife's mother's sister.

587 This class of women whom he is allowed to marry he is also obligated to look after should their husbands die. For instance, should

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

any of his brothers die he falls heir to the brother's wife or wives, who may be sisters or sisters of his own wife; likewise, should his mother's brother die his wife or wives, who is one of the group of his wife's mother's sister, would also become his wife. This system can be made plainer by examining figure 24. By following the moiety relationship one can see just whom the individual is allowed to marry. If it is considered that any of these individuals may actually become his wife, either because there are no other women of his own age group available, or because they have lost their own husbands, and therefore need a protector, the system becomes clear.

IN-LAW RELATIONS

Cross-cousin marriage being the prevalent type, it means that the son of a man's sister will marry his daughter and come to live with him. As soon as that happens a number of social taboos are imposed on the in-laws. The son-in-law from the time that he marries is prohibited from speaking to his mother-in-law, although he lives with the same hunting group and may even travel in the same canoe with her; he cannot eat before her or even near her; he cannot go close to her, even though his bows and arrows may be lying there; he cannot hand her any object; he cannot make his personal toilet in front of her; he cannot sing or dance close to her; he cannot travel alone with his mother-in-law, and if they are forced to travel together in a canoe with the wife of the son-in-law as one of the party, he takes his position in the bow and the mother-in-law sits in the stern. These taboos are reciprocal. If the two meet in a path they turn aside and go in opposite directions.

These taboos are the more remarkable since there are positive duties owed one in-law to the other. The son-in-law is obligated to supply food and protection to his mother-in-law. It is his duty to prepare firewood and bring her materials which she may need to make basketry. It is expected that he will gather delicacies for her, such as honey. On the other hand, his mother-in-law will often prepare food for her son-in-law, will make pouches for him, and show him favors in other ways. But these favors must be transmitted through the wife and daughter, or through other persons. In camp I have seen mother-in-law and son-in-law sitting with backs to each other hour after hour, day after day, never exchanging a word, always averting their eyes from the other's person.

Similar taboos are practiced between the father-in-law and daughter-in-law, but because the girl lives with her parents they weigh less heavily upon her and her father-in-law, since they rarely meet. The taboos, though, are more strictly observed, probably on account of the sexual temptation.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

INHERITANCE OF WIVES

583 Monogamy is the usual rule, but occasionally both polygyny and polyandry exist. If no women are available, a man may share his young wife with his brother or parallel cousin whom he calls brother also. I saw two such cases. In a tribe whose total membership may not exceed 150 such situations may easily arise.

587 589 The more common situation is the inheritance of wives. If a man dies, his wife may be taken care of by her father, but more often by her former husband's brother. She takes her place as wife number two, especially if he is a good hunter. Other women whom a man may inherit as wives are his aunts on his father's side and even his paternal grandmother. I saw one case in which a man had inherited his daughter's child. Whether these cases represent the results of [616] deculturation of the Yaruros in recent years, or pure necessity, it is impossible to say. It is worth noting that the taboo on marrying a member of one's moiety is strictly observed.

512 605 Another relationship common among South American Indians which is present among the Yaruros is the hunting friendship between two men. Seldom does one meet a young Yaruro who does not have a hunting companion. Upon marriage this relationship may be weakened, though often the companionship persists. Generally the men are two parallel cousins. They show much affection toward each other, even in camp. For instance, such a pair standing with arms around each other's necks is a common sight. I have no reason to suspect any abnormal sexual relations between such couples.

124 582 [165] An attempt was made to collect genealogies, but no satisfactory results were obtained, due to the confusion that exists among the Yaruros. So many have suffered premature death, especially men, that the genealogies show a tremendous complexity. This complexity exists, of course, only for us. The Yaruro has his system, which is to guard against incest as he defines it. So long as members of the same moiety do not marry, everything else is permissible. One's cross cousin of the same, or nearly the same, age is the preferential choice, but the Yaruros cannot control birth and death, so that the preference is purely theoretical. I saw young boys married to old women and young girls married to old men. The answer was that there weren't any others to marry.

However, enough was gathered from the genealogies to verify the system as described: Members of the same moiety do not marry. Every one else can, except father and daughter, and, of course, father's brothers and daughter, whom she addresses as father anyway.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

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773 Biological conception is clearly understood. One of the myths tells of Kuma's desire to have a child. She asked Puaná to impregnate her in the thumb, but Puaná, who in these myths appears both as trickster and wise man, told her that such impregnation would result in an overpopulation and advised her to allow herself to be impregnated in the ordinary way. She allowed herself to be persuaded, and Hatchawa was born. It may be worth noting that though Hatchawa was the issue, he is referred to as the grandson of Kuma. Whether this inconsistency is to us merely an unexplainable situation, or whether it has greater significance, I was not able to find out.

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262 When delivery is imminent a shelter is built for the prospective mother, apart from all other people. Her husband's moiety brothers build a similar structure for him also apart from the camp. The woman is tended by the women of her family and moiety and the husband by the men belonging to his moiety. Both abstain from eating fish, turtle, and crocodile. Iguana and deer meat and the usual vegetable diet are allowed. During delivery and for 10 days after the husband lies in a hammock and engages in no physical activity. Ordinarily he would sleep on the ground. His moiety brothers bring him food. After 10 days he visits his wife but continues to live alone and apart for a month. Now he hunts in the company of other men and is expected to supply his wife with food. The food taboos continue in effect for the full month for both husband and wife. Strict continence is practiced by the husband. When the month is over the family is reunited.

MENSTRUATION

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841 The Yaruro's actual attitude toward menstruation is not one of fear or wonder. The phenomenon is accepted much as it is among us, as a disturbing but unavoidable event. In the literature on primitive peoples it is often reported that menstruation is held to be a dangerous period for the woman and for the people. One may question the correctness of this observation, if observation it be, with the suspicion that because certain taboos are observed fear is the motivating response. I have found the observance of taboos among a dozen South American tribes with whom I have had personal contact but there has been no indication of actual fear. One wonders if such events have not been too highly dramatized and rationalized by the civilized visitor rather than by the primitives.

841 Among the Yaruros the first period in a girl calls for special treatment at the hands of the women. The girl's face is covered with a

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

841 piece of cloth. (Among the peoples of the Xingu in Brazil she is made to wear her hair over her face, and she is kept from the sight of men.) Whether during this period special initiatory rites are performed I was not able to find out. This part of Yaruro culture is considered to be in the women's domain, and, being a man, I was kept from delving into it.

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MARRIAGE

527 The Yaruros are poor in social ceremonies. Anciently they may have practiced a great many of them but today social life is comparatively simple.

885 791 584 When a boy is ready to marry he may approach his father, or as a matter of fact, the father may approach the son. In any case he is sent to the shaman, who informs him that now he should be ready to assume the duties of a man, and proceeds to instruct him in the nature of those duties. He is told that he must love and cherish his wife; supply her plentifully with food, clothing, ornaments, and children; that he must never use harsh words toward her and that he must take care of her when she is sick; that he must never quarrel with her family, with whom he is expected to live; and of particular importance, that he must remember to take care of his father-in-law and mother-in-law. All of this is ordained by Kuma.

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584 585 791 The shaman will then approach the boy's uncle who has a marriageable daughter. No special ceremony seems to take place. The boy simply goes to live with the wife's family and assumes his duties of taking care of her as well as of his parents-in-law.

SICKNESS AND DEATH

751 757 Not much material was available on sickness. It must be remembered that the Yaruros have been in contact with European ideas for several centuries and that they understand the use of medicine for the cure of a specific illness.

753 754 Nevertheless, Kiberoh, the evil night spirit, is in some fashion associated with illness. If Kiberoh enters the body of a person, the latter will become ill. In such cases the only cure is the intercession of Kuma, who can be called upon to help by the shaman or musico, a term adapted from the Spanish to describe the singing shaman.

755 The sick person is laid on the ground with his head pointing to the east. At sundown the shaman will stand to the north of the sick person and will proceed to sing, accompanying himself with the rattle. The rest of the people, with the exception of any woman in her menstrual period, line up behind the shaman and sing and dance as they generally do during any of the shamanistic performances. If they indulge in any dancing, however, they do not go around a

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

pole in a circle but merely move forward and backward. During the performance it is prohibited for anyone to pass by the head of the sick person. The shaman will sing all night and if by morning the sick person has not shown any marked improvement the woman shaman will lie in a hammock with her head pointing to the east and will continue the singing. Other women will sit in the hammock with her and sing all day long. I myself underwent such attention. If the wife shows little interest in the welfare of her husband it is concrete proof that she does not love him and it is believed he will die. In this there are two factors to be considered from my observation of these people. The first is that a lack of wifely interest is the equivalent of bad medicine and that the husband himself will feel so disconsolate that all desire to live will be lost.

If the sick person dies during the night nothing is done except to stop the singing and dancing. At daybreak his people will drink vast quantities of chica and prepare for the funeral rites. If the sick person happens to be a woman in her menstrual period it is important to note that she is in the care of the woman shaman. The man shaman does not dare to sing to her.

In the morning the dead person is washed by the women and the body is wrapped in a hammock and taken to the burial place. The brothers and the uncles carry the body. The father and mother do not accompany the body to the grave, but in the case of a married man the widow does. The body is interred in the hammock with the head pointing to the east. The bow and arrows, whatever clothing he may have possessed, and any equipment are buried with him, but neither food nor water is necessary. The night after the burial there is a feast in the camp, but the taboo on fish is observed by everyone. The shaman and the people will sing the equivalent of:

The dead one died here, now he has arrived in the Land of Kuma, and there he has been made young again (if a child dies, it becomes a young man or woman, according to the sex). He will know nothing but joy now and will have everything he may desire.

The widow goes on a strict diet for four days. All fires which were burning at the time of the death of the individual are put out and fresh ones are built. On the fourth day the two men, who have put the dead body into the pit, and the widow, bathe; they fast on the fifth. On the fifth night the shaman sings in order to find out if the dead person has reached Kuma, if he has been given a new name, if he has been made young, strong, and rich. For a month after this the widow keeps a strict diet and she is not married for a long time. It is believed that if a man marries a widow soon after her husband has died he will die soon of the same sickness.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

LIFE AFTER DEATH

761 775 To the modern Yaruro death is a desirable event. It holds great promise rather than terror for him. He believes that the dead will continue to live in the Land of Kuma. That is, in the land of the Mother Goddess, where he will be restored to a life of pristine happiness in the world which is identical with that which existed before the coming of the white man. In that world, in the Land of Kuma, he will have freedom to hunt if he pleases, he will have an abundance of food, he will have horses, cattle, and tobacco. He will lead a life of eternal bliss, watching over the affairs of his relatives and descendants on this earth, visiting them occasionally through the shaman and conversing with them. Apparently his only wish is that his people will die and join him in the Land of Kuma at the earliest possible time. A better idea of this life after death can be obtained by turning to the chapters on the shamanistic performances and legends.

PLAY

522 152 The spirit of play is known to the Yaruros. In fact, they laugh so much and so often that one might get the impression that they take life very lightly. For instance, their response to any accident is laughter. A man may fall out of his canoe or hurt himself in some way, or a woman may break a pot; any such accident is taken as a fine joke by everyone else.

616 606 There is inner-moiety and joking relationship, but members of one moiety do not play pranks on members of the other moiety. In fact, even in camp the mother-in-law will keep aloof from any levity engaged in by the son-in-law, and vice versa.

533 535 524 In the dancing and singing there is gaiety, especially when Puaná visits his people. Then is a time for much laughter and joking. However, there is no formalized play among the Yaruros. Anciently it is reported that the Otomacos had a ball game. Gilii has given us a description of it.[6]

857 462 861 The most common form of play among the children is an imitation of the activities of the grown-ups. The little boys will pretend that they are hunting and fishing or canoeing; the little girls will pretend that they are making pottery, basketry, or painting their bodies. The toys which the children use are miniature implements of hunting and food gathering. The only objects made differently for children to play with which are not an imitation of anything used by the adults are small clay figures representing human beings. These are arranged by the child in imitation of human beings dancing around

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[6] If the Yaruros knew this ball game they have forgotten it since then.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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a pole. In general, therefore, organized play for child or adult is hardly present.

WAR

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The Yaruros did not speak much of war. None of their legends make any reference to it except in one case which says that they were killed by the "Racionales" and that they retaliated.[6] The known historical sources say nothing except Father Gumilla's account, which makes reference to the pacification of the "Saruri."

MORAL ATTITUDES

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On the subject of conduct, the outlook on life and the organization of life values, we must distinguish between theory and practice. The former grows out of reflection and represents the intellectualization of the universe as seen without much reference to practical life. The second springs from the social and economic relationships and the fusing of individual ends and purposes into the purposes and ends of the group, whereas the first is not strictly controlled by custom and practical needs. Both exist among the [791] Yaruros. For the first we have to turn to the shaman, who in addition to being a religious leader, a savant, is also a moralist; and for the second we turn to the entire social group and need to watch it in its behavior.

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In reading over the early account of the aborigines of the region, among which we must presumably include Yaruros, we gather that their moral concepts were different from those of the Christians, but perhaps neither better nor worse in practice. It must be doubted, however, whether a number of practices attributed to the Yaruros are authentic. We read, for instance, that a number of the aborigines were patricides, and we are given a picture of the male children, on reaching adolescence, rising against the fathers [682] through lust for the mother. Patricide is an abhorrent crime and [683] the motive behind it is equally abhorrent. It is to be doubted whether patricide, or even lesser acts, such as beating the father, were ever practiced, except in sporadic cases such as may occur in [684] any society. It hardly seems possible that women were the cause of it when it is known, as it is known today, that mating and extramarital relationships are very strictly controlled by tradition and social training. Disregarding, therefore, such allusions to the moral life of the primitive peoples of the Orinoco, let us turn to our informants for an understanding of their present mode of life. The

[6] It would appear probable that the nomadic Yaruros were too weak to ever develop any warlike spirit.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

The first fact that holds our attention is that Yaruros are strongly ethically conscious. Every shamanistic performance is the means for the propagation of ethical teachings. The shaman, or as the Yaruros believe, the gods and their dead ancestors speaking through the shaman, admonish various individuals and lay down the law for proper conduct. They hold the threat also that misconduct will be displeasing to the mother goddess and as a result life with her will not be as pleasant as it would be if they followed her precepts in this world.

According to the Yaruro philosophy the world is, by its nature, good and it was created by Kuma as a good thing. If any evil exists it has been introduced by men, who have forgotten or come to disregard the laws laid down by the goddess. The world, if unsullied by men, is a perfect integration of the elements which function for the good of mankind. Unfortunately, at times men will disturb the structure. There is implied in this the existence of free will for mankind, since it can change or disturb what was created by Kuma. And if we have recourse to the legends, we find that perhaps the lower animals have free will also, although it is exercised by them much more rarely than by mankind.

Kuma appears also as the teacher of ethical laws. She told the people, told Hatchawa, and now tells the shamans: to live in peace with each other; to respect each other; to help each other; to live good lives; to take care of the parents-in-law and the children-in law. When the wife is ill or otherwise the mother-in-law should look after the needs of her son-in-law, although they do not speak to each other. The Yaruros will find recompense for such moral living after death. They are poor on this earth but will be rich like Kuma in the other world.

During my stay the women remained bashful, never speaking directly to me, and when I approached generally looking away. In the latter days they would laugh merrily as they fled. Their culture does not permit free social intercourse with men, but any request on my part relayed to them through their husbands or brothers was eagerly complied with, and with better than good humor.

All were helpful toward each other and there did not appear to be any dissension. Extreme care was taken that a person's rights and prerogatives were not infringed upon. The husband never seemed to request anything of his wife that did not lie in her province, and when strange demands were made to please me, entire freedom was given to the wife, or daughter, to do as it pleased her. Any misfortune, however slight or serious, that would produce some expression of anger among white people was met by the Yaruros with merry laughter. At night each family group lay on the sands

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

At night each family group lay on the sands
521 talking a little, laughing a little. I made it a custom of visiting every night, and usually the men gathered around. The women, keeping in the background, made all sorts of inquiries concerning my country and people, but always through the men.

831 One cannot live on intimate terms with a group of people a week
123 without learning something of their sexual attitudes. Only too often is this factor dangled in front of him, so that if he were to base his report on recurrent experiences and situations it would be largely made up of sex and sex problems. However, the sexual element is strongly present, but it is in normal cases a simple matter.

121 A simple matter but of exceeding importance if we are to believe the psychologists. Basic to life, and to social organization, the attitude toward it has its effect on the life of the individual and on the culture, but equal the make-up of the indidivual and the culture produces the sexual attitude.

836 To begin with, this writer does not know anything about the sexual development of Yaruro boy or girl. He does not know what secret sexual play the children may indulge in, nor does he know whether the unmarried girl has any sexual relations. He thinks that the un-
838 married do. He also thinks that there is some kind of homosexuality among the boys, and even the men. The following is based on what he observed, heard, and saw without any undue prying about.

857 The sexes are kept apart from infancy. A baby girl is launched
855 into her future career as a woman almost from birth. She is the special care of the mother and women folk. When she is able to play
593 she plays alone, with other girls, or with the women. She never plays with the boys. When she is able to work she helps her mother, never her father nor her elder brothers. She may be helped in her work by her brother.

593 It is impossible to claim that the attachment is stronger between the mother and children than between the father and daughter. It would be necessary to investigate the problem from the psychological point of view. But such is the case socially and economically.

The maternal uncle does to a certain degree substitute for the father, but this substitution is formal and social.

867 From babyhood the child learns his relationship to those about
602 him. One woman is its mother. She it is who gives suck, holds, etc. Later he learns that he must call other women mother also. These are the sisters of his true mother. One man he learns to call father. This man is the one who is most with his mother, in whose canoe
602 they travel, etc. Other men he calls father also, the brothers of his true father. Thus relationships are defined sexually, familiarly, and formally. In respect to girls of his own age he learns that some he calls sisters and others by terms whose equivalent may be rendered

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

602 "sweetheart", "potential wife". At any rate, the boy learns that
582 members of the former class he can not marry, and that one, a particular one of the second class, will become his wife. Thus on those who stand in the familiar relationship he cannot cast sexual thoughts.

836 Intersexual activity before marriage was not observable and it seemed as if there would be little opportunity for it. Boys and girls are kept separate, the girls staying with their mothers, the boys with the men. At night there seemed to be the same division.

854 During infancy there is no organized play for the girl. Her
861 parents do not play as we are wont to do. She is not teased into
865 laughter, but tender care is given to her. She is fed, cleaned, kept in the shade, and made to wear ornaments. Dolls of clay may be made for her. During this period she is taken everywhere by the mother. From babyhood she participates in the collection of food, in its preparation and cooking, in the making of basketry, pottery, making and breaking camp, traveling in canoes, but always with her mother.
868 Gradually she learns to take a more active part in the female tasks. The important point is that the proper decorum for her is to keep to members of her own sex. She does not become a tomboy. If she learns to perform tasks it is only because the women are supposed to have a smattering of them anyhow. Paddling is one of these.

854 The boy's life is first shared with his mother, and although fondled
593 by the father, he remains with the mother until he is able to walk and paddle. Thus, whereas the girl never comes under the direct influence of her father, the boy is under the direct influence of the mother during his infancy and babyhood. Gradually he participates more and more in manly tasks, but as a matter of fact he never entirely disassociates himself from his mother. As long as he is unmarried he performs tasks for his mother and she takes care of him, performing such acts as cooking, delousing, etc. He gathers wood, lights fires, etc.

864 The children are not kept in sexual ignorance. At least the boys
831 seem to learn something of the sexual functions at an early age. From what I observed of Yaruro camp life, it seems that no attempt was made to keep knowledge of sex and sexual functions away from the children. In the first place, there is no sense of modesty so far as the sexual parts are concerned, and therefore there is no ignorance on the part of the children. There is very little, if any, sexual play among the adults during the day. Since the attitude toward the sexual parts of the body is one of indifference there is very little that may happen which would indicate any interest in those parts. Any knowledge that the children may have of sex must, therefore, be gathered from observation of their parents.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Even if there were stronger interest in sex than seemed to exist, there would be little opportunity for the youngsters to indulge in any sexual relations, since their playmates tend to be parallel cousins and very often playmates are lacking altogether. In the small hunting groups often there may be only one or two unmarried young people. Under such conditions a boy would either have to seek sex relations with one of his moiety sisters or practice adultery with a woman of the opposite moiety living with his own hunting group. We may presume that neither incest nor adultery are unknown to the Yaruros. During my stay among them there was no evidence of that.

Another factor which tends to help the Yaruros live a strictly moral life is that upon reaching puberty both boys and girls marry if a mate is available, even though the wife or husband may be considerably older. Premarital romantic love life may be entirely absent on this account, but one suspects that another type of romanticism may be built on what is available. For instance, practically from babyhood the boy or girl knows whom he or she will marry and in waiting for the promised day one would suspect an emotional attitude is built up. It is certain that after marriage strong bonds of affection are developed between husband and wife. Strictly limited in choice, there can be no free play for one's desires.

In the Yaruro society prostitution is probably absent. I believe that today some degree of prostitution has been forced upon them by the peoples with whom they come in contact. Perhaps we should call it purchasing of sexual rights, with the Yaruros playing a docile if not hostile part. After all, they are forced to acquiesce in a great many practices foreign to their ideas.

The above is the sexual ambient. As a result the adults act in the following manner. Sexual intercourse is considered one of the numerous natural acts. It is not exaggerated, little talked or joked about, and judging from the sort of life they lead not over indulged in.

Among the men, woman is not discussed. Neither virtue nor sin is the subject of comment. She is let strictly alone and uncensored. Obscenity is rare.

If any homosexuality exists it must be established by inference. It is common among the hunting tribes for a man to have a companion with whom he hunts, travels, and with whom he spends most of his time. Such companionship seems to be closer before marriage than after.

I have observed two boys, unmarried because no girls were available, engaged in such acts as we are accustomed to impute to love making—holding hands, etc. Yet, lest we jump at hasty conclusions, it must be said that affection between men is demonstrated much more so than

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

838 572 among ourselves. Also, it is true that these acts are never to be seen between man and woman. For instance, I remember young men loafing at my camp with their arm around each other's necks, and even clasped in a tight embrace face to face in each other's arms, though standing up. I never observed any physical sexual excitement, though.

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

861 858 There is no direct and organized teaching of the children. They learn from example and from the precepts laid down by the adults in discussions, generally held at night. Certainly the child is not made to feel that he is the center of attraction; rather he is tolerated, though watched with fond eyes by the adults. The children are never admonished to do this or that or negatively. It may be said that they are put into a pattern of behavior, and the bonds of this pattern are indeed close and strong. There is no breaking them as long as life lasts. It must not be thought that these bonds are felt and 181 that there is resentment toward them. The Yaruro is in a sense tremen- 156 dously individualistic, in that each individual is forced to depend on his own resources, but when it comes to group life he is merely a part of the whole.

861 851 The children are free to play, but from infancy they also share in the adult activities. A mother may make a basket, with the little daughter constantly beside her. As soon as the child is able she will help in the digging of roots, or placing them in the basket, or will help in the making of a basket, or the cooking, her share of the work gradually increasing as she grows older. However, a child is never told to do any work, but does so entirely imitatory of the adults and the older children, with complete freedom as well as free desire.

The boy in like manner imitates the older boys and the men. His games consist of constant practice with bow and arrow, but this play is done only in the late afternoon and in the evening. During the day, as soon as the child is able to do so it will accompany the mother or father in hunting for food, doing its share of the paddling, loading and unloading of the canoe, helping to carry the food, taking care of the dogs, and watching and trying to make bows and arrows, string, etc.

GROOMING

Yerkes writes of grooming as follows:

182 515 **Grooming is used in this report to designate a pattern of social behavior whose essential features are visual examination, search and manipulation of the skin and hair of a companion with fingers and lips, removal of dirt, dandruff, scabs, parasites, and other extraneous materials, and their conveyance to the mouth of the groomer, whose lips, tongue, and jaws meanwhile may have**

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

182 515 been in motion, with sound production, as if in anticipation of something to be swallowed. Commonly, swallowing ensues, if the object is not disagreeable. Such behavior is conspicuous in chimpansee, which for purposes of comparison will be used in this report as type. Such familiar expressions as fleapicking, hairdressing, skintreatment, toiletmaking, frequently are used to refer to forms or aspects of the pattern of primate behavior which has been described.

Grooming is a biological habit, and like all such habits can either be perpetuated by a culture or smothered, "repressed". Among the very primitive peoples of South America I have seen habits that approximate the definition given by Yerkes. Delousing is the most common form. The lice are generally picked off and crushed between the teeth. Ticks that cover one in great numbers are likewise taken off. In this the subject of the attention generally sits very quietly, while the performer acts with evident pleasure. He or she may talk and jest much more than the subject.

515 Among the Yaruros the most common forms of social grooming are the removal of lice, ticks, and the crushing of insect-bite blisters. For this latter function carved sticks are used. One end of it is used to search for the lice and to crush them and the other end is used for the blisters. This attention is generally given by the mothers to the children and the wives to their husbands, generally on the return from the day's hunt. I myself have been the recipient of such attention from Yaruro women. Not having a wife of my own, my sisters by courtesy, or adoption, took care of my body.

182 515 It is difficult to say that the talk, jesting, smiles, that accompany these attentions are a result of the biological instinct. I am inclined to think that the culture pattern is here at work with its attendant repressions. For instance, often I have seen grimaces on the faces of the performer, the subject, and even of those standing about when a louse is crushed or a blister is broken. Is this a purely biological reaction or does it follow the pattern of conduct? Even primitive peoples are slaves to culture.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

THE YARURO WORLD

185 775 Uppermost in the Yaruro consciousness is their conviction that they are faced with extinction—that Kuma exists and that she is waiting for them in her land. It was easy to prevail upon my informants to talk about Kuma and the world to which they will go upon dying. The other phases of their beliefs were difficult to bring to their attention, for the Yaruro life in this world has practically ceased. As a group, the desire to live and to continue has died. They see the hopelessness of any struggle to preserve their traditional

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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775 culture or themselves against a superior culture and ruthless "civilized" bandits. Their only consolation is Kuma and the Land of Kuma.

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821 Nevertheless, being realists they not only continue their daily activities of hunting and gathering foods, but also in finding daily solace through their environment and the shamanistic contact with Kuma. The Yaruro is nature conscious. Perhaps his lonely existence has made him ecstatically responsible to the world about him, for often they talked of the beauty of various phenomena; but stronger than any such feeling is their sense of intimate relationship with the sun, the moon, the stars, their animal life. The falling stars at night are interpreted by them to be messengers sent by Kuma to encourage her people, the Yaruros; the moon is friendly, and on moonless nights the stars represent the crowds of their ancestors
825 who live with Kuma. The wind blows incessantly and it blows to them the roar of the araguatos (the howlers), which, to them, represent distant relatives once human beings, but changed into monkeys by life in the trees at the time of the great flood; the toninos, frolicking at night in the water, are also another race who failed to climb the rope which Hatchawa let down to bring his people to the surface. It is in such a friendly world that the Yaruro literally sits, listens,
154 and looks, almost communing with his environment. Perhaps it is not out of place to mention at this point that this reaction on the part of the Yaruros is not difficult to understand, that perhaps we ought not to rationalize this attitude of the Yaruro entirely on the basis of superstition or religious ideas; anyone who has lived on the plains, exposed day and night to nature, soon loses any feeling of lonesomeness. This response on the part of the Yaruros is shared by the llaneros, who do not seem to be so perfectly at ease as when they are alone in the plains.

THE YARURO UNIVERSE

772 According to the Yaruros the world has experienced a series of metamorphoses. Some of the events which have transformed the world from its original form are attributed to the direct intervention of the various gods and races of mankind, but others remain unexplainable.

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177 How much of Yaruro cosmic ideas have been borrowed from the missionaries it is difficult to say at this point. Missionaries have been among them from time to time but the Yaruros have been abandoned so completely so many times that the result and confusion is difficult if not impossible to unravel—a thing which can be done only when we have thorough descriptive studies of the various tribes of the Columbian plains and the tribes of Guiana. The comparative ma-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

772 terial existing in the literature at the present time is too scant to give
177 us much of a lead. For the Llanos of Venezuela we have only the missionaries' accounts of the middle of the eighteenth century, meager accounts at best, and highly colored by the ideas of the missionaries themselves. But even these give us no idea as to how the Yaruros thought and behaved in those days. They give us notes only on the Otomacos and the Saliva. Perhaps material exists in unpublished form, but it must remain unknown for the purpose of the study.

773 In the mythology and in the shamanistic cult a number of figures stand out: Kuma, the mother goddess; Puaná, the great snake; Hatchawa, the culture hero; and Itciai, the jaguar. A more obscure figure is Kiberoh, who seems to be identified with a female evil spirit, but in one legend appears as the mate of Kuma. And an even more confused figure is India Rosa. It is known that the patron saint of the early Spaniards was Santa Rosa de Lima. If India Rosa is to be identified with Santa Rosa among the Yaruros, only the name has persisted. The confusion will become evident on reading the text.

773 The creation legend exists in various forms, but which of them
177 represents the purely aboriginal one it is difficult if not impossible to determine. It seems best to give all versions. The myth of the flood appears also, and whether or not this is a foreign element in Yaruro mythology cannot be determined at this time. Of great interest to us are the ethical elements present in these stories. In the legend of the impregnation of Kuma, presumably by Puaná, the water snake, one may see a parallel to the story of Eve and the Serpent. Be that as it may, Puaná the Snake, Itciai the Jaguar, Kuma the Mother Goddess, and Hatchawa, the culture hero, are living spiritual forces among the Yaruros today, godheads who visit the Yaruro frequently during shamanistic performances and speak to the Yaruros through the mouth of the shaman. It would be too much to expect that all our facts should fit together into a logical pattern. The legendary world is never a well-ordered one and it speaks for the genuineness of Yaruro culture that we find such complex.

773 It will be noted that Kuma is definitely the Mother Goddess who gave birth to Hatchawa and to human beings. The latter were found by Hatchawa living under the ground. Hatchawa is always the culture hero. It is he who takes compassion on humanity and gives the fire, the bow and the arrow, and presumably a great many other things. Puaná, the Water Snake, is not only the shaper of the earth, but it is he who is given credit for great wisdom. Itciai, on the other hand, plays a very small role. In our legends he appears as a shaper or creator of the waters but plays no other part. But perhaps this
[216] obscurity of Itciai is to be attributed to the fact that my informants belong to the Puaná moiety.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

781 Of great importance is the fact that the Yaruros live in a world which they understand perfectly. At night they watch the heavens for signs from their gods. Each night they read a new chapter in a great story book. During the day the winds, the skies, the sun, have much to tell them, and they watch and listen eagerly. Their world is not one of fear but one which, as created by Kuma, is excessively friendly and hopeful. Terror has been introduced by the white man.

771 For every species of plant and animal life a gigantic counterpart exists in the Land of Kuma. Originally the plants and animals, which have been domesticated by the white man, were given to the Yaruros, but the size of the horse and cattle frightened the Yaruros so much that they refused to mount one or tame the other. The white man seized the opportunity which has since made him master of the Yaruro country. However, they have no explanation for the

182 superiority of the white race except sheer wickedness. This superior-

776 ity is so startling sometimes that the Yaruros feel that the white man in some way must be closely affiliated with gods, good or bad. The appearance of the white man on the plains of Apure is a legendary event. A white man, the Yaruros say, appeared on a huge horse. He was covered with foul sores and destroyed everything in his path. The Yaruros are content to hunt and cultivate the soil. The result is that the civilized peoples raise crops, store them, but the Yaruros are condemned to wander about hunting for a daily dinner.

825 Many of the animal species, natural formations and constellations are to the Yaruros metamorphosed races of man. One explanation for the monkeys, especially the araguatos (the howlers), is that they are the descendants of a group of people who, to save themselves, climbed to the top of a tree during the time of the flood. The caymans represent another race of men who failed to take advantage of Hatchawa's rope to be lifted out of the hole in the ground. The toninos also are a race of metamorphosed humans.

182 The Yaruro, according to their conception of mankind, were

773 Kuma's chosen people. They were created first of all the Indian tribes and that is why they were given the open plains to live in with an open sky overhead so that they might be in close touch with Kuma day and night. The Guahibos, on the other hand, or as the Yaruros called them, the Tciricoi, the forest people, were created last and occupy an inferior position.

776 In addition to playing a purely religious role, the gods function

774 as ethical teachers in every shamanistic performance, a function which is shared by the spirits who are close relatives of the living Yaruros. It is they who visit their living descendants and speak through the body of the shaman, correct abuses, scold the evildoers, and praise the good.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34)/1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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CREATION LEGEND

Version I

At first there was nothing. Then Puaná the Snake, who came first, created the world and everything in it, including the river courses, except the water. Itciai the Jaguar created the water. Kuma was the first person to people the land. Then the other people were created. Then came India Rosa from the east. The Guahibos were created last. That is the reason that they live in the forest.

Horses and cattle were given to the Yaruros. However, they were so large that the Yaruros were afraid to mount them. The "Racionales" were not afraid, and so the horses were given to them.

The sun travels in a canoe from east to west. At night it goes to Kuma's land. The stars are her children and they wander about at night. The moon, which is a sister to the sun, travels in a boat.

On the land of Kuma exists a large plant of each species. The plants which are cultivated by the Racionales were first given to the Yaruros. The Yaruros cut them down in such a way that the tops fell in the land of the Racionales. The roots remained in the land of the Yaruros, but the Racionales got the seed and that is why they have bananas, plantains, maize, tobacco, and the Yaruros have none of those things.

Version II

Everything sprang from Kuma, and everything that the Yaruros do was established by her. She is dressed like a shaman, only her ornaments are of gold and much more beautiful.

With Kuma sprang Puaná and Itciai; Hatchawa is her grandson and Puaná made a bow and arrow for him. Puaná taught Hatchawa to hunt and fish. When Hatchawa saw the people at the bottom of a hole and wished to bring them to the top Puaná made him a rope and a hook.

Another figure that sprang with Kuma was Kiberoh. She carried fire in her breast and at Kuma's request gave it to the boy Hatchawa. But when the boy wanted to give it to the people Kuma refused and he cleverly threw live fish in the fire, spreading coals all about. The people seized the hot coals and ran away to start fires of their own. Everything was at first made and given to the boy and he passed it on to the people. Everybody sprang from Kuma, but she was not made pregnant in the ordinary way. It was not necessary.

Version III

The first to appear was Kuma, the chief of all of us and the entire world. Itciai, Puaná, and Kiberoh appeared with her. There was nothing then. Nothing had been created. Kuma was made

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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pregnant. She wanted to be impregnated in the thumb but Puaná told her that too much progeny would be produced that way. So she was made pregnant in the ordinary way. Hatchawa was born, grandchild (?) of Kuma, Puaná, and Itciai. From then on the attention of the three was centered on the boy. Puaná created the land; Itciai the water in the rivers. Hatchawa was very small, but soon grew to a very large size. Kuma and Puaná took care of his education, though Puaná took more care of him. Puaná made a bow and arrow for him and told him to hunt and fish. Hatchawa found a hole in the ground one day and looked into it. He saw many people. He went back to his grandparents to ask them to get some of the people out. Kuma did not want to let the people come out, but Hatchawa insisted on it. Pauná made a thin rope and hook and dropped it into the hole. The people came out, just as many men as women. Finally a pregnant woman tried to come out and she broke the thin rope in getting out. That is the reason there are few people.

The world was dark and cold. There was no fire. Puaná had made the earth and everything on it, and Itciai had created the water. Hatchawa took a live jagupa (a fish) and threw it into the fire which was kept burning in the center of Kuma-land, a high circular pasture. The little fish struggled and knocked coals all about, and the people ran away in all directions with the coals. One part of these people were the Yaruros. Then Kuma wanted to give the horse to them, but the Puneh (Yaruros) were afraid to mount it.

Of every plant in Kuma land there exists (or existed) a gigantic type, so big that an ax can't cut it. Of every animal there exists a gigantic representative.

Version IV

India Rosa is the same as big Kuma. This Kuma lives in her city in the east. She is either the wife or sister of the sun. She is the younger sister of the other Kuma. She taught the women to make pottery and weave basketry in the same way as Puaná taught the men. Itciai and the other Kuma look after everything.

Version V

At first there was nothing. The snake, who came first, created the world and everything in it, including the water courses, but did not create the water itself. The jaguar, the brother of the snake, created the water. The people of India Rosa were the first to people the land. After them, the other people were created. India Rosa came from the east. The Guahibos were created last. That is the reason that they live in the bush.

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Horses and cattle were given first to the Yaruros. However, they were so large that the Yaruros were afraid to mount them. The "Racionales" were not afraid, and so they were given the horse.

The sun travels in a boat from the east. It goes to a town at night. The stars are his children and they go out from the town at night. The moon, who is a sister of the sun, also travels in a boat.

VERSION VI

A woman who came from the east went to live with the sun at his village in the west. She taught women how to do everything which women do. The sun taught the men. The sun and India Rosa are married, and probably were the first people from whom everyone has sprung. But the sun and India Rosa came out of the ground. They had children. Everything was dark at that time. The children dispersed in all directions. They became the different peoples of the world. Then everything was covered with water. Horses were given to the people but they were afraid and would not ride them. But a white man sick with smallpox rode the horse, and then the horse was given to his people. He asked the Yaruros to kill him and they did. Then his people killed the Yaruros.

VERSION VII

India Rosa came first. She gave birth to a son and a daughter. The son impregnated his sister, who gave birth to all humanity. India Rosa went west, the daughter went east. The son is the sun. The moon is the daughter. The snake came afterwards, and the jaguar created the water.

VERSION VIII

Kuma was first. God appeared. Had two children, brother and sister, and they married. There were no human beings at that time. One day Kuma said, "Let us have some people". So God went out to see about it. He found a man in a hole. He went back to Kuma, consulted with her, and went back to the man with a hook and a rope. A pregnant woman wanted to be the first to come out of the hole, but she was left to the last. Many people were brought out. The last to be brought out was the pregnant woman, and then the rope broke. The world was dark and cold. So God made a fire. A fish appeared and scattered it, so that each person could take a little of the fire. That is why all people have fire today. The people married among themselves. One of the woman descendants of India Rosa married a man of the new race and from them sprang the Yaruros. This was welcomed because the father of the girl said,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

773 "Here, a son-in-law will take care of me now!" Then the Yaruros
539 lived. The shaman had a nephew and a son. The nephew fell in love with his own sister and married—he was changed into a jaguar and she into a snake (?). If it had not been for this there would not have been any snakes and jaguars. Human beings should not marry their own sisters. It was ordered by Kuma. Animals are different.

Then one man found a tree with all the fruits on it. He did not tell the others. A white man appeared on horseback. Said he would come back in eight days. He came back in a boat. Scattered seeds everywhere. Thus he changed the country. Before it was all open savanna, but now forests and agricultural products grew.

India Rosa taught the women. God taught the men. God wanted to give the horse to the Yaruros, but they were afraid to mount, so he gave it to the Racionales instead.

KUMA

791 Presumably, Kuma is anthropomorphic. The only ones among
776 the Yaruros who have any knowledge of this mythical being who is re-
787 sponsible for the world are the shamans. These individuals are loath to discuss what they see in their dreams, claiming that all they have to say about such things are said during their shamanistic performances. Besides, they claim that they do not remember what they see during their trances.

531 Nevertheless, on the rattles appear graphic representations of what
776 Kuma is supposed to look like. In all cases, she seems to resemble
534 a human being, standing with her arms extended upward in greeting to her people. Such figures are represented on the gourd rattles shown in plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27. It was explained that the lines
[301] appearing on the body of Kuma represent body painting and ornaments.

776 Of all the godheads or spirit forces of the Yaruros, Kuma is the most clear-cut. She is the creator of all things, and everything emanates from her. Her associates, Puaná, Itciai, and Hatchawa, function according to the laws of Kuma. Apparently they are not able to do anything without her consent, but occasionally she may be tricked. For instance, when Hatchawa decided to give fire to the people he threw a live fish into Kuma's fire. The wriggling of the fish scattered the coals, which the people seized and carried away.

Kuma is represented neither as an indulgent mother nor as an entirely benevolent creature in the myths. It is Hatchawa and Puaná who favor human beings. In fact, Kuma was opposed to peopling the earth with the human race. In spite of this there is no

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FIGURE 25.—Decorated gourd rattles of the shamans. *a, b, c, d*, Views of Landaeta's favorite instrument (rotating toward the left). *e, f, g, h*, Gourd rattle decorated by Landaeta after a night's shamanistic performance.

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FIGURE 26.—Shaman's gourd rattles. *a*, *b*, *c*, Views of same instrument. *a*, The long figure on the left represents Puanâ. The next figure on the right is Hatchawa, next to which is standing Kuma. *b*, The three figures at the top are, reading left to right, Hatchawa, Kuma, and Itcial. At the extreme right can be seen Puanâ. In the lower portion the figures represent the Yaruros, except the figure of the bird, symbolism of which remained undisclosed. *d*, *e*, *f*, Views of same rattle. The figures represent the Yaruros dancing around a pole. The small figure in *e* represents a child.

FIGURE 27.—Shaman's gourd rattles. *a*, *b*, *c*, Views of same instrument. *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, Views of same instrument. *a* shows Kuma in the characteristic posture of greeting her people. *b* and *c* show Kuma dancing with her people. *d*, *e*, *f*, and *g* are views of the same rattle that show Kuma's people, the dead Yaruros, dancing in her land.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

criticism of Kuma, and there is even an implication that she always acts with the greatest wisdom.

THE LAND OF KUMA

Kuma lives in the west, apparently beyond the horizon. In the month of March and in early April, about 9 o'clock in the evening, there is a glow in the western sky, a beautiful phenomenon, which the Yaruros explained is the reflection from Kuma's land. Its exact geographic position does not seem to be known and is as hazy as a Catholic's idea of the position of Heaven. For instance, we are told that the stars are both the lights from Kuma Land and the people from that land walking about at night, and yet the Land of Kuma is localized somewhere in the west.

This land is described sometimes as a vast and clean savanna, treeless and full of game, and at other times as a savanna with a huge town in which Kuma and her people live. This latter conception springs from the association the modern Yaruros have between wealth, comfort, power, and those material things which the civilized peoples possess. Towns are included among the products of the civilized. In the same way we find that although the Yaruros are a horseless people, Kuma and her people seem to have an abundance of horses. Apparently those things which are denied the Yaruros in this land are to be found in the next and shamanism is the means of expressing the longings of the living Yaruros.

THE LAND OF KIBEROH

In contrast with the beautiful world in which Kuma lives and to which all Yaruros expect to go, Kiberoh rules over a dark land inhabited by those unfortunate races of mankind left in the hole when the rope dropped by Hatchawa was broken by a too-heavy pregnant woman. Not much is known, nor is there much interest on the part of the Yaruros about this unpleasant region. However, this must not be taken that they have a belief in hell as Father Gumilla reported. According to this author the Yaruros believed in an evil spirit called Tighitighi. On the contrary, my informants identified Tighitighi merely as a large hawk which has no relation to the devil.

PUANÁ

Puaná stands out as the indulgent parent and teacher of Hatchawa. He is also the artisan who invented all of the implements now used by the Yaruros. He is conceived of as the great snake, and in fact is so portrayed on the gourd rattles of the shamans, yet there is a

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

776 [616] strong implication both in the myths and the saying he attends to his people, especially those belonging to the snake moiety, that Puaná is also anthropomorphic. I believe that the conception of the godheads is not quite as clear among the Yaruros as we who attempt to rationalize his beliefs would like it to be. Puaná stands closer to the members of his moiety than does even Kuma. During the shamanistic performances led by Landaeta the singing and dancing were rather sluggish until it was announced by the shaman that Puaná was on his way, and when Puaná reached the shaman's body there was unbounded rejoicing which put fresh spirit into the singing and the dancing. No such enthusiasm was apparent even when Kuma approached. We may contrast the attitude toward Kuma and Puaná as one of respect and one of familiar love.

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HATCHAWA

Hatchawa is the culture hero of the Yaruros. It is he who interceded with Kuma about giving fire to the human race, and it is he who begged Puaná to make a bow which he passed on to his people. He is credited with being the direct instrument and also the means by which the Yaruros have acquired knowledge of hunting. When Hatchawa arrives among the Yaruros during shamanistic performances he is received gladly and thankfully.

ITCIAI

All of the shamans with whom I spoke and whose performances I attended belong to the Puaná clan. They knew little of Itciai and were not interested in telling me much about this rival to Puaná. Itciai seems to be identified with the jaguar, but he is not anthropomorphic. He is given credit for having created the water in the rivers, but, as if they were jealous of even this attribute, my informants said that "Itciai created only the water in the rivers."

FLOOD LEGEND

773 539 After the people were created and had lived on this earth a long time they began to forget to do the right thing. They no longer believed that Kuma is the mother of water and the entire universe and everything that there is in it. So Kuma, in order to show them that she was the creator of the universe and everything therein, caused a rain to begin which continued until everything was covered over with water except a tree on the upper Capanaparo, and the top of a hill. A man and his sister took refuge on the very topmost branches of the tree, and a man with his aunt saved themselves by staying on top of this hill.

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Everything was covered with water and these four survivors of the human race suffered great hunger for many days. Those on the tree ate the leaves, and the bark, and some of the wood itself. Those on the hill not only suffered great hunger but were menaced also by a huge fish that wanted to eat them and kept on swimming around and around the hill. Finally Kuma stopped the rain. The first day after the rain stopped the waters withdrew one arm's length. The people ate what they found on the exposed land. The second day the waters withdrew two arm lengths. The people had nothing to hunt with. There were no trees out of which to make bows and arrows, since everything had been destroyed by the waters. Finally the turtles began to come out of the water and the people were able to catch some of them. Everything was clean of vegetation and flat, but they managed to gather food enough to live. After some days the one man said to the other, "Look here! We are all alone. Why don't you marry my sister and I will marry your aunt?" The other replied, "Very good; but I must ask my aunt if she is willing to marry you." So he asked his aunt and she consented to marry the man. The two men then married the women. They then had children. The man's aunt gave birth to a girl, and the sister of the other man gave birth to two boys. When the older boy was sufficiently grown up his father told him to marry the girl who was his cousin. The boy answered his father that he was no good for marriage, that he was not able to hunt enough food, or do anything else well, and that he could not have sexual relations with women. So the man waited until the younger son was old enough, and this boy married the girl. They had children and they married each other. But there were not enough girls, so the two boys married the children of the snake and the jaguar and went to live with them.

The uncle of these children, he who had not been able to marry, and who knew many things, did not like brother and sister marriage. To show them that they were like wild beasts he changed the boys into a jaguar and a snake. Then he tried to change them back again, but after twelve days he gave it up. He was not able to do it. Then he called the people together and told them that in the future they should not marry their sisters, since marriage between brother and sister is practiced only by the wild animals, and that if they did they also would be changed to snakes and jaguars, and that he was powerless to change them back again. He told them to marry their cousins, that is, the cross cousins. And he told them that those who descended from the snake should marry those who descended from the jaguar. That is how the Yaruros, who are the descendants of these people, are related to the snakes and jaguars.

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SHAMANISM

791 157 Prerequisites to successful shamanism are temperament, knowledge, and experience. It has often been stressed by field investigators that in matters of religion, as in matters of artistic expression, only certain types of personalities can achieve any success. In the case of the Yaruros, by temperament is meant the inclination and desire to become a shaman which perhaps is reducible to other factors of personality, and a neurotic make-up which will permit the tyro to experience religious phenomena. Since there is no set test which has to be passed in order to be recognized as a shaman the pretender can try to achieve recognition by his people until his very death, but if he lacks the necessary temperament his attempt is hopeless. A 791 554 shaman must have knowledge above that of his fellow tribesmen. He must know and understand thoroughly the history of his people and their mythology, he must be able to solve and settle ethical points that may come up on the basis of ancestral customs, he must know all the medicinal practices of his people, and the magical also. In short, he must be a savant and a leader, a person who will be morally respected. This knowledge he can acquire only through experience. The Yaruros say that he must acquire it through personal teaching from the gods, not through an intermediary but in actuality he learns, of course, from the older shamans whose place he will take eventually and from the rest of his people. He is supposed to sing behind a shaman for many years before he can hold performances of his own.

791 533 He must, of course, learn all the tricks of the trade, though by this is not implied that the shaman is conscious of practicing any legerdemain among his people, but there is a certain ceremonial pattern which must be mastered by the neophyte and which can only be mastered by practice over a long period of time. For instance, in singing there are undoubtedly a number of standardized songs, but what is more important is to learn the musical pattern and the pattern of phraseology that must be fitted to the music. Since in a shamanistic performance the shaman does not sing set songs but spontaneous ones which he composes, or as the Yaruros claim the gods compose, and sing through the shaman, it is essential that he have many years of experience. The importance of this is fully understood when it is considered that the shaman must sing without any pause or hesitation some six thousand stanzas in the course of a night's performance, varying his tune and words again and again. It seems reasonable to suppose that there must be form given to such performances which can be mastered by one following closely the performances of a particular shaman.

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791 Shamanism is not socially inherited, but we may suspect that biologically it is in many cases. There is no attempt made to train any particular child for shamanism except that naturally those children who stand in a close relationship to the current shaman, such as sons, daughters, neices, and nephews, have a better chance to take up the profession than others, from their daily close association with the only person from whom they can learn. The performances are never secret and the children are permitted to be present until they are too tired and go to sleep. As they grow older they will tend to participate in the performances to a greater extent until they are able to stay up all night and take their proper place in adult society. Naturally among the children some will be attracted to singing and dancing with their elders more than others and these will tend to place themselves as close to the shaman as they can until they are of such age that they can be of actual assistance to him, when, if they make known their interest in becoming a shaman they may even become his understudies or disciples. One of them who shows the greatest interest and the greatest ability in singing, in remembering details and dancing, and a shamanistic temperament will always take his place behind the shaman and will take the lead in repeating the 791 stanzas of the songs composed by him. Gradually he may attempt 554 shamanistic performances of his own and gather followers as he is successful in obtaining religious experience. It is not uncommon to see a young man sitting on the sands facing east and to the east of the camp, at night, singing to himself and alone. Sometimes he has one or two others singing behind him, depending on his prestige. It is, of course, his great hope that some day he will be so successful as to win the approbation and confidence of the people, which will depend on his success with the gods themselves.

791 The shaman must be a rather highly imaginative type. The only 787 way he can impress his people with his knowledge and experience 157 is to visit and see the abode of the gods and ancestors and to be able to describe these in words and in song and graphically with etchings on gourd rattles, so that unless the performer is of such a temperament that he can live through such experiences he can never become a shaman. Nor is there any opportunity for the one who will pretend having had such experiences, for naturally tribal tradition patterns are a constant check on him and his visions must necessarily conform to those had by other shamans; nor can he pretend to have visions of the particular type since he has the entire body of people as his severe critics and any inconsistency will be immediately seen to his discredit. Actually, I do not think there is ever any pretense. In the first place, we must remove the suggestion that there is material gain to flow from attaining the position of shaman. The shaman is an

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

ordinary citizen, receiving no compensation except the respect given to an old man and a moral teacher. In the second place, shamanism is a lifetime activity, and it would seem improbable that one would create such a life for himself which he would have to live until death if he were not suited to it. I saw cases of men who were striving to be shamans, some young and some old, with great regret admitting that they could not see the religious visions that others more successful had seen. In a primitive society such as that of the Yaruros, where life values are simple and evident to every one, where the intimacy existing between its members is thorough, there is very little incentive and very little opportunity for pretense.

Landaeta, my chief informant among the shamans, claimed that he did not remember the specific events that he "dreams" when he sang and that he could not sing during the day, nor could he remember the songs. He himself had to be told by the others what happened during a shamanistic performance. Thus he could tell me neither the words nor the tunes. I had to wait for another performance to try to take down both. Since the words were conversations between the shaman and the spirit forces, and thus varied at each performance, he was right. Yet there is a musical pattern and undoubtedly a word pattern also.

In the matter of making the sacred objects, he claimed that only those who have "dreamed", have had religious experience, can make them. Thus he himself was carving the rattles, and claimed that no one else among his people could carve them. Some, like his nephew and son-in-law Juan Garcia, were learning.

At Landaeta's death probably the shaman will be either Brigido Tovar, his son, or Juan Garcia, his nephew and son-in-law. Legend favors the son, but Landaeta looks to Garcia. However, it is the son who sang behind the shaman in this case, but Garcia has had religious experiences already.

Landaeta himself claims that he sang behind his uncle for a long time without a moracca. Finally he had a "dream" and he was permitted to use a moracca. This religious experience is absolutely necessary to a future shaman.

That the shaman follows certain patterns of song, ritual, dream, and revelation is quite certain, and it is these patterns that are transmitted to the neophyte. Both dreams and revelations always have some bearing on current problems, and in fact attempt to solve these problems.

During a shamanistic performance the first songs describe the journey of the shaman's soul to the Land of Kuma. Upon reaching the desired land the shaman shakes his rattle violently and the songs

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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789 that follow describe this land as well as the gods and the spirits of the Yaruros.

It is to be noted that it is the ornaments worn by Kuma rather than
776 the person of the gods which are described. We are told that she
301 wears golden necklaces, fine clothes, and belts and bands typical of the ancient Yaruro woman's costume. She is represented vaguely as being in the form of a human being, who, on the other hand, is never described. Try as I might, I was not able to obtain any idea of her appearance. Hatchawa, as we know, is a little boy, but Itciai again lacks any definite form.

787 The shaman claims that during his ordinary life he has no idea of what he sees in the Land of Kuma, therefore these descriptions can only be gathered from due sources through the songs which he sings in shamanistic performances and through the figures which he etches out on the shamanistic gourd rattle. Several of these rattles are reproduced on plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27.

The shaman does not claim special power to reveal anything, nor does he claim to have the power to cure. He is merely a vehicle or instrument through which the gods can visit the Yaruros by substituting themselves for the soul of the shaman. The only power that he claims is the ability to let his soul leave his body and travel to the Land of
787 Kuma. His soulless body subsequently becomes possessed by various
533 spirits who wish to communicate with their relatives on earth. As explained above, the shaman only sings the first songs hesitantly and in a poor voice which is in direct contrast to the violent and beautiful singing which the spirits exhibit when they are in possession of his body.

772 Kuma's Land is a perfect heaven for the Yaruro, who has endowed it with all the comforts and liberty denied to him in this world. In Kuma's Land food is abundant, the weather is ideal, there are no forests, no diseases, and most important of all, no civilized being to desolate them. We are confronted here with the creation on the part of the Yaruro of a superlative heaven which furnishes an escape for him from the woes of this life.

181 We have noted before that primitive peoples, when faced for a
177 time with a hopeless situation in this world, such as extinction, tend to seek and discover an escape by creating such a heaven. The Guarani sought a heaven in the West where there was no death and no persecution. More recently our own Indians on the reservations have turned to Peyoteism, which also supplies a heaven. In all these cases there is a renunciation of this world. The will to live is practically gone because there is no need to worry about maintaining life in this world, an impossible thing to do when in competition with civilization. But a heaven which cannot be touched by any civilized

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

181 177 invention offers a perfect refuge, even though it is only a philosophical one.

Mechanical aids to the shaman, in addition to his own psychological make-up, are: music and dance; tobacco, which he consumes in great quantities during his performance; tcuipah, a root with narcotic properties; caroto, which is a fermented or unfermented mixture of crushed maize and water, or manioc and water, and when obtainable, white rum. The extent to which these stimulants are used can be illustrated by the observations which are made in the course of one all-night performance: The shaman consumed 42 cigarettes which I offered him, about 100 cigars, which consisted of several strips of tobacco leaf wrapped in a thick green leaf obtained from one of the trees along the bank, about 6 inches of the tcuipah root, and about 2 quarts of the fermented maize-and-water mixture. Since these narcotics and stimulants were taken hurriedlly and in great quantities, it must have had a terrific physiological effect upon him. For instance, every cigarette and cigar was smoked completely through in 10 seconds. Each musical stanza lasted from about 10 to 15 seconds. He sang it first and then it was repeated by his people. It was during this repetition of his song that the shaman inhaled as much of the tobacco smoke as possible and then exhaled it just before commencing a new stanza.

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In contrast with the rather violent shamanistic performance of the male shaman, the women do not seem to depend very much on narcotics. During the day the men are not permitted to sing or whistle, but the women may lie in their hammocks and sing. They may take small quantities of all of these narcotics, but as far as my observation went I never saw any of them consume any great quantity.

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The spiritual world of the shaman is quite different from the everyday realistic world. A comparison of the carvings on the gourd rattles with the realistic carvings of the asabache made by anyone greatly demonstrates this. In the latter form of art expression, animals, birds, and scenes are copied with great accuracy and skill. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that if the shaman were to attempt the realistic representation of the spirit world he could do so, but he has chosen to portray the various gods and spirits almost symbolically. Kuma and Hatchawa were always represented holding up their hands. It is this position which is read into the western skies whenever at sunset there occurs a phenomenon described above. The rays of light emanating from the horizon represent the fingers of the hands of the gods.

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The form of the dance has been described. It starts off as a simple walk around a pole and it may become a fast run in the evening,

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 791 with the stamping of the right foot on the off-beat, but whenever the shaman is giving a really good performance his whole body responds to the dance and he may shake as violently as the rattle in his hand. His people may also throw themselves into a dance, making a series of jerky movements, bending from the waist downward and up again.

533 539 One of the typical songs of Kuma was a greeting to me. She said:

> Greetings, man, greetings. Your wife is waiting. She is not dead, nor is she sick, but she is thinking that her husband has been away so long that perhaps he is dead. She is good and loves her husband who is sick, which is good. But it is good that he is with me (Kuma speaking) and with my people. He is a good man. He gives me a cigar. I shall give him a horse when he is born again in my (Kuma) land. I shall give him much silver when he is born again in Kuma Land. I love him, the good man, and I shall love him in my land. In the other land, my land, he gave me drink like you my people. Like you my people, everyone will come to my land, the Yaruro land.

FEMALE SHAMANISM

791 787 554 776 It proved impossible to learn much about those things in which the women are chiefly or exclusively interested. The shamans seem to be as influential among both sexes as the men are, and they seem to acquire their power and prestige through dreams or revelations in the same way as the male shamans do. In the case of the women it seems that India Rosa must appear in a dream rather than Kuma. In the legends it is India Rosa who taught the women the various arts and crafts, so in shamanism she is the chief spiritual power. During the day, both Kuma and India Rosa are pictured as resting in their hammocks. Because of that the women shamans sing sitting in their hammocks, swaying back and forth, during the day. Apparently it is believed that by imitating the picture of Kuma and India Rosa they can reach the two spiritual forces more easily. These shamans never perform at night, although they will sing with the male shaman when the latter is giving a performance.

535 791 534 The gourd rattle seems to be an instrument which only the shamans can use with immunity and as a means of conversing with Kuma. The women do not have these rattles. Their singing is done unaccompanied by any musical instrument or by any dancing. Dancing is performed only at night, when it is led by the male shaman.

609 123 The nature of the visions experienced by the female shamans remained unknown to me. As has been mentioned before, social intercourse between man and woman, unless closely related by blood or marriage, is prohibited. It is a social taboo which apparently is never violated and which no amount of bribery could break down. It seemed best to respect this custom, even though it were at the expense of remaining ignorant of many phases of Yaruro culture practiced by the women. So, in the case of shamanism, although the

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women sang to me and for me, I was not able to learn anything about their conceptions of the universe nor any other matter.

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On one occasion Landaeta, the shaman, invited Juan Bario's band to participate in a performance. The women prepared for it by painting the face with stamped designs—stamps smeared with oily stuff, stamped on the face, then the entire face, from eyebrows down, was covered with a thick coat of red ocher. It stuck where the grease was. The hair was worn in one braid down the back. They wore their best dresses.

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In anticipation of a long night, I lay down on the sands to rest, if possible. However, the skies interested the Yaruros. Landaeta and his people lay beside me to talk about the heavens. From that we passed to a discussion of Hatchawa, who, according to Landaeta, had said that I was well known to him and a good friend. In order to test the shaman I told him that I was anxious about my family whom I had left so long ago, and I asked him to find out about my wife, son, and general family from Hatchawa, which he promised to do. The conversation went back to the stars, and as the big dipper began to rise over the northern horizon Landaeta disappeared in the darkness. Soft conversation continued, and then came Juan Bario and his family to join us.

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A few words of warm friendship with Juan Bario and we went to joint Landaeta, who was sitting ready to begin. Landaeta had withdrawn to the west of the camp, and put on his shamanistic breechclout and head-cloth, which consisted of a sort of headkerchief. His son Brigido sat behind him; to the right of Landaeta sat Brigida, his wife, and next to her, her sister. Juan Bario and I sat back a little.

Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily, without reproof, under the very nose of the shaman, some of the men jested and laughed, others conversed more quietly, etc. In other words, the imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions, and no restraints were placed on the normal and natural behavior.

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Landaeta began to sing and he was accompanied by a few of the attendants. In the meanwhile small fires had appeared here and there, and at these were lighted the long green leaf-covered cigars. None smoked an entire cigar, following the general custom of sharing with the other fellow. The songs at first were accompanied with faint rattling of the macaua, but this became stronger and stronger as the shaman approached the Land of Kuma. Finally at midnight—almost on the stroke—the shaman announced in his song that he had reached the desired land. The singing became more intense, faster, and everyone seemed to take more interest.

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786 Up to this time his son and his wife had been attending him, with Isidoro, called grandchild, but actually a son of a first cousin, Fernando, singing to the left of Brigido (son) helping out. Brigida's special care was the tobacco. She would light a cigar and hold it to the shaman's mouth, who took tremendous pulls on it, raising clouds of smoke, until only a stub was left. This was generally finished by several. The son would go to the left of the shaman and offer him caroto—crushed maize in water. He drank it in one suck, leaving nothing behind. Sometimes Matilde, the shaman's sister-in-law, offered the cigar. When necessary, Brigido (son) or the "grandchild" took up the song and carried it, repeating the same verses, until the shaman was ready to resume the lead.

786 787 A little after midnight I noticed that a man and woman embraced the shaman and offered him cigars and drink. Inquiry produced the fact that the spirit of their dead father had come to visit us, and so not only did they embrace it but they offered it caroto and tobacco. From this moment on the shaman was with us only in body. More and more dead Yaruros came to visit us, and practically everyone embraced the shaman and made offerings.

The singing never stopped, the rattle was shaken violently from now on, and the shaman, without changing rhythm or song, would announce what spirit had arrived. The spirit's relative mostly concerned would then embrace the shaman and make offering. They were, of course, embracing the relative. The spirit gave messages also. In this way all of the dead Yaruros visited us. The shaman announced that Itciai was coming, though he was beyond the dead Yaruros. The singing became more and more animated, almost frenzied.

Itciai arrived and Juan Bario told me to go with him to the shaman. Apparently Itciai was talking about me, referred to as *the man*. We greeted Itciai by embracing the shaman. I had the thought of lighting a cigarette and through Juan offered it. Without interrupting the song it was smoked in the shamanistic or rather spirit style, and Itciai began to explain who I was. He said that he knew me well, that I had visited Kuma's land many times, that I was a shaman; that my family was well, that my wife was waiting for me and that my son was so anxious he began to fear that I was dead. He said that there was something big being saved for me until I reached my country. I was a Pumeh, a good man, and a man like the Yaruros; that he was glad I liked the Yaruros so much, and that he was glad I was living with them. I had nothing to fear, since on my death I would go to Kuma's land. Itciai was saving for me a beautiful large horse, all ready for me to ride.

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During this song discourse from Itciai about me, which lasted about one hour and which was translated to me only in fragmentary fashion, at the beginning of a new thought the shaman often would shake the rattle violently before my face and continue the same frenzied tone and shaking throughout. The people likewise sang lustily with feeling; a great compliment to me.

Itciai had something to say about the Yaruros in general; namely, that they were doomed to die, but that a better world and life awaits them with Kuma. They will have horses and cattle, clothing, tobacco, all foods and aguardiente; they will be born again there, young and strong. This world will come to an end because the Yaruros are being killed off.

Later Hatchawa called. I had a cigarette ready for him. He appreciated it and asked the shaman why I didn't drink caroto, to go ahead and have a drink. I was a Pumeh. He acknowledged my acquaintance in my own land and in Kuma's, and expressed deep affection for me. He brought good news of my family, saying to hurry back since my wife was waiting for me, and had been waiting for me with much love for a long time. He got another cigarette and I was embraced several times.

The next to come was the father of Juan Bario, and as soon as I heard of it I offered a cigarette. It was properly acknowledged and the people were told that indeed I knew a great deal, since I had cigarettes ready to greet the spirits.

About 3 in the morning came Puaná, expressly to greet me. He told the Yaruros that I lived on another land which he himself had made and that he was glad I had come to visit this land. Such a greeting obviously called for a gift of three or four cigarettes which I held to the shaman's mouth. He described my land as being like that of Kuma—high and beautiful, different from this. That my people were gentle "people" like the Yaruros, Pumeh. He gave me further news of my family and said that he was keeping for me much cattle and many horses in the land of Kuma.

Puaná was greeted with happy laughter and general approval, as demonstrated by the quality of the singing which took on extra intensity and loudness. Puaná stayed with us for about an hour and a half, talking most of the time about me.

Finally about 5 o'clock Kuma herself came to visit me and, like Hatchawa, offered me a drink. I had to drink a gourd full of the concoction, it being held to my lips until I finished it. She gave messages similar to the others. There was a long spell when Kuma talked to Juan Bario, the son-in-law of Landaeta, who kept feeding Kuma with many cigars and caroto. Finally other Yaruros came, and the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

796
787 shaman eventually returned to us, being fed and greeted with affection by all.

The singing stopped at 6 o'clock. A number of rather remarkable facts are to be emphasized.

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796 1. By actual count the shaman sang no less than 3,000 musical phrases and verses and about 800 stanzas without any breaks or rest, ever changing the words, and subject matter, and jumping from one thing to another at a very fast tempo. How the shaman could make up his verses so quickly, while the people repeated the previous verse, is not easy to understand.

2. He shook the rattle without ceasing a moment, with the same sidewise motion of the hand, most violently for nine and a half hours.

[516] 3. He sat in the same posture—left leg doubled under him, right leg in cross-leg position, for the entire time. Not once did he move.

[276] 4. He smoked the long cigars with the thick leaves without taking them out of his mouth, producing so much smoke that I choked and my eyes smarted from it. He must have smoked at least 75 of them, and probably over a hundred. He smoked 35 cigarettes, in addition, in the same way.

[273] 5. He drank about 2 gallons of unfermented crushed maize in water.

The music was spirited and had a swing with the emphasis on the off beat that is as effective, if not more so, than the negro spiritual.

After the all-night singing there was a lull in the morning, everyone snatching a wink of sleep, but by the time I had finished writing and medicating my foot the men crowded around to tell me of the night's experiences. At noon the women started singing, sitting in their hammocks, and they kept this up until late in the day. They were singing mostly about me. I noticed that their songs seemed to be of a simpler sort and more monotonous than those of the men, generally consisting of one verse repeated over and over again to form the [198] stanza. They sang in the women's language.

JUAN BARIO ON THE EVENTS OF THE NIGHT

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787
776 Panemé Tsió brought a horse for the shaman to go to Kuma's house. Panemé Tsió is represented as a sort of "boss" of the figurines found in the sands. Then came the father of Fernando. He said that they should live well here and warned him not to mistreat his wife (talking to son-in-law). Then came the father of Brigida. He said that the new wife of his grandson should treat her husband well and vice versa. Then came a brother of Brigida. He said that he is wealthy in Kuma's land, possessing cattle and horses. Then came the mother of Brigida. She counseled her grandchild not to

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

115 787 776 mistreat his new wife, otherwise even his relatives in Kuma's land will lose their riches. She told Juan Bario, her brother, that she greeted him, that mother was happy (dead). Then came Garcia, the brother of Juan. He said that he had gone to the house of Kuma without having seen his relatives before dying (he died without being attended during his illness); that he was buried without even clothing, and thus he arrived at Kuma's without anything (his clothing was actually stolen); that the grandfather (father of Juan Bario) came to take him to Kuma's land since his uncle was far away and busy and did not know of the sickness (father rarely is mentioned as taking care of children).

Then came Itciai on horseback, shoes, hat, etc. He came to greet us, and said that he came to greet me also since I was also a Pumeh; he told Juan Bario to interpret what he was saying to me, since I didn't understand Yaruro very well; he loved me and my family very much; that he loved a man who visited his people with love in his heart like me; that when the world ends he will not be like the others but like you will be made rich in Kuma's land; to explain to me, since I lived near him, that his wife, son, and family are well and waiting for me; that he had made the world to live in as this man lived; that I was a very good man and knew very much, that is why I was waiting with a cigar for him; that Hatchawa was coming.

787 776 Hatchawa came on horseback, with bow and arrow, shoes, and gold necklace. He said: "I have come to greet this man and all of you. What do you say and think of this man? Isn't it true that he loves you? The man came with love for you. There are no people like him about here. He is like you of the same family. Puaná will come now."

Puaná came on horseback, which makes a noise like the anaconda, "teio, teio"! "I have come to greet the man and you. Didn't you in his land? He has come with love for you. He is of your family; take care of him. Raise him as one of your family. He knows a great deal, like the shaman. That is the reason that he sings as you do. I have watched from very near. He lives in a land just like mine, mountainous and very beautiful. Where he lives it isn't warm as here. Sometimes it is very cold. Ask him if he wants a drink. Kuma is coming to get you."

[539] Kuma arrived and said:

"How are you? The man has come here as I want it to be. He is of our family, not like the people about here. That is the reason he loves you so much. He knows as much as the shaman; that is why he is waiting with a cigar ready. That is as I like people to be. Tell him that when the earth ends he won't live here in a cold world like the (?) but will live with you and like you very rich. He is of our family. Where he lives is very beautiful. For this reason I made this earth that people like him should live on it. For this reason I told Puaná to come to greet him, for I love him very much."

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Then came the father of Juan Bario on horseback. He said:

"I greet you. I am waiting for you. Your land is poor now but Kuma's land is good and rich. When you die you will be born in Kuma's land. I was living here with you, I died here, but I was alone in Kuma's land where I am wealthy. See, you are poor. I was the same way. It is different in Kuma's land. There is much cattle and horses. Live well with your wife. Treat her well. Kuma does not want you to do otherwise."

Then the shaman returned on horseback.

There is great reluctance on the part of the shaman to sing unless there is a strong reason for it. During my stay with the Yaruros many occasions presented themselves to justify the holding of shamanistic performances.

On one occasion I returned to camp after an absence of two days. This was enough. I arrived at their camp about 7.30 in the evening. Landaeta greeted me affectionately and then told me that he and his people considered me a member of the family. The women came to put their arms about me in greeting. Landaeta in one of his mystical moods talked of the beauty of the small fire with turtle roasting; of the sands glistening in the moonlight; the araguato monkeys which were roaring in the distance; the occasional birds that sang in the night; the toninos came up to blow and splash in the river. All of this fitted in with the soft murmur of women speaking, and laughing in the darkness. An occasional misfortune, such as dropping a sackful of stuff, brought merry laughter on everybody's part. The crunching of the sand gave notice that the women were digging deep to reach moist sand in which to bury the leaves to be used as cigar covers. Soon all of us, men, women, and children, were smoking.

The rest of Landaeta's people arrived in canoes. They sat on the sand with us. Landaeta talked with them at length. At a point he arose. His wife handed him some objects. He walked away to the west, immediately followed by one of his sons and a young nephew. He returned after a while, minus his trousers, wearing the shaman's breechclout and cap.

He went to sit alone at the bottom of the sand bank. After some time his wife gave him a cigar. He continued to sit alone and silent. At a sign his son and nephew took a slender pole and planted it in the sand. They retired. Men and women continued talking. After some time Landaeta rose, stood before the pole, smoking, facing it and the east. Several stars began to rise. He stood in front of the pole for some time. Then he weakly began to sing. After two songs his wife came to plant a shorter pole to the west of the long one, and hung from it a basket. Landaeta continued standing still and singing, pausing briefly between songs. His son went to stand behind him, his nephew at the left side of the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

796 791 533 son. They began to take up the songs—shaman sang one phrase, repeated it, sang at low pitch and repeated. Last repetition joined in by assistants (attendants) and then the four phrases would be repeated, the shaman remaining quiet, but immediately singing a new phrase when they had hardly finished it. A few women joined in a line side by side to the south of the shaman. Singing without a rattle and without dancing continued for about an hour. Then 796 791 535 one of the women went to the basket and brought the shaman the rattle. Singing continued. The only motion was a slow bending forward and bending of the knees by the women in unison—that is, rhythmically on the off beat. A few of the men did the same. Shaman would shake his rattle at times. At the end of one song he said "amen" and the women walked away to the west. When he began a new song they returned. His wife from time to time brought the shaman a cigar from the basket. A fire was started to the west of the pole and the women clustered around. The shaking of the rattle became more frequent and more energetic, and in the middle of one song the women and all began dancing. Women put right hand on left shoulder of one in front and walked anticlockwise around the pole. An inner circle was formed by the men walking one behind the other. Animation was slight, but the right foot was stamped on the off beat. After going around a few times they would stop in original position to finish the song.

This dance was varied a little later on.

In the course of the evening, the singing and dancing became more and more animated until the shaman was in a frenzy. High-pitched voice, faster rhythm, greater accentuation, more feeling. Shaking of rattle became more frequent, rhythm became faster. Shaman no longer stood still, but danced at first by a jerky movement for ward, bending the knees, then moving about, half spinning, and near the end his body seemed to quiver jerkingly and rhythmically. The women's motions became more and more accentuated and near the end men and women bent low at the waist, moving body up and down, bending legs at the knees. The walk around the pole became a fast run, with a hopping step on the right foot in unison. In this way—the men would leap high—a resonating beat was produced, accentuating the liquid rich rattle of the gourd and the choral singing.

This continued until 4 in the morning, becoming more and more frenzied, until the morning star appeared.

I regret that I fell asleep near the end. When I awoke at sunrise everyone was asleep, apparently completely exhausted.

535 They started facing northeast in front of the pole, the women to the right of the shaman. When standing still the women, with arms

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 linked, kept up rhythmic motion by bending the knees slightly and leaning forward. The men bent at the waist until the torso was horizontal, arms hanging down like apes, and made the same motion by bending at the knees. The motion was so very apelike that I wondered if the monkeys didn't enter in some way into the scheme of things. I was told that formerly they were people and when the flood came they climbed to the tops of trees, and have continued to live there ever since, gradually changing shape. When the circuiting around the pole began the men followed one another after the shaman, and the women made the outer circuit with the right hand on the shoulder of the woman in front. The right foot was stamped on the off beat.

ART

184 517 Of the arts, dancing, music, carving, painting, modeling, and perhaps drama, are present among the Yaruros. Every individual in the group participates in some form of artistic expression, even in connection with objects whose function is practical rather than aesthetic; each individual attempts to make them "tsaimui", that is "pretty", "good." Great care is taken in making baskets, pottery, arrows, and bows. Singing and dancing are universally practiced also. No individual feels that his voice is too poor to participate in 531 the singing and no individual is shy about dancing. However, social 462 custom limits the activities of the men and women in the plastic arts. 323 Pottery making is the prerogative of the women. The carving of stamps and realistic figures from the asabache is done by the men. The low relief carvings on gourd rattles are the special products of the shamans. Of all these activities it is this last that comes closest to being inspired.

531 285 The making of baskets is woman's work. They take great pride in their workmanship, and make a conscious effort to reproduce various designs by employing several weaves. The patterns are rather limited, but then this may be due to the limited number of baskets which they make (fig. 21).

531 323 Pots are frequently broken in transport, but there is also very little use for them. One or two pots per family are all that is required. The porousness of the material is desired in order to keep the water cool. These pots are generally decorated with crude broad bands of red paint. The pottery decoration is reproduced in figure 22.

531 322 The women like to paint their faces. For this purpose the men make wooden stamps (pl. 22, *1*), which are dipped in red-ocher paste or a blue dye and the design is impressed upon the face. The designs are entirely geometric and rectilinear.

301 317 The asabache figures are of special interest because of their remarkable realism. The asabache is a black igneous material found

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

in small pieces on the banks of the Capanaparo. It is about as hard to work as coal. It has much the same appearance. The carving tool is the ordinary knife which, in some cases, may be a broken matchete. Yet, with such crude implements, they are able to produce exquisite realistic carvings of birds, fish, and other animals. These are generally perforated and strung into a necklace. Each woman possesses at least a few of these carved figures, the number depending on the industry of her husband. No symbolical significance seems to be attached to either the painting, the carving, or to any of the designs appearing on the stamps. There may be some magical meaning to them, but all inquiries were answered in the negative.

The gourd rattles present an entirely different manifestation. In the first place, only the male shaman can use a rattle. It is, in fact, the badge of shamanism. All the designs appearing on the rattle represent what he sees during his visits to Kuma's land. These carvings are made with the point of any sharp instrument, which cuts in just deep enough to expose the lighter colored inner wood of the rattle.

To become a shaman one must dream of Kuma and the other gods, and show his people that he can communicate with the godheads when occasion demands. Perhaps looking at shamanistic practices objectively this may mean primarily that the would-be shaman has a fertile imagination and some artistic talent. I do not think that we ought to doubt that he believes that he actually sees and talks with Kuma, Itciai, and the rest of the spirit world.

He commemorates his dreams on the sacred rattle, carving out on its surface the figures which appear in his dreams. Kuma and Hatchawa dominate the decorations on the gourd rattles, and since those collected came from the Puaná moiety, Puaná is also portrayed. In plate 24 various views of one of these gourd rattles are shown. The large geometric figure dominating the first drawing represents Kuma; the smaller one Hatchawa. Rotating the rattle toward the left we discover Puaná, the Snake.

In connection with these rattles one of the most interesting aesthetic features is the filling in of space. All of the specimens collected and shown in figures 25, 26, and 27 demonstrate this. In watching Landaeta at work I asked him why he did so; his reply was that a properly decorated rattle must be "tsaimui", that is "good", "proper", "beautiful."

Music

One would suspect that the Yaruros would have borrowed some of the musical instruments employed by the Llaneros. Among the lat-

1[see category 116, end plate 14 --- Analyst]
2[see category 116, pp. 242-243 --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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ter the harp is very popular. Flutes and whistles are also made by the Llaneros, but the gourd rattle, which consists of a small gourd containing coarse grains of sand, or seeds, is the instrument employed by the Yaruro shaman. Music, therefore, is produced by singing to the accompaniment of the rattle if the singer happens to be the [512] shaman. Since the men are prohibited from singing and whistling during the daytime there is no freedom of expression in this way. During the entire time that I stayed with these people I never heard anyone begin a song except the shaman. Whenever, for purposes of recording, I asked some of the men to hum some of the tunes they refused to do so.

533 Although there are a variety of tunes, the music apparently consists of one phrase repeated four times for each stanza of the song. Each stanza is begun in a high falsetto. The second phrase is sung an octave lower, and the last phrase, therefore, is four octaves lower [462] than the first. The woman shaman, however, has a song slightly different than the male shaman's song and their pattern seems to begin at the lower end of the scale for each phrase and repeating each phrase in the same range as the first. In both cases, each phrase covers the entire scale of six notes. The tempo is 1-2 time, with the accent on the off-beat, but at the height of the ceremonies the songs are syncopated. The intensity of the songs, the melodious quality of the phrases, and the oral repetition produces an effect similar to the negro spirituals.

It is difficult, if not impossible, for one to sing in tune with the Yaruros. Their scale is different from ours and they seem to have quarter tones. In addition to this peculiarity, they never seem to sing in a full voice, not in a falsetto, but in a style of their own, difficult for one trained in European music to master quickly. Of course the theory is that it is the gods and the ancestral spirits who composed both the music and the words and the people singing behind the shaman merely imitate these inspired songs.

533 The Yaruros have only one word to signify dancing and singing:
535 "tohiwahimerekidi". The shaman, who is the leader in both these arts, is called "dancer" or "singer." In actual practice dancing is subordinate to singing, much as gesturing is subordinate to speaking among ourselves. Perhaps the correct translation of this word would be closer if rendered as "singing."

Dancing as an independent art does not exist. When it is practiced it is almost an outflow of singing. Singing may be done without dancing but dancing without singing is impossible. Every dancer sings, though every singer does not necessarily dance.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Venezuela SS1

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SUMMARY

The Yaruros are river nomads, practicing no agriculture and keeping no domestic animals except the dog. Their material culture is meager, being limited to what they can carry in their canoes as they wander from one camp to another. Expecting extermination within a short time, they have turned to life after death for consolation.

We know practically nothing of the Yaruros as they were several hundred years ago. According to the missionary accounts they had a simpler culture than the other tribes inhabiting the region of the delta of the Apure. However, lacking descriptions of the Yaruros, we cannot make sound comparisons. There is very little in the modern Yaruro culture which resembles that of the Otomacos and Tamanacos as described in the missionary accounts.

The things that distinguish the Yaruros from Racionales (as the "civilized" people are known) are lack of permanent abodes, no domestic animals, and no agriculture. The things that are common to both groups are the bow and arrow, the canoe and paddle, and hunting. Among the Yaruros there is a closer communal life than among the Racionales.

In the material culture of the Yaruros we can discover but few elements which have been borrowed from the Europeans. Of these, the use of iron is the most important. Formerly the Yaruros had only bone and wood out of which to shape arrow points, but now iron has displaced these other primitive materials. The use of iron knives, an occasional ax, a hammer, and a heavy iron hoe used by the women on their digging sticks, has, of course, been introduced by the traders. In exchange for these elements the Yaruros have given to the Racionales the bow and arrow, the canoe, the gourd rattle, basketry, and pottery.

The Yaruro in recent years has been even further removed from European culture than he was several centuries ago. The policy of the late dictator, Gen. Juan Vicente Gomez, of disarming the Venezuelans to keep down revolutions, left the people of the llanos without any ammunition, even though they might have old shotguns and rifles. Guns and ammunition were smuggled in at a premium and were far beyond the means of the Llanero peasant and cowboy. As a result, those who were not attached to the household of some powerful absentee rancher were forced to eke out a living with bow and arrow.

The world depression and the cattle monopoly of General Gomez affected the Llaneros also in two ways. Cattle could no longer be sold at a profitable price and the workers were forced either to abandon the country and withdraw to the cities or to Guiana, to become farmers, or to live in an even more primitive style than they

Y
V
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SS1

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Venezuela SS1

Y 105 SS1

were accustomed to. That is, they had to fall back on a life somewhat similar to that of the Yaruros. Today one finds close to some river bank a little hut, the home of one of these Llaneros. In such a household one may find a man, his wife, and children. Their only possessions are what they can gather and make from their environment. They may have a garden in which they raise plantains and bananas, a little maize, and yucca. But the soil of the Llaneros is not fit for fertile gardens, so these people have to depend on hunting and fishing for most of their food. These are the people with whom the Yaruro have most contact. There is nothing in their houses and nothing in their mode of living to attract the Yaruro. As a matter of fact the Yaruros themselves made the comment that a Racionale's house was dirty and full of vermin and insect life, whereas they, preferring to live on the open beaches behind no shelter, had the advantage of moving about from one clean camp site to another.

Y 186

Y 177

How much the Yaruros have borrowed from Spanish lore and religious ideas it is impossible to say on a basis of our knowledge. In their religious ideas one might guess that the conception of the existence of an evil spirit and the personality of India Rosa may be the two strongest elements. All these, however, were introduced a long time ago and with the breaking off of communication with the missionaries during the past century they have become weaker and weaker. Today India Rosa is confused with Kuma. The evil spirit appears in only one or two legends and plays hardly any part in the shamanistic performances.

The tenor of the Yaruro culture is typically conservative. Their reaction to any European idea is one of suspicion and fear. For instance, they will not raise domestic animals or learn to cultivate gardens. The Yaruros had their chance, they say, when the world was created, and refused to take it. Now there is only one thing left to them: to live as their ancestors have done and to die.

Y 181

This patient acceptance of their lot is the most characteristic attitude of the Yaruros. They have abandoned all hope of maintaining themselves against the destructive forces of the world around them, and even of dying out peaceably. Their only consolation lies in their firm belief that Kuma is waiting for them in the other world. In other words, not unlike many other American aboriginal groups, they have built for themselves an indestructible heaven, and one from which foreign peoples will be excluded. There they will recapture their ancient mode of life. They will have plenty of food, clothing, horses, and the companionship of their relatives. Kuma's land is a world of bliss, an expression, really, of the living Yaruro's yearning to be allowed to hunt, fish, and live peacefully with each

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

181 other. Since they cannot attain such a life in this world they are looking forward to the day when all of them can be together again in Kuma's land.

LANGUAGE

194 The Yaruros' phonetics do not seem to be different from the ordinary Spanish. It seemed quite easy to take down almost anything by using the ordinary Spanish alphabet. It is characterized by strongly accented final syllables. It seems to be strongly vocalized.

193 Much has been said about a man's language and a woman's language in connection with the various South American tribes. As will be shown, many words, especially the verbs, have a different final ending for each sex speaking. These sometimes may be only a simple change from an "e" to an "i", or may involve two or three syllables. The following notes and text are reproduced without any attempt at analysis.

GRAMMAR

djbu'h mere'kidi' kode'h
speak I I

areke'ni keno'h oa' kode'h
I speak with this man

hanau' mene'h kede'h
you come here (imp.)

meani'bude'h kede'h kode'h
I speak with you

[a]yutaerembudene'h ke
what did you say

ontara' ok'we
teach me

ontarakwe'
teach me (explain to me)

have drunk I
[a]yuiri ko'deh ero' hętatih
I drunk (rum) much

hara'merikode'h ero'
drink I rum

harameri'mene'h ero'
you drink rum

harato'marikødeh abeko' ero'
shall drink tomorrow rum
(I shall drink tomorrow)

hurato' merikode'h abeko'
I eat tomorrow

abe pa'meri' kode'h
I work

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abepa'to meri' kode'h abeko'
(I shall work tomorrow)

amerikode'h huraria'
I was eating

hurare' kodeh' no'mene'h
ate I yesterday

ameri' kode'h tibato' (huraria'
I shoot arrow to eat—
ábako)
tomorrow

podameh
turtle

ameri
("fino")

tainekøde'h abako'
I hunt tomorrow

gondeh po yeį depo'h Yaruro
There came forth wife of Fe Yaruro
pume'h
people

ndo'h
when there was nothing

ndiah mbuadedo ninye gondo'
sun setting night
or sun sets
jahe's

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

193

kode′ pia′ndi′
I also

mbaurikidi′ hatci′ pau′h
I go far away

moi dą tco
going to sleep

djitó′rikidi ko′deh
I am sick

MAN AND WOMAN LANGUAGE

(MAN SPEAKING)	(WOMAN SPEAKING)
hurari′kudi kode′h ♂ (kudi with verb, kodeh alone)	hurake′ kodeh ♀ I eat
hambi′ pa′ kode′h ♂ I am working	hambi pa′ ke′ kode′ ♀ I am working
hai! ♂ (ti—seems to be suffix when man speaks) look!	tadehi′ ♀ look
muapa′rikidi ♂ I sleep	mua pa′ke′ ♀ I sleep
ngoheri aneh ♂ Let us go	ngohe′anoh ♀ Let us go
nguarikodi ♂ I have	ngua′ke ♀ I have
ntohi′nua′taneh ♂ Let us sing	ntohį′nua′tanoh ♀ Let us sing
hura′ria′ hura′taneh ♂ Let us eat (invitation)	hura′ria′ hura′tanoh ♀ Let us eat (invitation)
garimpa′rikidihe′ ♂ I am in love	garimpari nikwe ♀ I am in love
daba′derikidi ♂	daba′dedi′ kodeh ♀
tiade′ ♂ who is it	tea′dido′ ♀ who is it
yude′pende′ ♂ the woman is there	yude′pendi′ ivi ♀ the woman is there
ui jorokwa ♂ give me water	ui jorokwe′ ♀ give me water
tamatcg′humbririkidi ♂ I am hungry	tamatcǫ hambrike ♀ I am hungry
mboǫrikidi ♂	mbaǫ′ke ♀
hoį′ hano′h dibe′ ♂ there is a man	hoį′ hanah ibe ♀ there is a man
ndarikune′ hohedi′ ♂ I see a man there	ndakuni′ hohedi′ ♀ I see a man
nwuana′kwi′ jokoda′ bring me a pot (jar)	nwuanakwa′ jokoda′ bring me a pot (jar)
hanande′ bidi he (no) does not come	hana′nde′ kuni′ he (no) does not come

193

(MAN SPEAKING)

jamba′ hanamebede′
he comes to-day

tcuto′rikide
I am cold

tcuto′rine′h
you are cold (♂ speaking to ♂)

tcuto′me·h
(♂ speaking to ♀)

tcumato′ maibe′ 'hambo′ke tamatcǫ′
I shall make songs because I am hungry

hụnaipemedekudime′
I kill you ♂ to ♂

hunai peigne kema′
I kill you ♂ to ♀

humbe pa′ ne′
she is working

nyugu′ nambi anyikowi
do you want to smoke sister?

parapia′ manna′
breeze is coming

ngua′rikode′ oi nguari′kodi jaguimę′
have I salt

taị ka′ de ♂
he is walking

taị ka ne
she is walking

tiahą′·de tibato′?
whose bow is it

hohą′·ndi tibato′.
this is the man bow

tcoeia′ pia′nde
It is cooked, it is ready

tcunia′de′ tibato′
bow is finished

abatcide′·tcadedi
all right have

hana′wu·ghi!
come here

(WOMAN SPEAKING)

jamba′ jadohandemebidi
he comes to-day

tcuto′. ke
I am cold

tcuto′me′h
(♂ to ♀ or ♀)

tcumata′rǫ′ hambǫ′ke tamatcǫ

huna pa′ kema′
♀ to ♂

hunai peigne kema′
♀ to ♀

humbe pa′ ke′
she is working

jorokwa′ ui harapake parapia
give me some water I am thirsty there is no breeze

dekia′

taị ka′ di ♀
he is walking

taị ka ke ♀
she is walking

tiahą′·di tibato′? (i. e., important)

tcoeią′ pandi hurariara′ udi!

abatcidi tcadedi
good have

hana′he ghi!
come here

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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(MAN SPEAKING)	(WOMAN SPEAKING)
mbaøwu yude'he' go away there	mbaø'he yudehe'
eameri kude ainiką' hinani I like to laugh much	eagni'k'e ainiką'
ainikądeme eamerikude not I don't like to laugh	eadenyiką ainiką
eamerikudi unneha' I like the basket	eanyike unneha'
eamerikudi unne ohahe' that	
yohahe' this	
ea'demerikudi I don't like	eadenyike
tana'høpat' Why?	(same)
nyutanide? how many are there?	nyutanidi?
henari yudape ikuri many there turtles	
nųa'hana'kwe hę'! bring me honey	nuahanakwa' hę'!
nua'hana'kwe mo.! bring me bees	
hurapa'rikude mo hé! I want to eat honey	hurapa'ke· mo he'
jipe'h mbaøhapa anne'? When do we go?	jipe·h mbaø hapa' anno ?
jambuą' nbaø Now in a moment	jambuą' mbaø'.
nyohe' hanna' he' hannadie'no Nura come here a moment (I say)	
jipęh di daba'dame' Where is (object around house)	jo'hedi'! It is here Take it
tanna' eame'? what do you want	eake' tibu' kaiąmi gate'ku buy fat me cloth
ado' tanna' eame' do you want more?	
mo·=matahei, wasp (beef)	
mo·ho¡ hive	
tiahą'ndiode jokoda'? whose is that pot (question)	tia'ha'mehambe' pame' jokoda' whose is it a little washing tinaja (answer)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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(MAN SPEAKING)	(WOMAN SPEAKING)
tiaha'·de unne'? (basket) whose basket is it	tiahą'·di unne'?
kaią· unne'di It is mine / mine basket {Ha'.de is possessive (as verb)}	kaią'·di unne
kaią kerahą·de' unne'ɸde'	kaią kera'hą'·di unne'ɸde'
kaią mine hą·nde	kaią hą'·di'
dibią·di yours	same
hoa' handi his	same
ią' hąndi hers	same
ibią·di ours	same
dibią ditcuni' yours	same
ina'hari' theirs ♂	same
ina'hą.di theirs ♀	same
jorokwi' uni! give me water	jorokwa' uni!
jorokwi jokoda'! pot	jorokwa! jokoda! pot
he'dano hura'ria huį'! Prepare the food	Heda'no ike' huraria' huį'!
nguane meneh I have	ngua'dene menerǫ' we have
nguadi hudi (man) he has	nguadne oderǫ they (♂) have
nguane hine' (woman) she has	nguanei ineh they (♀) have
nguari ane'h (anoeah) all have	
nguari' merikodeh nomene I had yesterday (imp.)	nguari hiniri aneh (anoneh)
nguari' merineh	nguari hinirinene'h menerǫ'
nguari' meri-hudi'	nguari gnine' inerǫ' (woman)
nguari' gnine' hine'	nguari on oderǫ'
nguato' merikode' abeko I shall have (future)	nguato' gnine' ineh
nguato' merineh	nguato' n·oderǫ' (They men)
nguato' meri hudi	nguato' n·derǫ iembo' (They men and women)
nguato' hiniri aneh (anoneh)	
nguato' hinirineneh (menerǫ')	

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birahanaii kudi kaią uni heade'nenoke kaią uni
bibewa' gue dirǫ' pą' dekudi
mbe'rotonikudi
tcade' venoka' uni
ndøpa' venenoką'
kode' kedirǫ' oke' udi
kode'ke' guaraenemeri tciai
hatciri anaike · ngnara gua meri
tcade' mbaririrakwe' ndila haini
virą' nirǫ' da dibaidirǫ'
virą' nirǫ' da tihoirǫ'
ngụodo dirǫ' da hanairǫ' tari hanairǫ
Jode'di pea'ruh dide' huį' duria' paranime'hedi' ado'tcemi·
before afterwards other

kanetci'mo kare'itcikania'me kaneitci'-nyu'anni kanetcini kareni·
karetciri ado'tiemi tcitcio'ni tarui'pa kania'me tarupa' wyuani'
taru'pa taranih ado'tcemi! keį'tao taǫ mo'tcine keįtaǫ taǫ·
kenia'me keįtaǫtaǫ mo taranish hado'tcemi ta'u tcuni'· bainte'.
tomatcu' huriarapa' kodeh
I am going to eat because I am hungry

huríara'wi
answer=eat

tcade'dirę' pumeh
very to be often left out

me' paria' pime
nyi paria pinyi

Janika'
sort of devil, living beyond Kema—causes sickness
tcai.nde
bad

paria'pinyi oteh paria'pigni oteh tsunia' oteh
Kuma' all the people world chief (governs)

hado'kanemo' otech paria'pi'nyi nyipariapinyi kuma'
hado'kanemo' oteh Itciai paria'pi'me Hado'kanemo oteh
hatcaun patca'un pariapime haø haø Kuma haø' pariapinyi'
grandson Kuma

haø' hado'kanemo' Itciai' haø' maria'no' · Itciai haø
(born with Yaruros)

Hatchawa calls Yaruros "anyi"
anyi (brothers) (younger brother)

Jaruros call Hatchawa "aji·h"
(older brother)

Itciai' called "aji'"

Itciai' calls Yaruros "anyi'"

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

193 Yaruros call Puana' "aia'" (father)

Yaruros call Kuma "aj" (mother)

Kuma calls Yaruros "kaią haø'"
my son (but Yaruro says to Yaruro ani')

Puana' says "kaią hao'"
my son

kanundani hambø' "kaja uni"
Poor fellows dying out there (Kuma speaking)

manna' diroką' hambø' piøji
this is my earth (Kuma speaking)

ngua'kedodeh huraria' pain une'ha'
I have food for my children (Kuma says this to shaman)

habe' diro'da' manna'hinidiro'da'-h tcade'hinidiro'da' unihidiro
My children are living in the earth, come be born in my land young again (Kuma speaking)

hoedi' oteh
smoke, chief! (expression when offering tobacco smoke to Iteisi. Done all the time when smoking. To Puana' also.)

tcadenane' oteh

tcadeni'
give us good life

hoedi oteh kie'tarawø'- oteh
take chupa cigaro
to Puana' (nambi tobacco sometimes added)

hoedi oteh paua'pigni' kie'tarakaią aj' kuma
addressing

hoedi' oteh paria' peine' kieterawø tcadediane jadu'
(to Hatchawa)—good luck, etc., good line jambu's new

minne' kaią aii
my older brother

kaią agni
younger brother

anyi ko'bwį'
Hatchawa calls all Yaruros (brothers and sisters)

PARTS OF THE BODY

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Abdomen	ak	Foot	taho-h
Arm	itelhu'h	Hair	kõ'
Breast	maito'h	Hand	itci-h
Chin	ghudi-h	Head	to-be'-h
Ear	tana-h	Knee	utcatu'-h
Elbow	ma-tiy'i	Leg	tahu'-h
Eye	ndateo'h	Lip	tcabi'-h
Face	tcama-h	Nose	mbu'-h
Finger	itcisia'h	Palm	iteima'-h

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NUMBERS

1	keriame'h
2	nywari'h
3	tarari'h
4	hadotcómi'h
5	keinetcibo'
6	keinetcinikeriame'h
7	keinetcininywari'h
8	keinetcinitarari'h
9	keinetcinihadotcomi'h
10	itcisune'h
11	taropeh keriame'h
12	taropeh nywari'h
13	taropeh tarari'h
14	taropeh hadoteomi'h
15	keinetaitahotcunei'h
16	keinetaitahokeriame'h
17	keinetaitahonydrari'h
18	keinetaitaho tarari'h
19	keinetaitaho hadotcomi'h
20	tarsone'h
Many	ina'

To count: Start with thumb of left hand, continue with right hand, left foot, and right foot.

POINTS OF THE COMPASS

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North	marupano'h	South	tcura'pano'h
East	jaboropano'-h	West	tciaru'pano'-h
Earth	dabu'h	Morning star	mbusa'
Moon	gupene'-h	Sun	do-h
Water	uị'-	Brook	bea-hị'
River	bea'-h	Fire	konde'

VOCABULARY

Arrow	tcito'	Knife	konumia'h
Ax	hibe'	Large	teara'
Babu	arii'h	Long, tall	nqua' tọ'
Barbaco	para'	Macanilla	bai'
Boy (small)	pume'h (tokwị)	Make	tsuapa'
Bow	tibato', tcibato'	Maize	yukata'
Cayman	nyiakankạ'	Man (old)	ote' mai'
Canoe	ja'ra'	Machete	hapene'
Cattle	faka	Night	ine ri'h
Changuango	ipe'i'h	Paddle	taento'
Cold	tcito'i'h	Pig	obuya'
Cut	todeha'	Pole (thin)	to/o huhwa'
Dark	baghune'	Quick	hanape'
Deer	mbu'a	Rainy season	uị ro'
Dog	areri'h	Rattle	tei'
Dream	kaneboi'h	Shadow	teaivi'
Drink	hara'	Shelter, house	họ'/h
Eat	hura'	Small, little	tokwị
Galapago	tcin dame'h	Summer (dry season)	hanno'
Girl (small)	ici tohwị'	Sun	do'
Good, pretty	teaimuị'	Terracai	pudame'h
Good girl	tei teaimui teara' teaimui'	Tobacco	mambi'/h
		Turtle (large)	ikwii
Hammock	buri'	Thick	anna'
Horse	jai'	Thin	hubua'

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Today	jamba′	Water (cold)	uį′ tcutcia′
When	kanemo′	Water	uį′
Wild, shy	naitca′	Yucca	pae′h
Woman	ieį′	Yucca (sweet) (edible yucca).	huruara′ pa′eh
Woman (old)	ieį′ tehi′		
Warm water	uį′ kewita′	Yucca (bitter)	pa′eh kara

ORIGIN LEGEND

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Joro′ (irokwi—give one) give | Kuma-unijoro′ kuma boy give | maę speech | joro′ give | kodeh I | tcune′ih all | joro′ give

hụi′hą afterwards | nimbø′ote′bureh speak everyone (all) | maę′ language | a′no′neh we all | hinani! many | jabuą now

tokwęi′mi few very | nomi before | nyo say | hudi′ka afterwards | nyo say | ibi′ to us | kuma′ kuma | hine· she

tcade′ni good very | ko′nøtu′h that we live (on this earth) | ado′ more | kønøtø′h live (yes) (I live here) | maęjoro language give (words) | kønøtø′h live (yes) (here) | mana come

hineh she | Kuma-di′· kuma with | hatciri far away | uihana′ui′ water much water | mana′bedi′ comes | ibe′ us | ea′aį ya′ weeping mother for (my)

ndairø′pe yonder | mana′ comes | øni′ boy | diro′ born | naa′ her | hao′ son | habe′ dirǫ a moment just, merely itself, born | ᵃtohę′ is singing

ta′hve′ di be′ unknown with you (people) | tave· di be | ate′ bureh among all | mana′ dirǫ′ comes is being born (family) | ote bure′h all

sade are | dirǫ′ well | mua′henidirǫ′ is rich | ea kni′ weeping lacks | one′ doll | uni′ boy | nua′h are | deheini′ poor

jai horse | pututairą′ saddle | nua′h dirǫ has | tcere′h silver | paria pa′·h keheni making | tokur′ small

pariapa′ making | habe′ dirǫ all remains | tię′ tia she will give name when he is born in her land | kę′·tia′ has name | tibo′hida′ goods are kept | jode′·h this | kaią′ my

hødi′ is or are | jode′·h this | fa′ka cattle | kaią′ uni my boy | fa′ka cattle | jai horses | kaia′ uni′ my boy | huraria′ food

kaia′ uni′ my boy | taų shoes | kaia′ uni′ my boy | tcade′·h good | kaia′ uni′ | hina′dirǫ many

hidake′ waiting | handi′para′ for that | nua′me′·h′ is rich | tokwę few | pariapa′ is making | jodi′h this

tcere′ silver | tokwę few | hi′na | patce′tciara | faka | tokwę′ few | jai horse | tokwę′

jambua′ now | tiogi here | uįmbo′ with a woman | manna comes | huraką′ eats | knidanni feels sorry | pume′n kode′ Yaruros we

ote′h chief | uni′ boy | manna′ comes | hąhą′ yes | puana′h uni | n-gua ke·nuą′ I have (woman speaking) | fakanguą′ke

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huratø′ uni′ fakanua′ tønøndi′ huriara′ hønandi′ gⁿynuku′
will eat boy what is (interrogative) food what (inter.) cheese

hønandi nambi hønandi′ huo′ uni hą′ tcǫ′ ngohe′ a′no·h
tobacco for the boy (fish) let us go (woman speaking)

tu′kayø ⁿtohinuą′tano ero′ hanam tohewa′nhapano′ witcotanoh
paint ring let us let us bathe (♀)

tibo′hina′tano nambihe′ joroku′n pumehami joroku′n nambihe′
let us dress tobacco give me for the people give me tobacco

nienepa′h dibeh ai′nika′tø heba′hur heba′heba′ hebahụr
might already ♀ we will laugh married married marry

tciadani garapa′ tokwę nene garimpa′ hebahine tcadeni
give him clothing laughing small very in love marry (♂) do well

tcadeni′ hapa wį′ jorohį′ tibo′ jorohį′ taụ′wei jorohį′
(treat man well) give clothing give shoes

ero′ jorohį′ huraria′ jorohį′ ta′mbe huratto′ni garmpaį′
food give eat

nimoma′ konombi′ naia′hǫ′ru hai′hø′ tcidø′ haihø′ aihe
live there ♀ my house hunt deer

hambu′ tometcǫ′ hai′hø′ dome′· haihø′ tcį haihø′ tatu′timi
dead with hunger hunger turtle iguana

haibe′ garimpa′ mehį′ tcad ni heba į′ kode′ na′ia′aį′
deer in love woman treat well wife mother

kode′ ikidi ai′ᵃm kaįya ha′o kaia hao′ kaią a kaią′ dike′
I his mother father my son son younger brother it is mine

kaią hudi dike′ haba′rikudi barike yude yu′ha jabo′tca abe′rikidi′
this is mine seems far to me I go there for a moment wait for me a little here

pumeida ondi′ha amerikidi ⁿgoha′ diane hana ⁿguaha′rineh
The Yaruros I accompany we go (or let us go) come (you) go with me

ᵐbaøtø′·h ʿʰua′na pe. gniene pa′ri gnuta′ipe ine·h ᵐbaø′pa′ne·h
we go walk quickly night gather what shall we do

mlaø′ rikudi ena′ tlatci′· høta′ni ⁿguoha′riane′·h ᵐbuatø′·h
I go shout far let us go you do not want to go with me go far

habatci′ mbaø′dawu′·h ha′nawu′·h nimbø′ tcatane′·h kanawu′·h
I don't want do not go come quickly let us talk come quickly

ume′·h hanawu′·h kerama′i tainta′ne′·h huriara′ aitane′·h
family come quickly brother-in-law let us go hunting food gather food

toįwą′tane·h hota′bure′·h tcune′ine′·h pa·ⁿchi′·h cu′·hu′·ni
let us sing all every one (all) women also give to all

toiną pavidi·h hebawa′·tø·h tanu wę′ we′nawu′·h haba′rikidi
dance say so let us help let us help these people come sing wait there (a moment)

yabu′tca hatci′·vi. hatci′ri kudua′ jambụa′ ᵐbaø′ ᵐbaø′ak i′
I go there (a moment) very far I came very far to-day I go I go

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kaja′ tciri′rupe′·h habe′merikudi kni′maia′ tcunja′di
for my country I stop there it is ended

nawadape′ndi′·h jipe′·hndi′·h piuji′n·h ᵃdaudikone′·h ᵃdąnawu′·h
is last where is it it is here I don't find it look for it

ᵃgụadenawu′·h jụa′ tanandid wana′kwi′·h jode′·h habe′kidah
come see it which whose is it bring it to me to see a moment

manna′di·h hatji′·h wenahu′·h we′nahu·h bagum′wu′·h
coming now for go fast (note change of accent) run

tcniadi′·h da′tukun′·h wana′kụi· awimąi′ hana′wu′·h agnima′i
finished I go see bring me nephew come brother

a-mụ′i kahąi′ ka′ami′ kahąi kahį amu′į kahawi′tokwį′
father mother sister aunt grandson my niece

mbaø′rikidi′ awa′ muha′rine′ mbaøtø′·h hida′kụi′·h
I go yes now come no of course that we go wait for me

męandimbą′ø merikidi′ himu-baøtane himu jabuka′wø′·h
I go with you we go together take

jabubaø′wu′·h ᵃjoaᵃguabaø′bu ka-ji′ hudi′ heda′no tibato′
go first carry this brother he made bow

tcito′h kodeh ait atø. Kaji′rdi′ narapania′riki tcara
arrow (harpoon) for me to shoot (arrow) My brother showed me taught me canoe

edadidiko′ kajiriki. Kaįaya′ kaįaį′ idepa′ nia′rikụdi uni′
make my brother my my mother born I boy

andi′kemerø′h jaruperu′h huni hide′piarikudi uni araniki
there large pasture boy there I was born boy there

kaj′ aj′. Mbøritari køđi aji′repanabapanj′a tcuni′
my mother I shall make hammock my brother taught me to weave hammock all

tcara apenikudi kaįya′ maya′. Kaiąya′ kaįhaini′ kambụa hini
I made canoe I alone my mother died

kodeh tøkwi′ndu himbụ′a. Kajaya′ ami′ eᵃba′riki.
I I was small still my sister took care of me

Inijoronikwi huriara′ kajaya eba′riki ote′ piarø′h hambø
She gave me food took care of me afterwards I was large my

kaiaya.
mother died

(FREE TRANSLATION)

Kuma talked about the boy (Hatchawa) to whom she gave everything. Afterwards everyone (the other spirits, ancestors) spoke. Kuma said to us, "We are few now but formerly we were many. I come from very far away. I come from very far away across much water. He this man came to us. A little boy and his mother (my son and wife) are weeping. Both of them are well. They are rich but weeping. The boy does not have a doll. He has a horse, saddle, and silver. I will give the man a name when he comes to my land. I will give cattle to him my boy, horses, food, and shoes. I am waiting for my boy. Now, I will eat with my people, the Yaruros, good food,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

539 cheese, smoke tobacco, for my boy. Let us go, let us bathe, let us dress. Give me tobacco for the people, give me tobacco. We shall laugh. Give my people clothing. Treat this man well. He will give you clothing, shoes, food. He will live there with us in my house, to hunt deer, turtle, iguana. Marry a woman, treat the wife well. I go away for a moment, wait for me here a little. Go with me. We shall walk away quickly in the night and gather what we need. Let us shout far, let us go. Let us talk, come quickly. Family, come quickly, brother-in-law. Let us go hunting, let us gather food, all of us, everyone. The woman also. He will give to all something. He says let us help these people. Come sing, come sing. I go there to his land very far away. I have come very far today. Now I go to his country. I stop there. Here is this land. It is here. I don't find it, I look for it, whose is it? Bring it to me to see. I am coming now, far, I can travel very fast, run, it is finished." (One of the Yaruro spirits speaking.) My nephew come, brother, father, mother, sister and grandson, niece. I go with you. My brother made a bow for me and an arrow to shoot. My brother showed me how to make a canoe. I was born there in a large pasture. I shall make a hammock for my mother. My brother taught me to make a canoe then I was left alone. My mother died. I was smaller then. My sister took care of me. She gave me food. She took care of me. Afterwards my mother died.

BUILDING A CANOE

Icara′	ghia′tune	wu′·h	k^{w}a hu′	ngua′hę	torena′	tcu′ruwǥh
canoe	I open		burn it	ehkuria	canoe	plane it on outside

kuavǥ′h	mbatci′	gua wụ′·h	mbatci′^{n}di	tcinja′	ado′	Kanemo′
burn it	ready	plane it inside	is ready	is ended	move	other

hapapa′rikidi′	kaiąya′	kajyami	ab ko′	de′rikudi′	nde′hano
is making	my	for me	tomorrow	it is so	throw down (knocked down)

habako′	mbụi′tcị	tcaratokwǥ′	tcarato′·h	mbąǥ′	har′rikidi
tomorrow	small	small canoe	(the canoe tree)	I	go away

tcarahi′	tcunaru′h	mbaǥ′rikidi	tcarupe′mu	mbaǥ
canoe	is finished	I go away	yonder	I go away

garu′paime′rikidi′	hamba′rikidi′	konroi′ merikidi	gnụa′rindie′.
I come back	I am here still	I live where I go	two days

mannaime′dikude′	Hatcihorikidi	habe′ merikidi	honi′pe
I come	I go far	I delay much	there where I go

kau jĭ′yu′puę′	kaią pume′h	na′bari kudi′	ka ami′aparikidi
my older brother	my family	I am here	I have my sister

kaja′aya′	kaja′ya	hade′h	kajaya	kai′	kaiąya′	oma′ kaią′ya
my father	my uncle (elder)		my	aunt		granddaughter

kera′	kaiąya	Habi′	tokwị	kaị′rke′rami	kaiąya	hadimui
sister-in-law		little girl		my brother-in law		younger uncle

hiamụi	kajyaba′	ebane	Kajya ba′	hawi mi′	eba′	joro′bǥhę′
grandchild (♂)	my girl child		is married	my girl	husband	married	give to her

hurarią′	joro′bǥhę′	tibo′	ebabuhe′ ♂	tcaidani′	———
food	give her	goods	marry her (shah[?])		do not do harm

539 hapade tcohedi tibo′ naia′ tibo′ joha′di tcere garempa′
take ♂ goods

kodeh kaiąiej′ garempa′ tcade′kaią′iaį′ turusi hadi ᵘjobedi
(y) necklace take take

turusi′ johedi′ mahu′ johe′di tahe′ b——— mbaurikidi
plate I am going away

ha′deme mbaunkidi keramaį mbaunkidi animaį baun hidi

aiamaį′ mbauke kaį aį mbauke′hømatį′ hąhą′ hąhą′
good bye my mother

hą′hą′ na—paru′ mana′i ume′.
when are you coming

Kuma′ jorohį ebahį tune′ine′ ebai i į′ eba′imeneno′
(speaking) give marry go away all is married married

tca·ni′ ebai′ hati′ baø mbauta′no′· hati tokwę′ime
far away go of course (?) very few

hunihą′tcin dabu′ide′ kono kaja′ uni tcuna′ne′ tcuini′ha′
is land of the boy live my boy go away all all

jode′ tcuni tcin kaį′a′ uni· mbau′ke ♀ ayumaį′ mbauke′ ayamaį′
this all this land

mbau′ke ayamaį′ mbauki′ ademaį hademaį mbauke′

naparu′ mbaumeneno′ habe′ke habeko baune naparu′baubim
when let us go not yet let us go tomorrow when the others go ♂

mbaukeda′ hiama′i mbaukeda nimaį′ mbaukeda′ Hø imaį′
I go away ♀ nephew I am going son uncle

ma′naignike′ abeka namparumana kaia ąi′ mbaunikide u
I shall come tomorrow when you come my mother I go away

mbau′ mbaurikide keremai mbaunkide hiamą′i mbaunkide
brother-in-law

kambue′ jorokwi′ umayo′ jorokwi′ adema′i ticiparaghi
relative fishhook uncle harpoon arrow

jorokwi′ mbauke′ agnikowi mbauke′ amia′į mbaunkidi′
I go away ♀ sister older sister

niama′i mbaunkide′ kambue′. hąhą! namparu′mana kambu′e
nephew relative when you come relative

taranihdoru mana′ime′· mbaun′kideh hadimą′i mbaube′
three days come I uncle I am going

auitokwej′· Hąhą! Hąhą! Jipę′ bau′ hadamai′ mbaurikide
niece (♂) where are you going grandfather

atdgi′. Manankideh gnumairu′h. Gnǫmbuwę′ kaja aia′maį.
older brother ♂ I come next year tell him ♂ my father

Hą′hą′ nyǫbuwę′ hanato′di kaiomaį. kaiaabi′ gnǫbuwę′
that he come my father my daughter ♂ (younger) Tell him

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habeko'hana tødi' hødikodi'. tananabui tcarana'h kni' daiya'
to come tomorrow it is I how are you going ♂ canoe poor fellow

kudikude' naparø'hu hadatchua'mi dø' kni' daiya' tana'h
it is I when are you going four days poor fellow whose son

Kodeh ua'pa'rikide gnakanką ti'puti'pu' uapankideh· hą'hą'!
am I I am afraid cayman castaral I am afraid

køtøgnio'd Hąhą'! abarikide jiabuą'hu'inne' høtuynioką'yahade'
go there a moment now I say to him goes there my mother

animaį nyo'i'ni manarikidi kodeh manarineh hinade
uncle nephew said he I come ♂ you come with much people

tanarį do'ro karani' tohęnųa'—diane ♀ bagharіene' otabure'h
3 days deep hole we will sing ♂ go all

bø-ane'h payǫ bau'rineh beru'pe' hǫrupę gnuią' tcumai
cattle yes you to my town I go home where soup

handi' adomine'h kni bau'de kni kodeh høkaniaine doh
I don't know you no I go away no I meet one sun

kodeh butio'anah gnumahirøh kodeh mana'hideh gohe'ano'
I next year comes here go we

guatoni tcarana' tana' mbaupa'no autabu'reh gohadine'
we will carry take canoe where go we all gather the people

anyime' mbautane' keriame'h dipe'h berupe'h oru'pe'h
brother we will go brother-in-law which town for the town few born

gohe'da knahura'aneh tambe'h paeh parøtuna'h oe
work here eat we manioc topacho (a banana) maize

Hą'hą' jipeh hurarapa'. Muapa' jambųa' mųa' høe'napi
changuango I eat now I sleep now I come sleep quickly

ben mbuataneh dame'h ateø'h tcǫ' hambu'rakedeh
you we will go to shoot fish I am dead

tametcǫ. mBau'taneh ha'diameh mbaurikideh jambuą'.
with hunger we go uncle I go now—

Joro'kwe ajima'i jagu'ime. Dede nua'aikideh jagueme.
give me clean older brother salt yes I have salt

Quepe ku'neh habe' anǫda' nienta'ni do tanaruh kono'pa.
I have cleaned it already we will stay how many days where we will live ♂

Huriara' apa'rine'h konde'h jorokwi' huriorokwi ambu'rikidi
food preparing (making) we five give me come eat I am thirsty

where go you
ui' hi'—kna' je'pembaømane' mbaurikidi tu'ararupǫ. Jipę'!
water. here it is where are you going I go with canoe where

djudi'pe· hi khądį gnotarikø dime. Napau'—une hade'mai
it is there here he is I say It is his my uncle

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hado′ companion jo′de′h this keriami brother-in-law hado′ companion aiya′maj̨′ my father hado′ naia′ai′kaiąai′ his mother my mother

adonia′j̨ (which is the woman) ami′ sister jorokwa give me ami′ sister kna′ this jorokwe give me ghonehj̨′mua′ I say to her ♂ sleep

høl house dai′na· take across Jorowj̨′ give me ♀ jo′rokwa ♂ jiakoda′ pot jorokwa da nah take across

agnimą′i brother ado′ move tanangwameado he that has more mau sleep gnobireku′di′ I say ♀ kni no

nua′de I don't have hana′bø that he come we′napi wu′h that he goes quickly tana′dedi that they go na^{a}dedio bua′di.

we′napuwuh mana′idi· tcara a′na dirǫ′ jo′ Ha! Hą! hudimua he sleeping

jagųa me salt nive′ Jorokwi jaguime′ tana ua′ that he carries tibo′ goods gate′ I bought

kode′ mburina′ for a hammock gate′bu·mburina′. I bought for hammock Jorokwi ero′ gate′

jorokwi give me ømua′yo′ fishhook he′na′ni much gate′. I bought Patciutciarą′ hat kainą my

jorokwe′ tciana′kø′· sweet (sugar) høbø kajyąbehø for the boy hatci′de far away kani′ not hatci′dedi very far away

hetati′ caroto (a drink) nguą′ has nive′· rational (civilized) padiø′ that yes nguą′(e′di′) he has (positive expression) mbarikidi hø øpa′kode′ I fear

nivę′ høhøpa′ I go walking huritj̨′ I am going to eat gohau′ane′ you let us go huritsj̨′ eat nimbø^{a}taao talking

ibi′ąmae′ alone language tamuo′ is true tamuo′ is true Handi it is so gno′mane what you say Gnǫhe′ look! hahi aunt

høde′mene you do not go ♂ dede. yes hąhą jorokwa′ ta′eh calabash totcio′gnua′ fruit I have

totuio′ I buriabura —black Nafe′ coffee buriabura′ black Hę′ ea′ weeping tokwęne ea′ little boy

ea′di′ weeping saying tokwę·′di little one jorokwęhuj̨′. give me water Mbaupa I go away anoda′ we (same as anonah) mperupe′· for home

øun you go weinepi′ further habedoru′ early adomine′ you also naparawbøh when are you going tiambią′ now I go bøh I go

kodeh. Wa′na′pi·mana come quickly mboeya′ pig huriara′hę′ food give him johe′da′ exhaust huriara′di here is the food

huratane. let us eat wanapi quickly tcunø′ all otawu′reh everyone goharine′ let us go hurapa′ to eat

tcade′mane thus it is good paęo′ that yes tcade′· very good (very tasty, fine) ado′ move hødinǫ′ give habadine′ a moment abe′. wait

Nomene′ yesterday naparu′ when nomene. tciare′h adjimąi brother mbaø′ I go away aujj′mu′ brother

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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pa'di· (hat you) tacuma we' (make soap) buria'buria' (black) kafe' (coffee) buria'buria' (black) arapa' (to drink)

joro'kwe(nuą') (give me a) jorokwe' (particular fish) ado (it is good) mbatci' jorokwe (soap) tibo'hoa'rią'

jorokwe· (comb) nimito'·h jorokwe' (something to wash clothes) bate'a (get ready) høri'bø (that we go) høta'nę·

djabuamana (now he comes) bea' (said) kønidekudi (I cannot) jito'rikude (I am sick) jito'iketohe' (I have a headache) gaipa' (I unite)

jito'rikude (I am sick) hąmbua'di (he is dead) haidi'me (here he is) gate'hapa'rikode (I shall buy) tibo' (clothing)

kaiąię'ha (for the woman) kahęhabi'ha (for my daughter) tibo' (ropa) ado' gate'hapa'rikade tore'h (digging tool)

kania'meh (one) niǫ'ni (2) ka'rani' (3) hado'tcomi (4) konitci'mo (5)

knitu'gupe (6) kamieme kniticirupe (7) nyoani' (9) hadotume

khi'tcirupe' (10) itisune' taurupane (11) kaniame taumpe' gnione

taurupe taranih k^{a}tana'mo tsini' keintanari' keniame

kųntanari nyoani' taranih hado'tcheme ta'usune'. Habe!

hado' habe' hudi! kode' jorokwi konde'h kodeh tcuma

huriara' tcuma'· (go get) mdaibø ba'imbo' (my little daughter) cųbo'e (my daughter) kąjabi' kąjaha'o (my son)

ka'jahǫ'i (son) jorokwa kąjatibo nyohe' (said he) unitu'rikdi (I am tired) hati'n (very far)

urøtø' ko'de'· (I am going to eat) jambo (now) nomene' (tomorrow) jorokwe (give me) kuononia' (knife) jorokwi (give me)

topone' (matchete) hibe' (ax) tiboka'į (fish line) jitorikweitci (my finger burns) gitorikwe' (shank) tao' ado

gitorikwe (back) apahu' tana'. (this, so.) Tode'ha (cut) tibatzua'pa (make) todeh'pa (cut)

tibatzua'pa (make) tcia'rapapa' (canoe) tcharato'h (salted) quepeto'h (a tree) chido' (chigmire) bu'ah (deer)

aure'h (dog) opara'h (white heron) arih (baby) tcǫ· (fish) ikuvi'· (turtle) ari' (baby) okaroro' (chicken) po·o (snake)

cheni! (water snake) 'we' (hawk) ^{a}ndura'h (tawny crane) tcirideme·h (tortoise) yuna' (king duck) wate'h ^{ch}pa'rari·h (wire)

nyia'kanka·h (cayman) oibi'·h (tonino) ^{bat}tca'.^{hw} (my) apekuch (arafia spider) tara'^{h}· (jivaro stork)

tchiratoh (make) oah arhedi ho'de'h (I) kevamuin (brother-in-law) kodeh (I) mineh (you)

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(FREE TRANSLATION)

I split a log to make a canoe, I burn it, I plane it on the outside. I burn it. I make it ready. I plane it inside. Now it is ready. The work is finished. Tomorrow it is thrown down. Tomorrow I shall have a small canoe. The canoe is finished. I go away younger. I go away. I come back. I live here. I am going two days away. I shall stay a long time there where I am going. My older brother lives there with my family but I am here now and I have my sister, my father, my uncle, my aunt, granddaughter, sister-in-law, a little girl, my brother-in-law, younger uncle, grandchild, my girl child who is married. Her husband he gives food to her, cloth, he is married to her, he does not harm her. He gives her a necklace. Goodbye my mother. When are you coming with us? Let us go. Not yet, let us go tomorrow when the others go away. I am going away nephew, I am going away son, uncle, I shall come tomorrow when you come my mother. I go away my brother-in-law. (The rest of the text is incomprehensive except that it continues to emphasize traveling back and forth between the author's country and the Yaruro country, hunting, eating, and family relationships.)

Nụdiha′ kaị katopa′ri wirø′h Hụdia′h hutihą′ mitę′vide′
afterwards rope let down man seized rope to come out

kaị′ miteh anoneh ado′kaịnimo ieịnmiteh hu′diha hado′
pull we more others woman pull more

mitede adokonimoh nomehiti kaị′ hoị′ adokenemoh ieị′
took hold more others before rope husband more other woman

adokenemoh kaị′ adokenemoh pumeh hoi adokenemoh
more others rope people husband

yeị′ adokenemoh hoị′ adokenemoh yeị adohenemoh
pumehoi pumeh yeị adokenemoh ho′i adokenemoh yeị
adokenemoh ho′i yeị′ adokenemoh Yaruro ho′i yeị
peha′ondi
(so it is)

Marupano churo′pano tsia′nupọ′ taruru po′· johadi muị′hivę′
(North, left hand) (right) south west east take below (river)

kaị ntiha′ hondi kiadia-ti hutiha juro pu′ndidiha′ untiha
afterwards rope truly stays south went

johadi′ joha′ whuapar idi nuha ate puru· tcou me′hde
take take fear duck reale feathers was loose

lame′ha′pa podameh jomę′de pu′meh.
fishing for thrisial unsuccessful in hunt

(FREE TRANSLATION)

Afterwards the rope is let down. Afterwards a man seized a rope to come out. We pull up more, we pulled up woman, afterwards we pulled up more of the others. We pulled up her husband and women and more of the others. So it is.

Kodo kodo pearuh pumeh yeị pearu undiatceni pandi
long time ago (before) (Yaruro) woman before reverted animal

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

539 terracoapendi Uiya pumehdi uiya′ pe′aruh chuį pumehdi
there were no people antes before people howlers new monkeys people

pea′ral Yaruro pearuh pumehdi pea′ru Jaruro Merideh
before people (Yaruros) before (another animal)

pumeh pea′ru beri monati. chumeri pearuh tibatu
(were people ones) (fine)

kaę′hahį mbua′dahaneh ku·wa tctǫ′ mbua′deneh ecitǫ′a
string he left fat (large, thick) harpoon arrow he left (died)

undia′ brekadirǫ ihe udiha′ hudirǫ′hudihą′ amboie′dida
was fierce afterwards the others is dying

antcikwehu hǫe wi·ru′ indiha tambena′ hadewa′h hurade′dihų′
submerged manire get close (approach) is eating

harawi′tah hurare′dibuah
we were eating

(FREE TRANSLATION)

A long time ago before the Yaruro woman was referred to an animal there were no people. This was before the people became monkeys. Before the Yaruro people. The howlers were people once. (The rest is untranslatable.)

Y eba parihidi dekudi hode ha′bi hado′ ahu′rmaį′ aį′
woman I want uncle brother mother

kera′ ayęimaį hparikidi atsi′ manei′mirikidi pumehdaįharikidi
sister-in-law father far away I will come in five days I shall go to see

ado′ tamentsomerikidi tana′h urapa′ane′h arigudi′—igru′
my people they are hungry let us eat armadillo

(FREE TRANSLATION)

I want to go to my woman, uncle, brother, mother, sister-in-law, father, far away. I will come in five days. I shall go to see my people. They are hungry, let us eat armadillo.

Po·tcuni tciaware′h tcipu′tcipu′h tsia kwaį po· hikanakǫpo′h
water snake (rattle) snake (another snake) (garter snake)

cresu′ente grande Mana uihana′ hudi′hą gondo′ uni dabu o′te′ha′
flood water cuma water much afterwards pull out hole jole

nyǫ hudihą′ kaį· uni jorokoa—kaį′ ǫttahį′ pǫhana′ uni′
said afterwards rope boy give to me rope Joha water snake (mythical) boy

hoteh puhana′di hondo′pa hudi′ha′ pueheri′ muingondo′
kainą nyuanih′ Huidiha′ pue′rih handi mbea′h hoynde′
kaniame ieį′ kaniame ieį ado′ Hudihą baudire kaį
undiah maę′ tǫkwe maį′ ieį′ Hųdiha′ abantcę n′diha

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Hụdihaˊ	kondeh	kua	tcutca·mbuh	pumeh	Hụdihaˊ	oteˊh	
	fire	light	cold feels feels cold			chief	
djorohendeh	huriaraˊ	nyoˊhọdihẹ	hohią	nyọˊ	bidiwẹˊ	prohanaˊ(di)	
give other more	eat (food)	said more	to the men	they told me		snake	
huraria′	adoˊ	huriaraˊ	Hudiˊhaˊ	hunaˊrahįˊh	hara di dineˊh		
food	more	food		search for food gather	living is (people) is existing		
huriaraˊ	tcuneineh	otaˊburah·	hụdiˊha	nyoˊbediręˊ	uni		
eat	all	everything		said man ♂	boy		
ibaˊudede	tciriˊh	hụdihą	anoˊhineh	tcinjioˊawuh	pono		
not ours	land (savanna)		us (we)	(savanna)	lining		
tcinhoy	mbedenu	ivi	yẹi	kaniaˊme	iei	keniamehơ	
savanna man	has no house	(water)	woman	one woman only			
hinaˊpatu	univedrọ	tcin jioayu	joro	hinani	jąi	nivenah	
give more yields	boy but a man now	savanna here	give	much			
jąi joroˊ	jaiˊ	joroˊ	inenivoka	niveinaˊ·h	vaka	joro	joaˊ
home	horse	give	much cattle	many whites	cattle	give	this
tcidoh	mboaˊ	mdameˊh	aurih	pumehaˊndi	taiveˊ	jipeˊh	
chiguire	deer		dog	people no (not)	stranger	changuango	
pumeh	huraˊpa	jiˊpe	datutunuˊh	pumehaˊ	tcidoh	mbuaˊdiˊro	
	ant		iguana		for us	is coming down from	
ngatetuˊ	tibơˊ	paitcetcoraˊ	Hudi!	yodeh·	pumehandi		
he goes buy	clothing	hat		also	this	for us	
tcirihơdeh	dabuch	pumehaˊ	tanaˊpa	ndabuˊh	hiˊna	pumehaˊ	
land that	the beach	for the people	happened	earth	much	for the people	
orijaraˊ	India	Rosa	ᵃdahuh	India	Rosa	handiˊ	tibatoˊ
land of Kuma	(where she was born)		earth			no (negative)	
huriara	ha·pja	tibatoˊ	tcitọˊ	humayoˊ	heˊdano	hotaiˊdiˊ	
comida	arrow		puyon (harpoon, arrow)	fishhook	is making fixing	he sends	
huridiroˊ	uni	huraˊriapa	dipuateˊ	dihoteˊ	tciparadiˊh		
go hunting	boy	is cooking food	javalon		iron		
tcnehewą	tibatoˊ	ivingˊnơh	jipehˊ	ivi deneh	jipeˊh	tcopai	
his		wife		many women		(a fruit) (guapo)	
ivindeneh	jokaˊi	paraˊ·	ividno	taruvidineh	ivivenẹ		
woman	(fruit guapo)	barbaco		digging	woman digging		
hakandawaˊpo	moh	tsio	kondehtsioˊv	tibơh	aborią	hote di	
collecting guapo	turtle	smoke light (fire)		breechclout		man	
kajya	hiadiroˊn	pe aroh	hudiˊ	maẹ	joaˊ	ibamąi	hurapiandeh
my		new	language this		our language		cook
huriaraˊndeh	kaja caniˊ	hɑtɑhụriaraˊ	tibatoˊ	huriaraˊ	tcọ		
for us to eat	my boy	send (to get) food					

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tibato′ tcǫ-pa′ndi tcu ma diawa hụdiha tcǫhani′ undi
bow gather soup making fish much

hurato′ oteh uni′ udi′hia′me puhanaineh yeịn India
is wealthy

Rosa ha′ni ota′ini pue joro′ tineh tcenehewa′ huni
our hole give us silver has

a′ndi honde′h kodokodi inehe akri′ honde′h nye′ moi
long time ago stole people is

kia ⁿdatcen nyenenih ngine′h hụdiha tcara pa′ tikuni′h
sleeping night curiare make lack

huriara′ taint hurara a′itu hambu tiǫ′ tcara tømetcǫ′
food paddle fluhar avoid hunger hunger

huriarikidi hurapa′ri kidi tomatca′rikidi tomaticǫ′ honde′h
eaten already drank already hunger have

jaguę′meh niveyø′- tcumamau′ huria′rą homa′ huriara′ nguaᵐderi
salt raumal making soup grandmother lacks

hohu′dihohadeo′di hohaur′ hudi′ha mbautaneh hawi iembateneh
there is your land nephew let us go seek go hunt

ycị eba′-h hadi′di hakari undi′ah mbahu yeị ebah
hunting let us go hunting

itu′nemeh tcihi′nemeh gwabu′itcare huwi tcuputci pu-hde
hundred legger stretch by raya cascavel let

| hu′hi tciara tciara kdo kdehineh pumeh kodo kodo yeị
canoe

tsade′h putsiake′h hudia′ pumhdi tsa′deh garempa
pretty nephew of Kuma

kodo kodo tokwị pumeh yeị

(FREE TRANSLATION)

The water snake created a great deal of water. There came much water afterwards. The people were full of doubt of the hole. The chief (Hatchawa) said afterwards give me a rope. The boy asked Puaná and * * * the people felt cold. The chief (Hatchawa) gave them food and fire, he told the snake to give more food, to gather food. The boy said to the man, the land is ours. There was one woman. The boy was a man now and gave her much, gave her horse, gave much cattle, gave capibara, deer, dog, gave changuango, the iguana. This man here is going to buy us a hat. He said this land was for us, for the people. The boy fixed a fishhook and an arrow and went hunting. The women gather fruit, barbaco, the women dug for barbaco. They collected turtles, lighting a fire, made breechclouts. (The remainder is unintelligible.)

STORY OF KATIWE′J

Katiwi hura′ pume-tokwị hura′ katiwe′i huitcuaduo
ate boy bathing

hura′ pumeh tokwị- Hudhą′ hohadi′ nuabąuhịhati′.
uncle took him away for

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro SS19

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Hudihą′ tutarią′ anno′ katiwci dawedepia′ totarią′
corral left afterwards no one new corral

dawedepią′ katiwi mbaøuhą′ katiwi· kumahi′ pe abe′tci.
went to puma

Ado′ tigitigihura′ pume tokwi uni. Hudihą′ nguna′hą′
also hawk large killed him

tigi tigi anna′. Hudihą′ nkua′hą′ konderų′ nkua′ tigitigi.
burned with fire.

Itciai hidi nyų.

Sade′habia′ pumeh sadeh′habe igi′ sadeh hąohąø′ jito′ deka′
greetings man greetings women greetings children not sick

hidata′ kieine ambrjandi bau ʰhuandi′ nome′. Hatchawa Ha′Hą′
waiting wife dead many days time that he has been away perhaps is dead

tcadeidi dibe pume′hdi gitodeka′ tcade′ tcadeide køa′yu
good loves man sick not good good (is) with me

tcadeidi jorodike nombi joro i′me ja′i hambuado kumą′dabu
gives me cigar will give him horse will be born Kuma land

joroime baka joroime tiere′ kodeh hambua′dø ado′
silver will be born

kuma dibeume tcade′di′ pumedi habiandabu′ kodeh
love him good man my land

pariata kunni pumehdirį′ konemo tcin′bu kanemo pumi
making (ø speaking) people other kind land other

kodeh joruą′ konotø′· konotø meneno′mi
gave to live like you

Puana′ ado

Pume′ meneno′ debendi tciri nua′tohę meneno′ hotabure!
like you every one (Yaruro land)

siande tcacheidi dibeh honetaide ea dibe′ ea

Kode′rikidi oteh tcunią′ oteh kodeh kode joro
tcara′ tcitų′ tobato′ kuriara′ atø′ menenų′ ote bureh
all/everybody

tcune′ine otebure′ dabu tciri kaią koderikido aname′·
tokwi mi hamburinene′ tsadevinene hambu′ hida′tsinų′kwi
wait

nuą′ʰtohe′nuą′ larihidi kodeh tsunią jurupa′ hambu′uni′
(all be loved) (ending dying)

ote′bure′h tcade dirę′ dibeaia dirų′.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

(This is the speech made by Kuma to me during one of the shamanistic performances.)

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Greetings, men, greetings women, greetings stranger, greetings relatives. His wife is waiting. She is not sick, nor is she dead. He has traveled many days. She thinks that perhaps he is dead. Hatchawa loves this good man. He is good to me. He gives me a cigar. When he will be born again in Kuma land, I shall give him a horse, silver, he will be born in my land. I love this good man. He lives in the other kind of land. I gave it to him to live there, like you my people, like you every one living in Yaruro land.

MAKING A HAMMOCK

hunghuari	kodi	ghubu'ideha	ngua' dedi kudi		kaịkaịnya'
I shall	seek	moriche (palm) cut	I do not have		for all the rope
ndarikudi	abụa'	jambụa'	tcatcą' abo'	habaukidi	tci'ha
I found it	now	to-day	heavy !	wait a moment	
ⁿgaopa'	tcirike'	muiarikide'	kanehau'kidiua	habeko	hudi'
already	dry	I go	I shall put it there	tomorrow	afterwards
hunghuarihode	hude	wa'derikudi,	uapaumene	panaume'	
I go seek	macanilla	I do not have	but I fear	jaguar	
tcuame dida	hupaname'di	kọaheanihun	ⁿgudi'	merikone'	
fierce (wild)	time	go forth fierce	I shall	kill it	
Habetcị jikude'wą'	hụtcą'rịawẹị'	barikudi		kaịtca'ha	
Now I am ready	it	a moment (wait)		I will the string	

ⁿdigⁿuaderikidi
I do not have

kaị'=string, rope

(FREE TRANSLATION)

I shall seek a moriche and cut the leaves to make rope which I do not have. I found it heavy today. Wait a moment. It is already dry. I go now. I shall put it there until tomorrow. Afterwards I shall go seek my macanilla. I do not have it now, but I am afraid of the jaguar, a fierce animal. It will go forth, fierce. I shall kill it. Now I am ready. I shall make the string which I like.

CARVING ASABACHE

Ne-♂apa'rikidi	hjehą'	hade'nni	hjeha'mmi	kaịa	ieị	hami	
I am making	for the woman wife	pretty	wife for	my	wife	for	
tcade'dedike'do	tun-tsi'·	ngate	ha'rikidi	habu	gweinitiẹinda		
good well	tamed out	no	necklace	buy	I shall	no	why si
tsụa'dehabo'	tcade'diho'	hape'me'rikone'	ngluto'rike	ikidø			
because	good	because or	I make it	it hunts me	the finger		
tcumidanika'	hapadẹime	dekone'	nguadeni'kịa	huihambo'rikidi'			
makes me lazy	make better (better I not make it)	I not	I do not want	I am very thirsty			

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harare'hiro'ke aguretumi'kja hurakikodi abarikidi tcirike'a
drink water I go away urinate

hatcin hǫ'j'de koe'tonda.
far away forest because it is cool there

(FREE TRANSLATION)

I am making for my pretty woman, my pretty wife, a necklace because she is good. My finger hurts me. Makes me lazy. I shall not make it. I do not want to make it. I am very thirsty. I shall drink water. I am going away to urinate far away in the forest because it is cool there.

Udia burahananandi tohigwąme' whui'hą jąi tohį' gwą'ame'
he came shaman he horse shaman

whụihą' jai· whuịnduria hanari hamburi'me di· whuịnduria
he horse was (perfect) afterwards next other dead (his spirit) was next

hanari iene· pumei iene' whu'nduria' hanari pume oị'·
other woman (Yaruro) woman was next other Yaruro men

whuị induria hanari ieni. Handokanemo' hana di (*or* hanari)
was next other women more others

hado hanemo hanari nehde'i whuị'nduria'· whuimduria
more others come!

hanari kanemo' hadohanemo' hindeni whuị induria. Hindeni
more more

hadohanemeno whuinduria ieni. Hadhanemo' iene' hi'nadnę'
many

hinane hind iro *or* hina'dne. Hadokanemo' hanadi' hadokanemo'
much people

whuịnduria. Hadodihende'ni kanemodui hina'drę' pumeh
come with his companions later

Hinadre, Hinadre' pume'h. Hado'di hendeni kanemo'
dụi' hindrę' ndia hanne'du hinadrę' hadokanemo' haneni
hinadrę. Hado'di hineni kanemo' dụi' Hado' kanemo'
hinedrę'.

Itciai hudi=man
hini=woman

Hanadi Itciaide pea'ru tie'riai kanumei hanadei
comes at first before land all one come

Hatchawadei. oteh di Hado kanemo' otehdi puanadi. Hanadei
this

kumahini. Nyodei Itcadei konoto tcade'i· konoto tciri jụa,
would live good this earth

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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behade jode' dibe hungo ndona'nadi'. eadidibe'. Eadidibe
does not want, love, like — this — you — arrived — he arrived — loves you much — he

tcadedi' Yaruro depeha'ndi. Hatchawa tcadi'di debehu'.
also — when he comes

Ngodediman dibe ea'tara. Eadedi nivena. Andei eadedi
he wants to come — loves you much — no — loves

Nninenivenah.

Eadidibe dibe'.

Puana'—Eadidibe' tcade'di ibia pumedi
our family

Kuma—Nguo'nanadidibe' eadidibe' ea'dedi yude'. Hą dite manna dibe' yu. -[a]Daba—ine ndi handimanna tara' manna.
?

Udia' burahananandi tohigwa'me' whuihā' jai tohigwāme'
Then — he came large — shaman — he — horse — shaman

whuihā' jai' whuinduria' hanari hamburimedi' Whuĭ'nduria
he — horse — was afterwards — other — dead (spirits) — was afterwards

hanari' iẽine whuĭnduria' hanari' i'ẽine pume i'ẽine
other — woman — was afterwards — other — woman — (Yaruro) — woman

whuinduria' hanari' pume'h oĭ. whuinduria' hanari i'ẽine
afterwards — other — (Yaruros) — men — afterwards — other — woman

handoka'nemo' hanari hadoka'nemo' hanari hendei
more — others — more — other — more came

whuinduria' whuinduria' hanari kanemo' hadokanemo'
was afterwards — afterwards — more — came — more came

whuinduria i'ẽine hadokanemo i'ẽine hina'drẽhinane hinadirẽ.
afterwards — woman — more came — woman

hanadi Itciaide pearu tciviai kaniamee'i hanadei Hatcawade'i
came — Itcial — first — of this land — one — came — Hatchawa

oteh-'di hadokanemo' oteh-'di puanadi hanadei Kumahisu'
chief — more other — chiefs — Puana — came — Kuma

gnodei Itciaidei konoto' tcadei konoto' tcirijua' hehade
said — Itcial — live — well — live — this land — does not love

jode' dibehungondonanadi eadidibe eadidibe tcadedi Yaruro
rational — to you arrived he loves much you — loves you — well — Yaruro

dephandi'
also

Hatcawadei nyodei
(Hatchawa — said)

Tcadedi dibehu ngodedi manadibe' eatara' eadedi'
when — he came to you — he wants — to come here — much — loves you

nivenah andei eadide' nine nivenah eadibe dibe!
not rational — more — he loves you — not — rational — he loves you

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

1. Llanero horseman. Note the toe stirrup and lack of bridle. 2. Author's party traveling across Apure. Note the rope tied to the horse's tail and the bull's nose. 3. Sand dunes in the Llanos of Apure.

End plate D

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. Yaruro bowman. The arrow is held to the string between the forefinger and thumb. The middle and fourth finger help pull the string back. 2. Crocodile meat is a staple food. The legs and tail have been cut off to make carrying easier. 3. Yaruros of Lagunote wearing parts of author's towels for breechcloots.

[End Plate 2]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

322

1. Two laurel sticks are used by the Yaruros to make fire. The laurel is found in quantity along the banks of the Capanaparo River. Fire is produced in 30 seconds.

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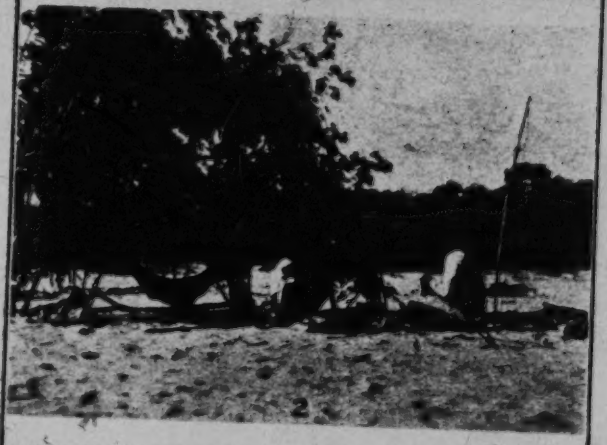
2. Pottery making is woman's work. Note the pins thrust through the lower lip of the potter. She is smoothing the pot before firing.

[End Plate 3]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

342
415

513



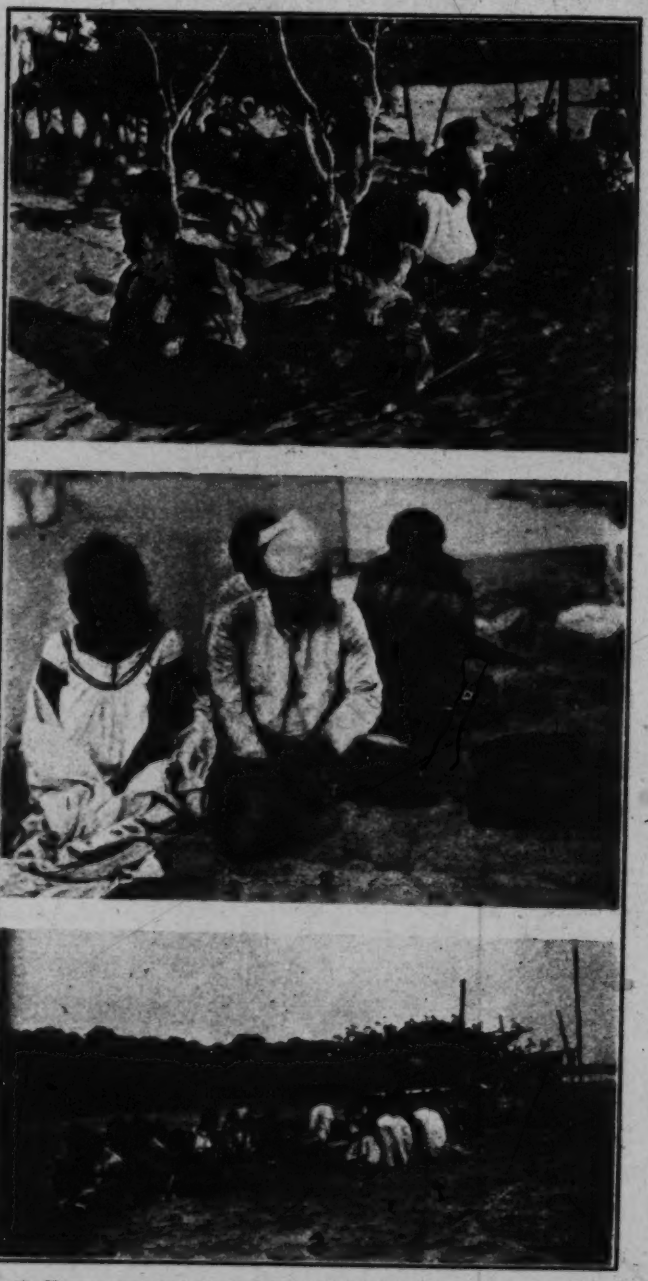
342

1. Branches thrust into the sands form Yaruro shelter against sun and wind. All the possessions of this family, with the exception of bow and arrows which the hunter has taken with him, are scattered on the ground. They consist of an iron pot, a piece of cloth, several baskets, a hammock, and a water jar. 2. Yaruros prefer to sleep half buried in the sands, both for warmth and protection from insects. During the day young children are put to sleep in hammocks. 3. During the rainy season, or when a site is occupied for more than several days, the Yaruros may build structures such as the one shown in this picture.

[End Plate 4]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

291



791

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791

1. Clothes to the Yaruros mean protection from the cold at night and a mark of being "civilized." It is not often that they are able to secure new cloth. Generally they fall heir to cast-off garments. *2.* At the end of a 9-hour performance during which he smoked countless cigars, drank "coroto," and ate tcupah, a narcotic, Landaeta, the shaman of the Capanaparo Yaruros, waits quietly for the sun to rise. His wife, who attended him all night, is seated at his right. *3.* Landaeta, wearing a head cloth, with his people seated around him before sunrise. The women are at the left, the men at the right of the picture.

(End Plate 5)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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501

1. Basket weaving is woman's work. Carrying and storage baskets are crude affairs, often woven out of one palm leaf. Pouches are made with greater care and take a considerably longer time. *2.* Yaruro camp at El Buron. Note the lack of shelter. *3.* Yaruro dugout canoes.

(End Plate 6)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

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Yaruros of Lagunote. Note carrying baskets, digging sticks, bows and arrows. The author is standing at extreme right.

[End Plate 7]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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854

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1, 2, 3. As soon as the night chill is dispelled the men leave to hunt and the women to gather roots and seeds. The equipment of the woman consists of basket carried with a tump band across the forehead, and digging stick. Children are carried astride across the hip or in a carrying net. The aboriginal clothing of the Yaruro women is the girdle shown in these photographs, now worn even if the individual possesses a camisole.

[End Plate 8]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Landaeta, a shaman, weaving a hammock. Hammocks are made by men.

(End plate 9)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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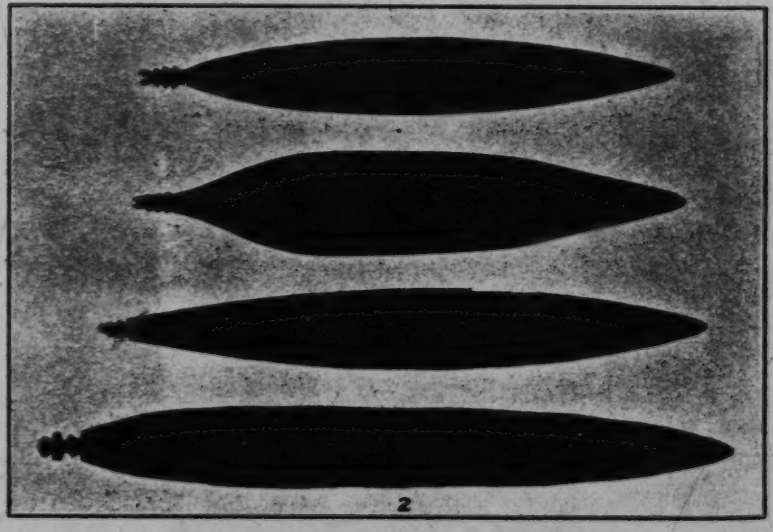
1. a, Fire sticks. Fire is produced by drilling one piece of laurel wood into a second. b, Fire fan. c, Horizontal piece is a hair rope worn around the waist by the women and the hairlike vertical piece is made from the moriche palm leaf and dyed red. The two pieces form the women's girdle.

515
412



2. The serrated ends of the sticks are used to comb the hair in the search for lice which are either crushed between the fingers or between the teeth. The pointed ends are used to crush the blisters raised by various insects.

[End Plate 10]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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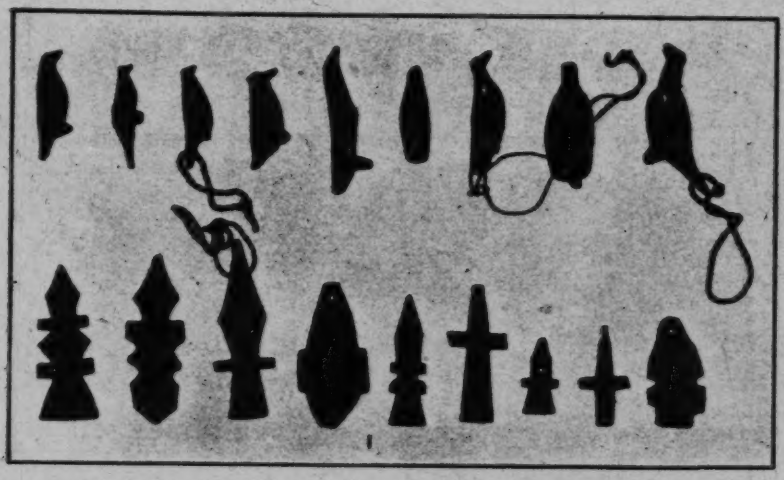
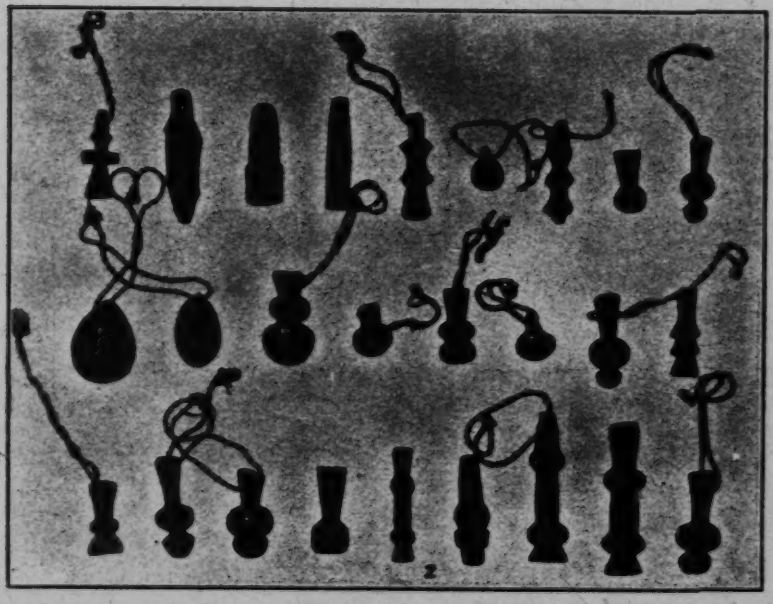
304



1. Asabache carvings. Top row: birds, mostly ducks. Lower row: geometric forms.



2. Asabache carvings. The two specimens of the middle row at the extreme left are palm-nut shells. For the most part these carvings represent seeds.

(End Plate 11)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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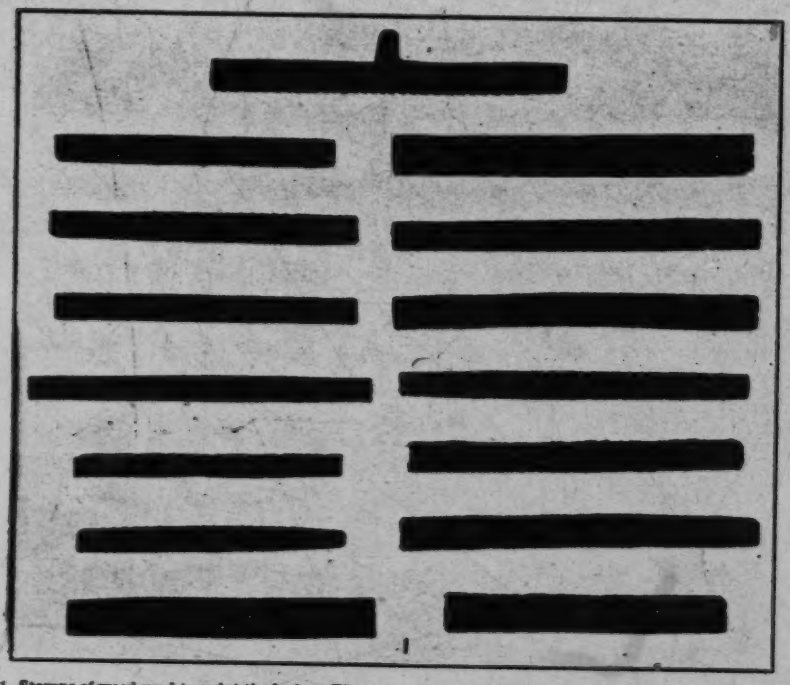
302



1. Stamps of wood used to paint the body. These stamps are made by the men, but used by the women. The designs are stamped on the face.

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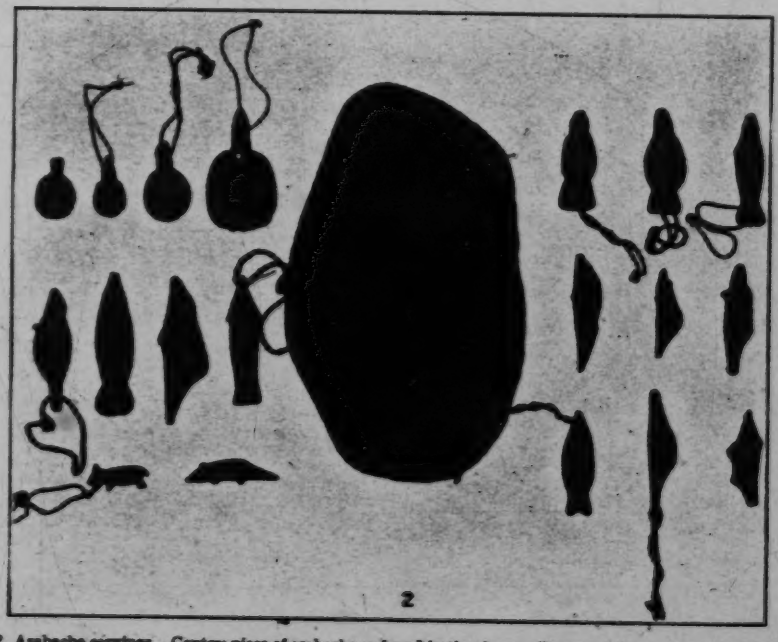

2. Asabache carvings. Center: piece of asabache as found in the rivers. Top row left: carvings of turtles. Top row right: carvings of birds. Middle row left and right: carvings of fishes. Lower row: carvings of (1) jaguar, (2) armadillo. Lower right: carvings of fishes.

[End Plate 12]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

285

1. Woman weaving a mat. Note the use of the foot.

227
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482
854

2. Women foraging for food. Note: braided hair, method of carrying basket, women's girdles, bands below the knee and on the ankles, method of carrying child, and digging stick.

[End Plate 13]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Shaman's rattles. Only the male shamans use gourd rattles. They are always decorated with etched representations of mythological figures which the shaman "sees" during his trances and dreams.

(End Plate 19)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. The shaman Landaeta with daughter and wife. Note the embroidered breechcloth on the man and paint on the face of the figure at the left. 2. Yaruro man making hammock string. Note the typical sitting posture of the Yaruro. 3. Two little girls wearing girdles. 4. Yaruro woman with aboriginal costume. 5. The figure on the left is a girl. The figure on the right is a boy. Note the difference between the girdle worn by the girl and the breechcloth worn by the boy.

(End Plate 15)

1: Petrullo SS19 Yaruro SS19

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/The author refers to a unit which he calls "family hunting group". This unit has been classified under category 621, since it is never specifically identified with or distinguished from the community. It may (e.g. for camps during the rainy season) occasionally be equivalent to the household.)

1: Petrullo SS19 Yaruro SS19

756

/The author refers throughout the monograph to male and female shamans. The male shamans qualify both for category 756 and 791, but since their principal activities fall under 787, they are considered here in category 791. When activities of either shaman are specifically psychotherapeutic, these activities will be classified under category 755./

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

THE EVOLUTION OF HORTICULTURAL SYSTEMS IN NATIVE SOUTH AMERICA CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

A SYMPOSIUM

JOHANNES WILBERT
EDITOR

SOCIEDAD DE CIENCIAS NATURALES LA SALLE
CARACAS 1961

[title page]

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

YARURO INCIPIENT TROPICAL FOREST HORTICULTURE

Possibilities and Limits

Anthony LEEDS

The immediate concern of the papers in this symposium is the interaction between human populations and their habitats through the agency of horticulture insofar as factors in this interaction result in the evolution of culture. The present paper discusses an Incipient Tropical Forest Slash-and-Burn Horticultural group, the Yaruro of the south-central Venezuelan llanos, in order to show what kinds of upper limits were set upon its development by its technology and habitat, or both, and what sorts of factors within the relatively limiting conditions of incipient tropical forest horticulture might have provided a foundation for evolution to a more developed state. For any of the cultures which are examples of this class of horticulturalists, slash-and-burn horticulture plays a considerable, but usually not, by itself, a dominating role in the total food procurement process. The Yaruro fall between the Incipient and Intermediate Tropical Forest types discussed in the introduction, whereas the Siriono, for example, represent a culture near the lower limits of cultures of the type. Despite their somewhat more advanced condition, what pertains to the Yaruro, in a general way applies to the rest of the type.

We shall consider first the habitat conditions in which the Yaruro find themselves and then describe the major dimensions of their swidden horticultural technology. With these aspects of the total ecology before us we shall show how its characteristics provide us a model for our incipient tropical forest stage and at the same time demonstrate how its special ecological conditions inhibited its further evolution into the more advanced stages of horticulture.

The Venezuelan llanos stretch as a low inland plain from the Orinoco delta, W by WSW, 750-800 miles inland, to the edges of the Andes in the far west of Apure State and into Eastern Colombia. The Yaruro are found between 450 and 600 miles from the mouth of the Orinoco, but still inside Venezuelan frontiers. They are found on all the rivers from the Arauca to the Cinaruco, inclusive, a distance of about 90 miles from north to south.

[probably should read: which--Analyst]

133 As one goes inland from the coast and westward through Yaruro territory, the land slowly rises so that the town of San Fernando de Apure is about 100 feet above sea level; Palmarito de Guachara, about 60 miles southwest, is just 145 feet; and the Cinaruco river about 100 miles SSW is about 190-200 feet. From the middle Cinaruco, the site of the writer's field work, to the sea, the average slope is 0.007% or 4 ½ inches/mile, but the slope increases gradually as one goes west till nearly 200 miles to the west, the plains abut on the Andes where, within a space of about 50 miles, the land rises from about 650 feet to over 12,000.

132 The slope of the land is paralleled by a gradual increase in total annual rainfall and length of rainy season, respectively averaging for the region as a whole about 1600 mm (63") annually,[1] and about 5 months of heavy rains with 2-3 transitional months of unsettled weather with considerable
134 rain. The slope and climatic gradations are paralleled, furthermore, by an orderly series of soil and vegetation types. As one moves steadily nearer the mountains, the soils change from muds, as at San Fernando, to muddy and sandy loams at Guachara, to sands and sandy loams in the central Cinaruco, and increasingly to sands and pebbly areas. These micro-ecological
[184] differences appear to determine micro-cultural differences among various groups of Yaruro as one goes westwards, for example in the specific content of the cosmology. Space only permits us, here, to deal with the Cinaruco area.

133 The dip of the strata, hence drainage, is from West to East. The slope of the dip is so small, as we have noted, that at the first sizable rains, the flow exceeds the carrying capacity of the stream beds and flood-
[132] ing occurs. Thus, during the rainy season from May through September, during which from 85-90% of the annual rain occurs, there is a constant tendency to flood, while during the driest months from December through March, not more than a total of 3 inches falls, and the rivers and landscape dry up often totally, presenting desert-like conditions. Because the topography of the central Cinaruco area is not level in large areas, and even in the flat parts, is raised above the level of the streams, flooding occurs more because of accumulated rain in low spots where it cannot drain than from overflow from streams. The streams themselves are swollen and in places overflow their banks for short distances before they are enclosed by the higher terrain. The west-east dip of the land an the east-west prevailing winds combine to make surface land forms, such as sand dunes and creeks, called *caños* (Y. *doro*) run east and west also.

133 In the central Cinaruco area, the creeks on the north side of the river
137 are contained in a sort of basin formed by a row of dunes, perhaps as high as 100 feet above the neighboring savanas, almost 300 feet above sea level, running east and west for many miles at a distance of 3-5 miles from the Cinaruco. On the south side of such "ranges" of dunes, a creek like the Totúdoro is likely to be found. On its right bank, sometimes at some
[134] distance back from the normal high water mark, it is contained by the edge of the flat, sandy, coarse-grassed savana, which is marked by a continuous

[1] [for footnote see category 116, p.42 --Analyst]

narrow band of soft, red-brown, heavy pebbles, sometimes agglomerated into chunks as large as a man's head. These, the only stones of this area, are entirely absent to the north-east and are technologically useless. Between these bands, which appear to represent flood levels or banks of older streams into which the present beds have been incised, and the streams themselves, low-lying areas are found which are soggy to a depth of a couple of inches above a clayey-sandy hardpan, and are covered with a sleezy layer of organic remains. Grasses appear slightly less barren here than in the areas beyond the pebble banks, the savanas proper. 133 134 [137]

The savanas run east-west for miles and may be one or more miles wide, broken here and there by either strips of dunes or patches of woods, called *montes* (Y. *hŏi*), growing in somewhat saucered hollows which may once have been parts of stream beds. On the upper level savanas (*Y.ciri*), the soil is largely sandy, with occasional scatterings of pebbles at the juncture with the lower savana level 12 to 15 feet below it. Grasses are course, tough, long-rooted, and sparse, giving a barren, yellow appearance even in mid-rainy season. Only a few scrubby trees are seen on the open moors, mostly in wetter spots. These sandy savanas have long since been leached of practically all mineral content, as soil tests show.[2] The savanas constantly tend to lose their finer particles of soils, which are deposited near the streams where the latter have cut down a few feet into the surface of the savana. Thick and rich soil layers are thus created. It is in such layers that soils mechanically more suitable for horticulture combine with a water supply which suffices not only in the wet season, but also provides a dry-season water table accessible to long-rooted flora. This combination fosters the growth of gallery forests, here, which constantly add humus to the very limited areas of better soils provided in this habitat. The width of these layers depends on the depth of the stream's incision and the amount of flow as well as on the presence and relative distance of the dunes and the high and low savanas from the streams, and on the slope and width of the low savana next to the stream. Maximum width of these layers occurs where the streams are more incised and the slope from the higher savana to the streams is a steady descent, so that drainage occurs without flooding and waterlogging, while the dry-season water-table is not too far below. Under any other conditions, these places are narrow, or may almost disappear. Thus, the mouths of *caños* have narrow or no strips of gallery forest since the level of the savana is little above that of the stream, and little soil accumulates at the same time that flooding is heavy. On the upper reaches of streams, *caños* are little incised, the slope from the high savana is insufficient to have deposited much soil, and the forest again disappears. Thus only the median stretches of streams are well-forested and it is only in these areas that horticultural soils are available. Only the *montes*, those depressions in the savana surfaces, which, though above permanent water, nevertheless are nearer the water table than the surrounding savana, provide other suitable, if dry, areas for planting. Here too are found tall tropical hardwood forests which somewhat enrich their own soils by a very thin layer of humus. 137 134 [133]

[2] [for footnote see category 116, p. 42 -- Analyst]

241 With respect to these habitat conditions, the single most important, and, in the case of the Yaruro, predominant subsistence activity is swidden-ing, also called brand tillage, slash and burn horticulture, milpa, or shifting horticulture,[1] a type of subsistence which peoples in both tropical and temperate forested areas of the world have practiced and still practice widely. The procedure followed by the Yaruro is very much like that of other swiddeners.[2] A garden site is chosen in virgin forest or preferably in second growth. During the dry season, the underbrush is first cut out and then the larger trees are felled by a variety of techniques including the use of machetes, axes, or girdling. The cut trees and brush are left to dry during the remainder of the dry season. Just as the first rains are approaching, these logs, along with whatever smaller underbrush may be standing, are set afire. The smaller materials largely burn up while the charred remnants of large trees lie scattered about. Burning partially destroys the [134] humus, as does removal of the forest cover, and to a degree disturbs the soil structure,[3] consequently often speeding the decline of soil fertility despite the addition of organic material from the rotting of partially burned tree boles. Also ash from the burned wood contributes some fertilizing minerals to the soil, thus increasing the short-term fertility of the soil before it is exhausted by man, plants and rain.

134 The destruction of the forest cover and of the humus layers exposes
241 the plots to more drastic leaching or erosion by tropical rains. This fact, together with a decrease in fertility from continual replanting and harvesting in unweeded and uncultivated soils, accompanied by a gradual but drastic invasion by weeds and grasses, makes further use of the plot uneconomical at best and impossible at worst. It is abandoned in favor of some entirely new plot or one which has been reconstituted by long fallowing. Abandoned plots overgrown by weeds and grasses, though they may soon recover their fertility, are so difficult to work with the characteristic swidden horticultural tools,[4] the digging stick and the machete, that they generally cannot be recultivated until a new forest cover has grown up and shaded out smaller vegetation. This usually takes a number of years, in general a minimum of 10 to 15 years, though, in other parts of the world this range may be extended in both directions.[5]

241 Planting is carried out beginning just before or just at the inception of the rains and just after the burning. It may be continued at intervals during the rainy season in order to stagger the harvests. Plantings may be staggered through part or all of the dry season, if climate and horticultural conditions permit, to create a more or less continuous crop, and the probability of a correspondingly higher annual productivity per capita and per land area. Where marked differences between seasons are not found, the entire process may be more or less continuous throughout the year. Irrigation, terracing, and fertilization (other than natural fertilization resulting from silting) are not used.

311 The remaining land surface presents resource areas of various types. In passing, it should be noted, though it is too often thought to be self-evident and consequently not specified, that what constitutes a resource

1,3,4,5,6 [for footnote see category 116, p. 42--Analyst]

area is only such in reference to the presence of a given technology. The presence of such a technology is not guaranteed in any particular culture by any historical, evolutionary, geographical, or ecological necessity. Its presence may entail a particular historical explanation or a general evolutionary one. In any case, its absence entails the absence of the use of certain resources whose presence we can observe only in retrospect. 311

Other resource areas besides those utilized because of the presence of horticulture among the Yaruro become available by their possession of hunting, gathering, and fishing technologies, as well as recently acquired animal husbandry in the form of pig-herding. Hunter animals include deer, armadillo, capybara, paca, peccary (?), iguana, and a number of birds (see Table II, p. 4)[1]. These are variously distributed spatially according to the specific ecological niches for which they are adapted. Thus deer are apparently usually found dispersed in the somewhat damper, low-lying savanas where grass is greener and water more available away from the scene of human activity. Armadillo are found distributed throughout the savana. Other species, however, such as the capybara, live near the edge of permanent waters, mainly the rivers. Alligators also live only in the rivers. The faunal carrying capacity of the savanas appears to be quite low in the Cinaruco llanos since foraging foods for larger game animals are sparse. It is important to note that not only is the overall carrying capacity governed by the minimum average food supply of the savanas in the florally more restricted dry season,[1] but the distribution of animals varies considerably from the wet to the dry season. In the latter, animals tend to cluster nearer the rivers or the widely dispersed water holes. Consequently, the locus of hunting must also shift seasonally (see Maps)[2]. Savana hunting techniques are neccessarily different from those used in procuring food in the rivers, whether hunting alligators or capybara, or, of course, fishing. There is some seasonal variation in the locus of fishing, too, although this is much less marked on the Cinaruco than on the freely-flooding streams of the flatter, more north-easterly savanas of the Apure llanos. In the rainy season, fish move up the larger streams into somewhat shallower waters where more plant and insect food is available to them. However, they are apparently unable to move up smaller streams which often have rapids-like stretches interrupting their course. Thus fishing in the rainy seasons is directed towards the larger creeks and away from the smaller creeks and the river itself, where the water has become too deep for successful fishing since the fish are scarcer and more difficult to see in the deep, swift currents of winter. In respect to animal husbandry, recently introduced pigs are pastured anywhere in the savanas but preferably next to the village or quite a distance from it, in either case far from the nearest gardens (Sp. *conuco*, Y. *tadó*), an effort which is rarely successful, since the pigs, in their wisdom, are among the main predators on the garden crops. Gathering may be carried out in the dry or the wet savana depending upon the plant food to be gathered, or it may be carried out near the creeks especially for the fruit of the moriche palm. The rivers do not appear to be used in gathering. 224 137 [221] 226 133 231 [241] 222

[1] [See pp. 35-37, category 116 --Analyst]
[2] [see pp. 40-41, category 102 --Analyst]
[1] [for footnote, see p. 42, category 116 --Analyst]

311 In short, the habitat conditions are as follows, given that the Cinaruco
22 Yaruro have a technology including hunting, gathering, fishing, and animal husbandry, and horticulture. All resources are found within a narrow band of about 4-5 miles between the Cinaruco river and the high sand dunes occurring in the interfluve to the north, in which only an occasional deer is found. Within this space there are three major resource areas distinguishable: 1) the open savanas for hunting and gathering, the former involving much greater dispersion of resources than the latter and consequently quite different techno-social conditions. Both activities change location markedly with the seasons. 2) The rivers and *caños* are used for water-animal hunting and for fishing. Fishing also displays a seasonal shift between river and caño, whereas river hunting for alligator and turtle becomes totally impracticable in the wet season. 3) The wooded areas, themselves dispersed, include the gallery forests of smaller streams where flooding is limited but water
[241] and soil abundant and the *montes* occurring here and there in mid-savana. These areas provide the Yaruro with garden sites. Away from the streams, there are also occasional tiny patches of suitable soil not close enough to the water table for dry season use, but which get enough rain to be used for planting of seasonal crops in the wet season. Schematically, the situation is shown on Table II[A1], a list of foods entering into Yaruro economy and their relative seasonal occurrences, and on Maps I and II[A2] of the seasonal locations of these resources.

182 The particular relationship between a peculiar habitat, such as the one we have just described, and the technology operating within it, here preponderantly a swidden technology, sets upper limits to territorial, socio-economic, or cultural expansion, and limits to changes in socio-cultural forms. With regard to the habitat dimension of the relationship, we may
[121] say in Harris's words, "Limitations imposed by the manner in which plants and animals convert solar energy into comestible material in combination with the availability of land and water resources, the rate of reproduction of the natural biota, and the total ecological balance, furnish conditions unalterable by individual or collective whim",[A3] at least with the given level of technological development possessed by the Yaruro. The Yaruro are in no position to change the total ecological balance, to increase the carrying capacity of the land or water for plant or animal species. For
182 example, under the llanos conditions, the use of slash-and-burn horticulture
241 exhausts arable land at a rate greater than it recovers. The proportion of
311 land held in reserve for future cultivation must be several times greater than that under cultivation at any given moment, the proportion varying with such factors as the rate of fertility recovery, the type of weed and grass invasion, the rate of growth of the secondary forest, the rate of mechanical reconstruction of the soil, and so on. Thus of the total amount of land potentially available in a given expanse of territory, only a part can be horticulturally exploited at any one time. Where the total potentially arable land in a given expanse is itself only a small proportion of the total area, the amount of land available for cultivation at any one moment is, of course, minute. This ecological balance in turn limits the human population

A1 [See pp. 31-39, Category 116 -- Analyst]
A2 [See pp. 40-41, Category 102 -- Analyst]
A3 [for footnote, see p. 42, Category 116 -- Analyst]

and socio-economic forms. Nor can any immediate desire or fancy of the Yaruro change the limitations which the ecological relationship imposes: the carrying capacity of the land for horticultural food plants has, with the given technology, a fairly fixed upper limit. That such limitations exist for their horticulture is recognized by the Yaruro themselves to some extent. First, they recognize that, given the types of soils extant in the habitat, only certain kinds of crops can be used in certain places. Their knowledge in this regard seems to be quite accurate, and, of course, determines where a garden will be prepared at any given time according to projected needs, existing resources, and past exploitations. Again, they know that a swidden lasts three years, a fact not only confirmed by the evidence of conditions in recently abandoned patches but also by the results of soil analyses.[9] After the three years, they say, the swidden must be allowed to fallow for a number of years. They use the word 'five', but the writer believes 'five' is intended to mean 'some' years. The conditions of abandoned gardens, with their rank growth of lush grasses, unmanageable with dibble or machete, and of the places chosen for preparing new gardens, all cut out of relatively large second growth, suggest that the fallow period is at least 10 years, and probably upwards. We shall use 10 years as a basis for calculations below, since after such a time, the shade has driven out the succulent grasses which are replaced by herbaceous plants or woody underbrush. In view of these considerations, it may be said that Yaruro horticultural practices have been well-adapted to the particular soil and water conditions of their habitat on the basis of explicit recognition of these conditions.

Without basic change in their technology, the balance between the Yaruro's present technology and the habitat conditions we have described set real upper limits both on production and on productivity, the latter defined as production per capita per year, and therefore sets limits on the absolute size and the form of the society. Let us suppose optimal population conditions unlike the present continuing depopulation due to western diseases and massacres by Venezuelans were present as an hypothetical ideal state. The tendency of any plant or animal population is to increase until it balances in a stable equilibrium with the available nutritional resources, other factors constant.[10] If the population increases beyond this point, either a portion of the population must seek elsewhere for its food, or a portion must die, or the population will exploit the resources so as temporarily or permanently to reduce them to lower potentials, as in the case of cattle overgrazing pastures. A new land-population equilibrium is then reached at a somewhat lower level. The only other possibility is to innovate new forms of exploitation, a point we return to below.

Under optimal conditions, then, we may estimate maximum Yaruro population within the boundaries of such a territory as presently occupied by the Caño Totúdoro Yaruro of the Central Cinaruco, a territory bounded for all practical purposes by walking-and-working distance from the village. Within this area of about 65 sq. mi. a maximum of about 800 acres, or that 2% of the total area which is wooded, contains all tillable land. However,

9,10 [for footnotes see p. 42-48, category 116 -- Analyst]

311 within these 800 acres, much is occupied by the streams, calculated at their
241 flood maxima which define non-gardenable areas, while other parts are inadequate in soils or water for use as gardens. Consequently, the actually tillable areas comprise a maximum of about 200 acres or about 0.5% of the land surface. It should be noted, of course, that all these 200 acres are not usable for crops since those in the *montes* cannot be used for cane and bananas, while the wet areas nearest the streams cannot be used for corn or manioc. Thus the maximum area for the staple crops, manioc, corn, and bananas, is about 145 acres (see Table I).[1,11]

168 Using Carneiro's equations,[13] we may estimate the maximum population
311 which would be in equilibrium with this acreage, estimating .5 acres as an approximate amount of land required to provide the average person with the food he ordinarily derives from cultivated plants per year.[13] The calculation gives us 92 persons (see Figure 1).[14] We may also estimate the number of years (L) the group may stay in the present locality with its present population of 24 before wearing out the available tillable land so that they would have to move (see Figure 2). This would be 50 years. Since the entire fallow and planting cycle of any piece of land is only 13 years, under present circumstances, the Totúdoro Yaruro will not have to move from their present territory at all, in view of their small and decreasing population.

[128]

Figure 1

$$P = \frac{\frac{T}{(R+Y)} \times Y}{A}$$

$$P = \frac{\frac{200}{10+3} \times 3}{.5}$$

$P = 92$ (=67 if R is 15)

Figure 2

$$L = \frac{T}{\frac{P \times A}{Y}}$$

$$L = \frac{200}{\frac{24 \times .5}{3}}$$

$L = 50$ years

R = year of fallow
Y = years of productivity
A = land used to provide plant food for one person a year
P = population
L = number of years group located in one place
T = acres of cultivable land within walking-working distance of village

[262] The ideal figures given above would be somewhat modified upwards by the additional foods provided by fishing, hunting, and gathering which, in the wet season, constitute about 30% of the diet and, in the dry, perhaps

[1] [for Table I see pp. 28-30, category 116--Analyst]
[11,12,13,14] [for footnotes, see p. 43, category 116--Analyst]

50% of the diet or a little less. The ideal figures would again be reduced, on the other hand, by allowing for the predations on gardens of animals, especially the pigs, which eat manioc and corn, the Guahibo Indians who allegedly steal sugar cane, and insect losses. Our figures, then, will be modified only a few units by the additional sources of foods. We may thus revise our population figure to between 100 and 105 (or, if a 15-year fallow period is assumed, the figure would be 75-80), figures which correspond to the Yaruro's own ideal of what a proper population for this area should be. If the population increased beyond this number of people, the Yaruro would have to exploit their gardens at a rate greater than the rate of land reconstitution, and also expand hunting, fishing, and gathering beyond the average long-term carrying capacity of the savanas and the rivers, thus reducing their potential productivity. Adding together the maximum populations supportable by these food resources, as well as by the recently introduced pigs, a figure approximating 125-150 persons might be reasonable for this particular territory. This gives a density of 2 persons per sq. mile, a characteristic figure for tropical forest tribes.[15A]

If the population rose beyond this maximum capacity of the land-technology relationship, groups would either have to fission off, go on the warpath, regulate population by any of a number of internal institutions such as infanticide, or die either from extreme famines or from steady nutritional deficiency. Under present population conditions none of these is necessary, yet both fissioning and population regulation by contraception occur. Fissioning appears to be fostered by the search for settlement locations requiring minimum labor for maximum return and also to establish community authority under the person leading the fissioning group independent of that excercised by the community from which fissioning took place. Contraception appears to be a matter of choice revolving about maintaining a certain freedom from the cares of motherhood until such time as the marriage partners are reasonably convinced that the marriage is permanent. Indirectly, this contributes to the distribution of more effective female producers among the more effective male producers in the most productive areas, since a second marriage often involves shifting to a generally more effective husband whereas a shift to a less effective husband is scarcely to be found. Both fissioning and contraception, however, give evidence of techniques which were developed to handle man-food balance in happier days.

A number of formal characteristics of any ecology may permit us to deduce the form of society which would be expected on the basis of such characteristics. In so far as the ecological forms were to remain essentially unchanged over great periods of time, no changes in the forms of the social order attached to the ecological conditions would be expected. An internal equilibrium is maintained until such time as a dynamic imbalance occurs because of changes from internal or external sources. It is essential to examine to what extent the internal equilibrium prevents or fosters the occurence of dynamic imbalances in any particular ecological setting. We shall return to this question after the following itemization of Yaruro ecological forms.

[15A] [for footnote see p. 43, category 116 -- Analyst]

182 241 361 First, through time, the gardens tend to radiate further and further from any given residence point since, given the 13-year planting-fallow cycle, plots near the village will be exhausted. Since the major garden resource areas lie in a crudely east-to-west direction, there will be a slow westward migration of the geographic center of garden activities, enough so that at some point, the village is suspended, as it were, among distant resource points (see Maps), and enhanced by the dispersed nature of the hunting and fishing, and to some extent the gathering, areas. If the "suspension" is weighted more in one direction than another, there will be some tendency either to move the village or to send out temporary or permanent branches of it, respectively in the form of work cottages in the swiddens or in larger long-term house groups which are intermittently occupied. This process is, in fact, easily observed among the Yaruro in existent and abandoned house and subsidiary village sites scattered over the whole territory. Similarly, the locus of gathering, so important in [221] summer, moves further and further from the village. This, together with the considerable shift to fishing and river-hunting in summer, as well as the need for water, causes an extensive seasonal transhumance to occur within the territory. These factors contribute to fissioning as well as to inhibiting the development of permanently located villages, let alone larger aggregations. Thus, with a radiating ecology, a degree of group dispersion and geographical mobility within the territory is to be expected and is indeed characteristic of the Yaruro.

512 Second, if one examines the location of all resources it will be seen that, taken together, they constantly enjoin a dispersal of the labor force in all directions, regardless of season, so that more or less equivalent quantities of labor are being used at the same time in many varying kinds of productive activity independently of each other — at the peripheries of the territory, in the areas between, or in the village centers themselves, [462] where the women are constantly doing the significantly important work of [252] converting otherwise unusable food resources, like raw, bitter manioc or uncooked corn, into edibles.

476 Third, it will be noted that none of the Yaruro technological processes require cooperative work, even when they may permit it, if it were so desired. On the whole, the productive activities might be described as dispersive of labor, whether it is individuals or small groups of twos or threes who go out to keep each other company. Even the work of preparing [241] the swiddens is carried out individually, though two or three men may [463] work as neighbors in what appears as a single plot. Further, the technology [242] is such as to require no highly specific and difficult or esoteric skills. The most difficult skill to acquire is the knowledge of the soil types and appropriate planting procedures attached to each. Thus, each adult is in a position to learn the inventory of technological knowledge appropriate 462 to his or her sex, and somewhat of that belonging to the other sex too, and 463 to apply it by himself whenever he wants or must. A man, well-instructed in Yaruro technology, could probably subsist alone successfully for long periods of time. One divorced adult man, although he was largely fed by his

mother's and sister's households, nevertheless hunted and harvested for himself, and often cooked for himself meals of the type ordinarily cooked only by women. 462 463

The forms and characteristics of surpluses, as defined by Harris, [16] Ashed further light on the structure of the ecology. The technological surplus, defined as the difference between total calories annually produced by any definable group and the calories used to produce them, or as the ratio between these two figures, may be estimated at about 8 or 9 to 1 as compared with Harris's estimated figures of 2:1 for the Sirionó or 33:1 for the Pencuyut Maya. [17] Since as Harris remarks, the degree of social stratification in a large number of cases correlates with the size of the technological surplus, we would scarcely expect to find social stratification among the Yaruro, nor even any significant ranking. Where the technological surplus is low, the producer's surplus, defined as the difference between total calories produced by any given group and the total calories used by the producers for all purposes must also be low. Therefore the number of persons other than producers who can be supported by the producers is also limited. The producers' surplus may provide an index of the degrees of specialization which might be expected. In the case of the Yaruro one would expect no, or very low, specialization. Again, with a low producers' surplus, one would expect to find a greater proportion of the group involved in production than where such surpluses are high, for otherwise there would be insufficient calories to support more than a few people other than the producers. With a low producers' surplus, one would expect, in general, to find a greater proportion of both sexes engaged in the food quest. This is, of course, born out in the case of the Yaruro. Finally, Harris's harvest surplus is defined as the difference between the amount produced at any given moment, especially at seasonal maxima, and the amount consumed at that time. The actual amount consumable is governed by the seasonal *minima*, since the population cannot rise higher than the food supply at minimum periods permits unless special technological features such as storage, are present. Where the harvest surpluses are of non-storable goods, the population level is in equilibrium with the absolute minima of the harvests. The greater the degree of storability through a nonproductive season, or the less marked a crop is by seasonality, the higher the level to which the minimum population can be raised as compared with the number of people supportable at levels of production comparable to those at the time of harvest. Storability, however, is only one dimension of the harvest surplus. Absolute size of the peak surpluses, their regularity over the years, their distribution in space and time in the annual cycle, their utility in raw form, and the proportion of labor needed to harvest them relative to the time allotted for the harvest are all important dimensions of the harvest surplus. Thus, manioc, the Yauro's chief food resource has no clear peak, is regular over the years (the Yaruro disclaim any famines), is storable both in raw form and in prepared forms, is, in the case of the Yaruro, so located as not to permit of a concentration of labor at any one time and needs no massive labor for harvesting because of short harvest periods. Thus, in general, the very nature of manioc as a crop, and the labor requisites for

121 433 182 [56] [463] [462] [262] [251] [241]

A16, 17 [For footnotes see p. 43, category 116.--Analyst]

121 182 433 [241] [22] harvesting it, require no centralized authority and render it possible and even probable that the management of production or distribution be carried on without it. The same may be said, on the whole, for all the hunting, fishing, and gathering harvests, a notable and probably permanent feature of Yaruro ecology. Perhaps the only crop which has a marked seasonality is corn, but its absolute size in the total production, its geographical distribution in production, and its position relative to all other harvests renders it insignificant as an effective promoter of managerial functions and [56] formal arrangements of social stratification. It is unlikely, given Yaruro ecology that the forms of surplus would change; consequently their concomitants in social structure would remain constant.

On the basis of the formal characteristics of the ecology and of the surpluses one may deduce an essentially egalitarian social organization, with minimal ranking and leadership and with dispersion of the acts of [56] economic distribution among a number of adult males or females any one of [462] whom may produce a small harvest surplus at any time. With a relatively steady and reasonably comfortable total subsistence base, and with ecological arrangements which are spatially repeated in identical form up 182 and down river, no necessity exists for stringent rules of local exogamy [582] as an institution to regulate the labor force by redistributing its members. One would expect frequent marrying in the village according to the convenience of the contractants, and out-marriages to occur either as ecoomic opportunity offered elsewhere or lack of women at home urged one out. The [562] combined biological and productive role of women, with their particularly important technical roles in gathering and in food preparation, suggest sedentary communities and a matrifocal emphasis in the rules of residence. However, the importance and location of the men's economic contribution might be expected to balance this to a degree so that one might deduce [591] male uxorimatrilocal residence but with other, subsidiary patterns. This in fact occurs, occasional male matrilocality or patrilocality [18] comprising the subsidiary residence rules. Political authority would be vested [623] in the community, mainly among its elders, since little or no ranking or stratification is to be expected. In fact, Yaruro socio-political forms, in general, conform to all of these deduced conditions. They represent a model for any society based on the kinds of ecological conditions or form of ecology we have described. Where the ecology is even more restricted the deduced characteristics should be matched even more closely by the observed [171] data. In this respect, the Sirionó, for example, tend to confirm the hypothesis, in that their partial sedentariness which revolves about horticulture is associated with matrifocal social organization: matrilocality and matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. They also possess autonomous local communities. [19] The Apinayé also tend to confirm the hypothesis. [20]

Where our analysis permits us to predict about the course of the ecological conditions, we should also be able to extend this prediction to the social structure. Since, under the given ecology, we can establish a maximum population for each Yaruro socio-cultural unit, and under the given technology we would expect no significant change in the ecology, no significant

[18,19,20 [for footnotes see pp. 43-44 category 116 --Analyst]

change of form in Yaruro society would be expected. Changes could occur only by virtue of a changed technology derived either from internal developments or diffusion.

It is justified to assert, I believe, that, given the technological and ecological conditions of the Yaruro, internal developments of an evolutionary sort would be unlikely, or, at best, exceedingly slow. It seems to the writer, that the nature of the wet and dry savana soils at least in the Cinaruco area precludes any possibility of cropping by means of slash-and-burn horticulture, or even, to any extent, by modern agricultural means. Therefore development would have been restricted to improvements in the existing technology such as the domestication of new plants or the improvement of old ones grown in the restricted areas along the streams. Maximum surpluses would still have been restricted, and the singular ecological relations of this region would nevertheless have been maintained. Improved fishing techniques might have increased output - the weir, the trap, poisons (used by some groups of Yaruro), nets and seines, fish pools would have increased the fish intake, but there are no salmon runs or the like, here, so that a maximum would soon have been reached in fishing too.

Of introduced food plants and animals, the same may be said, unless some plant growing with notable success in the dry sandy savana soils had appeared. However, no such plant was available from any surrounding source and still is not. It is doubtful whether techniques of fertilization could either have been internally evolved or brought in from other peoples which would have made a significant difference to production. In fact, even with a modern agronomical technology, as well as better soils than possessed by either the Cinaruco or Capanaparo Yaruro, the problem of fertilization of their savana lands has not been solved even by contemporary Venezuelans. Had it been possible to develop any form of fertilizer under native conditions, the best that might have occurred would have been to raise the swidden productivity somewhat, thus raising the population. But it is doubtful if it would have significantly changed the forms of surplus, the ecology, or social structure. Conceivably, however, villages might have become larger and more fixed and ranking somewhat more marked.

Among the Yaruro, water control would have been impossible, because the small streams, and even the larger caños, dry up in summer altogether while the rivers are reduced to relative trickles. Any significant irrigation system would have had to have been on such a scale as only a major state could undertake a state of greater proportions and wealth than contemporary Venezuela for example. Even had such been possible, it is doubtfult whether irrigation would have helped the sandy savanas of the Cinaruco, so heavily leached by rain, though water control might well permit a large increase in agricultural productivity in the loamier parts of the llanos. Thus, a major agricultural technique known to relatively near neighbors of the Yaruro was for ecological and social reasons not diffusable.

Finally, warfare, which might have elicited a more hierarchical form of social organization, had not evolved as a Yaruro culture trait. In the

182 72 first place, the ecological conditions to the north, west, and south were, if anything, more severe than their own, so that there was little advantage to gain by warring in these areas. To the east were the Orinoco highlands, mountainous and heavily wooded country, an ecology quite different from, and probably as difficult as, their own.

182 We may conclude then, that, with the given technology, and under the given ecological conditions peculiar to the Yaruro region, the possibility of evolving to a more advanced tropical forest type like the Kuikuru, or even the Carajá, who in a number of ecological respects are like the Yaruro, was extremely limited. Second, there was little possibility of circumventing this development by directly taking on Circum-Caribbean traits from nearby groups. The Yaruro had to remain, under native systems of [177] subsistence, which did not include the European-derived cattle herding now found in the llanos, at a fixed level of technology, with a fixed ecology, and hence with a fixed form of social structure. Only the recent exposure to cattle herding is breaking up the fundamental form of their economy.

Under any conceivable native conditions, the basic ecological relationships and forms would have had to remain essentially unchanged. We may therefore deduce that the concomitant socio-cultural structure would have had to remain unchanged. Yaruro society was, for ecological reasons, substantially at an evolutionary dead end.

000 With this view of Yaruro ecology and cultural development, we may turn to the question of what conditions of incipient tropical forest horticulture might have provided a foundation for evolution to a higher level. The inhibition of Yaruro development is a result of certain specific ecological limitations. Consequently, where those limitations do not exist or could be removed, one would find, other factors being equal, conditions under which incipient horticultural groups would evolve to higher levels of organization.

Holding technology constant, a much greater per cent of tillable to total land, say up to 50% [21] instead of 0.5%, would allow for an enormous increase in population - up to a hypothetical 12,500-15,000 [22] - which would permit or rather demand, a more elaborate social organization. A marked seasonal fluctuation in the productivity of these lands, that is, in the production of surpluses, would provide a situation in which forms of stratification could appear. A proportionally greater dependence on these food resources requiring intensive labor in order to maximize yield per acre, as in the case of corn or yams, would provide the basis for more elaborate socio-political organization. Thus, manioc which produces the largest tubers in relatively *poorer*, weakly nitrogenous, soils, requires much less effort to produce the several millions of calories per acre mentioned above than do corn and yams in better soils in order to push their productivity up to the maximum half-million calories per acre. Corn and yams appear to produce more with intensive care such as hilling and weeding, as well as the use of birdwatchers, and the like, as the papers on both the Taino and the Sub-Andean which follow clearly indicate. Where manioc will not conveniently grow

[21, 22 [for footnotes see p. 44, category 116 -- Analyst]

but corn or yams, or ecologically similar crops, will, in a considerable number of cases, one would expect to find more evolved socio-cultural systems than among manioc planters. 000

Again, where technical procedures could be introduced by innovation or diffusion for use by the local group, one might expect to find development occurring. Thus terracing as a means of increasing productivity, hence surpluses and probably the forms of surplus, is a technique which is diffusable under certain conditions existing in the recipient culture. Thus some of the hill-societies without terracing, mentioned in Reichel-Dolmatoff's paper below, could doubtless eventually have taken it on. Similarly, irrigation could conceivably have been introduced in certain low-land areas where water-flow and soil conditions were appropriate. In such conditions a long-term evolutionary development might occur.

Finally, where groups had maximized production in their own areas and had well-off neighbors, or, on the other hand, had considerably differing resource areas from their neighbors, warfare as a social technique, might have contributed to the development of internal differentiation and eventually to the territorial and organizational expansion of the cultures concerned. This was plainly the case on the Andean coast, and seems prettly clearly to have been what was happening in parts of the Circum-Caribbean and Sub-Andean areas, as the following papers show.

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2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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TABLE I

Number, Size, and Crop Areas of Gardens of the Totudoro Yaruro: % [1] of Garden Planted to Each Crop and Areas in Acres.

Gardens #	Sq. Ft.	Acres		Manioc % Acres	Corn % Acres	Bananas % Acres	Cane % Acres	Squashes % Acres	Inyame % Acres	Other[2]
OLD: Totally abandoned (4th and 5th years)										
3.	15,000	0.35								
36.	10,000	0.23								
37.	15,000	0.35								
38.	8,000	0.19								
39.	8,000	0.18								
40.	12,000	0.28								
43.	10,000	0.23								
44.	10,000	0.23								
Total	88,000	2.04	2.04							
OLD: 3d and 4th years										
6.	13,500	0.31				sparse[3]				
8.	5,000	0.12				sparse				
11.	8,500	0.20				negligible				
12.	13,000	0.30				sparse				
16.	32,500	0.74				little				
20.	6,500	0.15		sparse						
41.	15,000	0.35				negligible				
42.	15,000	0.35				negligible				
Total	109,000	2.52	4.56							

TABLE I (cont.)

Gardens #	Sq. Ft.	Acres		Manioc %	Manioc Acres	Corn %	Corn Acres	Bananas %	Bananas Acres	Cane %	Cane Acres	Squashes %	Squashes Acres	Inyame %	Inyame Acres	Other[2]
MATURE: 2nd & 3rd years																
1.	60,000	1.40		100	1.40	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4.	3,000	0.07		90	0.06	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	0.02	—
5.	7,000	0.18		80	0.14	—	—	20	0.04	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7.	6,000	0.14		—	—	—	—	20	0.03[4]	80	0.11	—	—	—	—	—
9.	50,000	1.16		60	0.70	—	—	10	0.12	25	0.29	—	—	5	0.06	+[5]
10.	1,000	0.02		—	—	—	—	—	—	sparse		—	—	—	—	—
13.	25,000	0.58		40	0.23	—	—	25	0.15	35	0.20	—	—	—	—	—
15.	16,000	0.37		—	—	—	—	30	0.11	70	0.26	—	—	—	—	—
23.	20,000	0.47		25	0.12	—	—	30	0.14	45	0.21	—	—	—	—	—
26.	10,000	0.23		—	—	—	—	20	0.05	80	0.18	—	—	—	—	—
28.	40,000	0.92		50	0.47	—	—	10	0.09	40	0.37	—	—	—	—	—
31.	30,000	0.70		100	0.70	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
34.	13,000	0.30		100	0.30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
35a.	10.000	0.22		55	0.13	—	—	30	0.07	10	0.02	5	0.01	—	—	+[6]
Total	291,000	6.76	11.32		4.25				0.80		1.64		0.01		0.08	Acres
NEW: First year																
14.	14,000	0.32		—	—	—	—	—	—	100	0.32	—	—	—	—	—
17.	6,000	0.14		35	0.05	—	—	20	0.03	35	0.05	—	—	10	0.01	—
18.	6,000	0.14		45	0.06	45	0.06	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	0.02	—
19.	6,500	0.15		35	0.05	35	0.05	10	0.02	12	0.03	—	—	5	0.01	—
22.	8,000	0.18		—	—	—	—	35	0.06	65	0.12	—	—	—	—	—
24.	37,500	0.86		45	0.39	—	—	35	0.30	20	0.17	—	—	—	—	—

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2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

[p.30]

TABLE I (cont.)

Gardens #	Sq. Ft.	Acres		Manioc %	Manioc Acres	Corn %	Corn Acres	Bananas %	Bananas Acres	Cane %	Cane Acres	Squashes %	Squashes Acres	Inyame %	Inyame Acres	Other
25.	9,500	0.22		35	0.08	35	0.08	20	0.04	10	0.02	—	—	—	—	—
27.	1,950	0.05		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	200[7]	0.10	—	—	—
29.	2,500	0.06		100	0.06	100[8]	0.06	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
30.	15,000	0.35		80	0.28	80[9]	0.28	20	0.07	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
32.	13,000	0.30		—	—	—	—	—	—	100	0.30	—	—	—	—	—
33.	13,000	0.30		55	0.17	55[10]	0.17	20	0.03	20	0.06	—	—	10[11]	0.03	—
35b.	10,000	0.22		50	0.12	60[12]	0.14	30	0.07	10	0.02	10	0.02	—	—	+[13]
Total	142,950	3.29	14.61		1.26		0.84		0.65		1.09		0.12		0.07	Acres
IN PREPARATION																
2.	15,000	0.35		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21.	20,000	0.46		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	35,000	0.81	15.42													

1. These percents are highly approximate since crops were often distributed quite irregularly around gardens, often even interplanted. They represent impressionistic guesses.
2. These mostly include yautía ('ocumo'), pineapples.
3. 'Sparse' means that trees are scattered here and there, bearing lightly; 'negligible' refers to a few atrophied bunches in an entire patch; 'little' means a very small production, above sparse.
4. These were very sparse.
5. Pineapples, yautía.
6. Pineapples, pumpkins, yautía.
7. Successively planted to melons and squash in same season.
8. Double cropped in same area.
9. Corn and manioc double cropped in same area.
10. Corn and manioc double cropped in same area.
11. Inyame interplanted among corn and manioc.
12. Double cropped with manioc.
13. Yautía, pineapples, melons, pumpkins.

TABLE II

FOODS: THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL PROVENIENCES, TECHNIQUES AND SEASONS OF PRODUCTION; THE DIVISION OF LABOR IN PRODUCTION AND FOOD PREPARATION

Symbols: S.F W.S — summer, fall, winter, spring
M.F. — male, female
Q — evaluation of the quantitative importance of the food or raw material in Yaruro subsistence and productive activity: 5 — major staple or resource; 4 — major crop, but not a staple; 3 — important food (or other) resource, but a secondary crop; 2 — minor crop (or other resource) serving as a more or less regular but seasonal delicacy; 1 — mostly a delicacy for occasional enjoyment (very secondary resource)
≠ — indicates both presence, and by doubling or tripling importance of crop or resource; three ≠≠≠'s do not necessarily mean "3 times as important as 1 ≠", merely "of outstanding importance".
/ — sporadically or slightly present
d-m — December to March; a — April; m-s — May-September; o-m — October to November.

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
CROPS PLANTED:												
tso-ka'ra (x)	yuca amarga	bitter manioc	swiddens, cuttings, dibble	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠	/	≠	5
1. p. tso-ka'ra	cachicamo	" (variety?)	as above									
2. p. a'punda''ki be'rebeti''a	ceibita (?) (blanca)	" (light)	as above									
3. p. a'pund''ki-k'a'Ra	ceibita (?) (obscura)	" (dark)	as above									
'hurari''ā-'pae	yuca dulce	sweet manioc	as above	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠		≠≠	4
1. p. agoā'kwe	yema de huevo	" (variety?)	as above									
2. p. ici'kwe	pata de zamuro	" (variety?)	as above									
3. p. valenciana	valenciana	" (", introd)	as above									

(x) Phonetics: *ā*, etc. = nasalized vowel, *e* = mid central unrounded vowel, *ch* = palatal c., *y* = palatalized fricative; *R* = flapped r, *n* = palatalized nasal continuant, as in English sing, *j* = palatalized affricate, as in English job.

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S e-n	M	Division of Labor Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
$pw_ɛ$	maiz	corn, maize	swiddens, hills, dibble			≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠	≠	≠≠≠	4
1. pume'$pw_ɛ$	maiz yaruro	Yaruro corn	as above (3 mo., 1 ear/stalk)									
2. 'hamburu"a$pw_ɛ$	maiz guahibo	Guahibo corn	as above (4 mo., 2 ears/ ")									
3. p. $kw_ɛ$"$kw_ɛ$ia	maiz amarillo	yellow corn	as above (5 mo., 1 ear/stalk)									
'parau"ai	plátano, topocho, banana	plantains, bananas	swiddens, machetes to cut, on specially prepared mounds, slips	≠?	≠?	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	4
1. p. 'ai	plátano	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
2. p. wu'ko	topocho	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
3. p. o'kwi	dos millos	banana	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
4. p. ka'ru	?	plantain	as above (?)								?	
5. ocrchu'$m_ɛ$ p.	guineo (?)	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
6. ka'mure	cambur	banana	as above (raw)									
hu'ra	fiame	yams	dry swiddens, dibble	≠?	≠?	≠	≠≠	≠			≠≠	2
e'de	patilla	melons, pumpkins, squashes	swiddens dibble	≠≠	≠?	≠	≠≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	2
1. $kw_ɛ$"bohurariše.le	"	water-melon	as above									
2. chumanile.	"	pumpkins	as above									
3. 'yako"da	"?	bottle gourd	as above									
chuni'i	caña	sugar cane	wet swiddens, dibble, machete	≠?	≠?	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠	/		3
1. ch. mo'ra	caña ?	" (variety ?)	as above									
2. ch. $b_ɛ$'re$b_ɛ$re"a	caña blanca	white cane	as above									
	caña criolla	introd var.	as above									

2: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
'cɛtame"kwɛ	fame	yams	swiddens, dibble	×?	×?	×	×	××	/		××	2
ña"ri	batata	sweet potato	as above	×?		×?	×	××	/		××	2
ô	ananá	pineapple	swiddens, dibble				×	×			/	1
iu	capacho	?	swiddens, ?				×?	×			1	?
cɛ'da(=cɛda"dakwɛ	ocumo (yauta)	xanthosoma	swiddens, dibble	×?		×	×	×			×	2
(ñô'tɛa"nâ	ají	chili pepper	doubtful if raised on Cinaruco)									
FISHES CAUGHT:												
yagu'pe	agua dulce	?	rivers, caños, hooks, arrows	×				×		/	×	3-
e(='chamachi"ro)	cachama	?	rivers, hooks, arrows	×				×		/	×	1
gui"ɾe	sardina	?	rivers, fish arrows, small hook	×	×	×	×	×		/	×	2
dap'we	guavina	?	caño fishhooks	×			×	×		/	×	?
ho'nó	palambre	?	rivers, caños, arrows, hooks	×?		×	×	×		/	×	2
ip:'â	pinte tigre	?	rivers, caños, hooks	×	×	×	×	×		/	×	3-
pa'chowén"ti	bagre	catfish	rivers, caños, hooks	×	×	×	×	×		/	×	3-
'meô"dakwɛ	viejita	?	as above	×	×	×	×	×		/	×	?
'chûinda-"yii	"	?	as above	×	×	×	×	×		/	×	?
ainda'ô	"	?	caños, hooks, sardine bait	×	×	×	×	×		/	×	?
uji'ri-ka"Rà	" negra	?	caños, hooks	×	×	×	×	×		/	×	?
u'ru-u'ru	de tierra	?	rivers, hooks	×	×	×	×	×		/	×	?
da're	pavón	?	rivers, hooks, sardine bait	×	×	×	×	×		/	×	?

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F s	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
chu'me	"	?	rivers, caños, hooks, sardine bait, from platform	—				—		/	—	?
'yaka'ra	"	?	as above, also arrows	—	—	—	—	—		/	—	2
'Yoçok'e"ne	" colorado	?	rivers, caños, hooks	—	—	—	—	—		/	—	?
áš	caribe blanco	white piranha	rivers, arrows, hooks with especially heavy cord	—				—		/	—	1
(hòde'cia	caribe	piranha	doubtful if caught on Cinaruco)									
(pu'pu	cajarro	catfish	doubtful if caught on Cinaruco)									
FRUITS, ROOTS, AND SEEDS GATHERED:												
ro'cho	?	?	in mata from big tree, at foot	—				—				1?
ga're (cho'nó)	guayaba	guava	bushes and low trees, distant			—		—				1
t'u	fruta de moriche	miriti palm fruit	near caños in wet savana, from foot of trees			—	—	—			—	2
'nunn"be	?	?	?, from big tree (monte?)			—		—			1	?
nn'be	?	?	?, ?			—						1
nn,n'ni	cordón	tassel (?)	?, from tall trees (prob monte)			—		—				1?
nkai'cho	cacaito	?	?, ?			—						1?
nuri"to	?	?	?, ?			—						1?
ya'kol,	totumo	calabash	monte (?), picked				—	— ?			— ?	2
ni'pi	changuango	?	wet savanas, digging stick	—					— —		—	2
cho'kai	guapo	?	monte, savana, digging stick	—	—	—	—		— —		—	2

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
ma"hiksi	solu ??	?	savana, digging stick	—					—		—	1
ka'ta	changuanito savanero	?	as above	——					——		—	2?
pa'ra	barbaco	?	monte, digging stick	——					——		—	3
gwe'pe (=gwepe'ke)	chigo	? (seed)	near monte, big trees, ground			——			——		—	2
ge (=ke)	chigo	? (seed)	?, ? (as above?)								—	?
ANIMAL HUSBANDRY:												
o'bweia	marrano	pigs	savanas, herding (introd.)	——	——	——	——	——	/	——	——	3
oka'raro	gallina	chickens	dunes near houses (")	—	—	—	—	—	/		—	1
ANIMALS HUNTED:												
(so)ha'rigu'ri(a'nâ)	oso hormiguero	giant ant eater?	savana, bow and arrow	—	—	—	—	—		—	—	4
ha'ri	baba	alligator	rivers, heavy barbed arrow	——	——		—	——		——	—	3
mbwa	venado	deer	savanas, lance arrow, gun	—	—	—	—	——		——	—	3
ci'do	chigüire	capybara	monte, river, " ", fish arrow	——	—	—	—	——		—	—	2-
tupa'ra	conejo	rabbit	savana, fish arrow	—	—	—	—	—		?	—	1?
puri	lapa	paca	caño, monte, traps, all arrows	—	—	—	—	—		?	?	1?
ya'tutu"mi	iguana	water lizard	rivers, montes, fish arrow	—	—	—	—	—		?	?	1?
'ge"re	cachicamo	armadillo	savanas, traps, sticks, hand	—	—	—	—	—		—	/	2-
'ipurime"sa	manta	?	savanas, traps, arrows	—	—	—	—	—		?	?	?

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S e-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
'yaɛn"te	picure	? (aguti?)	monte, caño, fish arrow	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	?
'iku"ri	tortuga	tortoise	rivers, fishhooks; on Capanaparo, use detachable arrow	≠≠			≠	≠		?	?	2
poda'me	terecal	terrapin?	rivers, fishhooks " "	≠≠			≠	≠		?	?	2
geda'me	morrocoy	boxturtle	mata, by hand - doesn't run	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	1
ci'rida"me	galápago	river turtle	rivers, detachable arrow	≠≠			≠	≠≠		?	?	2
('hôi-obwei"a	chácharo	peccary	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
(be'ri	manatí	manatee	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
BIRDS HUNTED:												
he'we	cotua negro	duck species	rivers, caño, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
hà'na	carretero	?	rivers, lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
andu'ra	garza morena	grey heron	rivers, lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
o'kara	garza blanca	white heron	lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
'huidiga'ra	garza paleta	painted heron?	lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
hue	gaviota (?)	?	lakes, arrows, bird arrow	≠				≠		?	≠	1
'kwiachi"ni	perdiz	partridge?	savana, bird arrow (?)	≠				≠		?	≠	1
hu'ru-yu'ru	pavo	curassow	rivers, monte, arrows	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		≠	?	2
ta'ra	jivaro (?)	jivaro stork?	lakes, arrows, shotgun	≠				≠		≠	?	2?
noraha'te	pato real	duck species	lakes, arrows	≠≠				≠		?	?	?

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
pe'be	cotua	duck species	rivers, caños, arrows	≠≠	≠	≠	≠	≠≠		?	?	2?
poa'nà	pato	duck species	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
MISCELLANEOUS MATERIALS COLLECTED FOR USE IN PRODUCTION:												
ya'ro	capuruna	leaf to wrap and store corn sticks	savana, picking			≠?			≠		≠	1
karam'ba	?	cigar wrapping	savana, picking	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠?		≠	≠	1
ngam'bi	tabaco	tobacco	savana, picking	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	1
u'de	curagua, macanilla	macanilla	near caños (?) a) for bows,	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠≠		≠≠		2
		palm	b) for string, fibres for objects	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		≠≠	≠≠	3-
chara't'o	salau (salado?)	canoe wood (?)	montes, for making canoes	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠≠		≠≠		4
citò't'o	caña brava	cane for arrows	near caños for foreshafts	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠≠		≠≠		4-
tu	moriche	moriche	near or in caños, used for making house roofs, baskets, cords, fibres, hammocks	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	5
ngo	moriche frond	ditto	as above, often picked up from ground, or tree cut and fronds collected, last for years, may be reused.		as above							
biri't'o-i	guasca	bark strips	montes, caños, for lashing	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠≠		≠≠		3
è-im'bu	cera de abeja	beeswax	near caños, from large trees	≠	≠			≠		≠		1
è-'ke	miel	honey	as above	≠	≠			≠				1
e'ra	peramán	tree wax	as above? for arrows	≠?	≠?			≠		≠		2

192
221
223
462
262
824
237
314

[p.37]

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252
262
462

[p.38]

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Food M	Prep F
COOKED DISHES AND THE DIVISION OF LABOR — CONVERSION OF FOODSTUFFS IN VILLAGE					
cham'pe	arepa	corn cakes	kernels crushed after shelling, fried in deep fat or boiled; grater often used	/	≠≠≠
ui'ta	?	corn purée	crushed corn (after frying raw kernels in deep fat, or simply boiling) mixed with water; grater may be used for mashing	/	≠≠≠
pwɛ-u'ni	?	corn powder	dry hard kernels grated on metal grater (men make holes with nails) and then eaten dry	/	≠≠≠
iu	?	corn on cob?	boiled		≠
po'nô	?	corn kernels	dry, relatively hard kernels are shelled from cob, then roasted in deep fat, salted, and eaten	≠	≠≠
ca'dɛ	capuruna	corn sticks	shelled kernels grated into mush, carefully wrapped in capuruna leaves, boiled; stored or eaten directly	/	≠≠≠
'pwɛ-e''ro	guarapo de maíz	corn juice	kernels are mashed to express juice, thick liquid	≠	≠≠
tambɛ	cazabe	bitter manioc	manioc flower prepared by cutting, grating, squeezing in tipiti, etc.		≠≠≠
1. tam'bɛ	cazabe	manioc cakes	flour prepared in flat cakes and roasted		≠≠≠
2. tam'bɛ-e'ro	guarapo de cazabe	boiled m. juice	juice is boiled to break down prussic acid	/	≠≠
3. tam'bɛ ?	carato	fermented "	flour and juice added to corn juice, ferments ca. 12 hr.	≠≠	≠
'oka''raru-''né	huevos	chicken eggs	usually fried		≠
'hurari''â-'pae	yuca dulce	sweet manioc			
1. ?	?	fried slices	fried in relatively shallow fat	/	≠≠
2. ?	?	deep fried	fried in deep fat		≠≠
3. ?	?	boiled	boiled whole after peeling (as above)		≠≠

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Food M	Prep F
'pamanā	plátanos, topochos, bananas	plantains and bananas	many types often eaten raw; below are considered only those which are cooked		
1. ?	?	boiled	peeled and put in water to boil till soft	/	≠
2. ?	?	fried slices	peeled, sliced, put in deep fat till hard		≠≠
o'bweis	marrano	pork	most of the work of killing and preparing is done, as with most meats, by the men; only boiling is usually done by women who own pots		
1. ?	?	boiled	small chunks boiled till almost mushy	/	≠≠
2. ?	?	roasted	put on sticks over fire, facing it	≠≠	
3. ?	chicharrones	cracklings	hide with thick layer of fat fried in its own fat till fat (and hide) are hard; stored for some time	≠≠	
4. ?	?	deep fried	meat parts are deep fried till almost crisp		≠≠
5. agwei kə"pāakə"to	?	blood sausages	blood carefully caught on slaughtering and saved in vessell till coagulated then stuffed into unwashed (?) intestines and cooked	≠≠≠	
chəni"ā-c'ro	guarapo de caña	cane juice	squeezed out on "chaqui-chaqui", a wooden hand press	≠	/

NB—Preparation of foods produced only in the dry summer months, such as changuango root and changuanito savanero root were not observed and are not included here. These roots are both boiled by the women. Most meats, unless boiled, are prepared by the men by roasting. Fish, in general are prepared by women. Most fruits and seeds which are not eaten directly upon collecting are cooked by women.

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262
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311
131
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22

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(p. 40)

MAP I- Winter Resource Areas

KEY

- SAND DUNES
- THICK MONTE SUITABLE FOR SWIDDENS
- SCRUBBY MONTE NOT FOR SWIDDENS
- GALLERY FORESTS
- GALLERY FORESTS FLOODED, NONARABLE
- THE PRESENT VILLAGE
- OLD OR ABANDONED VILLAGE SITES (WINTER HOMES)
- Pigs
- Manioc
- Water for drinking and cooking

Numbers represent gardens appearing in Table I

1 inch = ca 1.25 mi

Maps by Jo Leeds.

MAP II Summer Resource Areas

162
311
131
361
22

NOTES

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1. Ramia, 1959, charts p. 19 and 21. Ramia's data were also useful in confirming the writer's observations summarized in the description of topography and plant life. Cf. also Fiasson, 1947.

2. Soil tests on samples submitted by the writer made by Hugh Popenoe of the University of Florida College of Agriculture. See Footnote 9.

3. The description here given bears great resemblance to descriptions given by Carneiro, 1959; Conklin, 1957, pp. 49-71; Meggers, 1957, p. 80; Pelzer, 1945, Ch. II and photographs; as well as the writer's own observations in Brazil (Leeds, 1957, Ch. III).

4. Meggers, 1957, p. 80, citing Richards, 1952.

5. Lowie, 1940, p. 426, speaking of canella horticulture points out that the dibble is "unfit to cope with the arid regions of their country". Cf. also Carneiro, 1957.

6. Conklin, 1954, p. 141, and 1957, p. 138, states that the range, at least among the Hanunóo of the Philippines, is from 8 to 25 years. Pelzer, 1945, gives a figure of 8 - 15 years (p. 16).

7. Cf. Woodbury, 1954, Ch. 17. A similar point is made by Dorsey, 1884, by Braidwood, 1958, p. 25, and by Birdsell, 1958, p. 53, who speaks of aboriginal Australian populations as being "in equilibrium with the resources of the local environment".

8. Harris, 1959, p. 193.

9. Popenoe, 1959. He gives the following data based on four samples from the central Cinaruco area. The samples were not collected by standard techniques, so are subject to considerable error, nevertheless the results are sufficiently suggestive to be of interest:

Description of Sample	Texture	Organic Matter	pH	CaO lbs/A	MgO lbs/A	P_2O_5 lbs/A	K_2O lbs/A	N_2
1. Sand dune	fine sand	low	4.9	73	10	3	38	low
2. *Monte* swidden, 2nd - 3rd year	light fine sandy loam	low	4.2	36	31	0	47	low
3. Abandoned swidden, 5th year	mucky loam, fine sand	high	3.9	36	41	1	152	high
4. Banana mound active swidden	silt loam	high	5.3	1231	576	13	307	high
Florida minimum			higher	400	100-150	10	100-120	

Dr. Popenoe comments "For Florida soils, which are usually fairly sandy, we consider limiting amounts of the various nutrients to be about [as given above]... All of the pH values would be considered too low for good crop production in Florida but crops under tropical condition appear to tolerate lower pH values than in temperate climates." It should be noted that though these figures suggest soil deterioration through cultivation, this is not a universal concomitant of slash-and-burn horticulture. There is evidence (cf. Cassidy and Pahaiad, 1953) that soil conditions for certain crops may remain constant or even improve. No noticeable soil deterioration occurred in the slash-and-burn arboriculture of the

State of Bahia, Brazil, cacao-growers (Leeds, 1957, Ch. III). Conklin's material 000
suggests the same thing (1954, 1957).

10. See footnote 6.

11. The actual acreages presently in use are given in Table I. Of 200 acres only 1/10 (cf numerator of Figure 1) could be in cultivation at any one time, or 46 A., which would support about 92 people. Only about a quarter of that number, 24, actually use the area now. Correspondingly, one would expect only about a quarter of the available area for any one year to be cropped or about 11.5 acres. The actual figures on the Table add up to 10.09 or 12.57 acres (if one includes the 3d and 4th year, old plots). The average of these two figures is 11.3 acres, which is also only an approximation, but the fit is close.

12. Carneiro, 1956.

13. Carneiro, 1957, pp. 165-168; Barrau, 1956, p. 31, p. 32; Fauteux, 1952, p. 3. Carneiro gives .7 including pessary depredations which are very heavy in Kuikuru gardens; Fauteux gives .2; Barrau reports .5-.3 and up. Willey, 1953, speaking of the Coastal Andean type of horticulture, estimates 1 acre.

14. If, instead of the estimated .5 acre/person/year for his plant food, we use Willey's 1 acre or Fauteux's .2 acre, the range lies between 46 and 231.

15. Steward and Faron, 1959, p. 33-34.

16. This discussion is based on the important works by Harris (1958, 1959). The writer has somewhat extended Harri's concept of the harvest surplus by suggesting the various dimensions discussed in the text, although some of these are implicit in the 1959 article.

17. Harris, 1958. The same figures that Harris used in calculating the technological surpluses for the cited groups have been used here: an average of about 150 calories for average labor per person per hour, times the number of hours of food-producing labor, times the number of workers, times 365. I have included in the very rough estimates the time to walk to and from the gardens as being a necessary part of the food-production routine. I have not included an average of about 80 C/hour/person for basal metabolism on the basis that the basal metabolism must be accounted for whether the person is working or not — only the calories above basal are actually to be accounted to the production process. The estimates, though rough, are useful for comparative purposes.

As a preliminary estimate, I figure that the 9 men of the village average about 4 hours a day at food-producing work, though I suspect this figure is high. I allowed about 2.5 hours a day for the women, undoubtedly also high as a year-round average. I used an average calorie consumption for work of about 150 (cf McLester, 1927, Ch II and III) per hour per person working on food production. Performing the calculation we find the daily calorie output for all food production is about 2600 C. This times 365 days gives 8+ million C. If we estimate average total caloric consumption per day per capita at 2750 (possibly even a low estimate considering the Yaruro corn-manioc-potato-yam-sugar cane-pork diet) and multiply by 365 we get total calorie consumption as 34.06 million calories. If we make the further assumption that this latter figure, in the long run, is about equal to the calories produced, we find that the ratio of technological efficiency is minimally 8 to 1. Since our calorie use rates are probably high, and our measure of total calorie production per year probably low, the ratio might be as high as 9 or 10 to 1. If one adds in the 80 calories (probably high) per hour per person of the basal metabolism, the total calories used in production of calories amounts to 5 million, and the ratio of technological efficiency becomes 4.8:1, still about 3 times as great as the Hiraoá. The producers use about 13.65 million C. leaving about 5.5 million C. for non-producers as a producers surplus, or 29%.

18. I follow the usage of Fischer, 1958, here.

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19. Cf. Holmberg, 1950; Murdock, 1957. Holmberg suggests, incidentally, (p. 9) that the Sirionó were pushed into their present area, and were deculturated by this event. This implies that they were at a higher level of organization, which is also suggested by their linguistic affiliations with more advanced Tupian groups. These data suggest that the Sirionó should always have been classified, like the Yaruro, as Tropical Forest Horticulturalists rather than as Marginals (Steward, 1946-1950, Vol. III, pp. 897-899). Cf, on this latter point, Hohenthal, 1951.

20. Nimuendajú, 1939; Murdock, 1957.

21. Conklin, verbal communication, estimates that about 50% of the land surface possessed by the Hanunóo was capable of being cultivated.

22. This figure refers to a unit of land of the same size we have been discussing for the Yaruro — 65 square miles. 50% tillable land is a factor of 100 times the Yaruros' present tillable land. We estimated 125-150 people for this area, which, multiplied by 100 produces the figures given in the text.

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34. INTERNATIONALEN AMERIKANISTENKONGRESSES

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Ecological Determinants of Chieftainship among the Yaruro Indians of Venezuela

ANTHONY LEEDS

I

Father John Cooper is said to have remarked once that when South American Tropical Forest tribal chiefs order their people to do something, the people immediately do as they choose. Certainly, as a general pattern of chieftainship, this is true among many groups,[1] and the Yaruro Indians of the south-central Venezuelan llanos are no exception. Among them, as with others, the very word chieftainship seems inappropriate. We shall use the term here, but it should only be understood as a convenience for designating our subject matter. Whether, in general, the functions of chieftainship in South America vary in importance as ecological conditions require differing chiefly activities, or whether chieftaincies were created or reinforced through the structure of statuses engendered in acculturation situations, as seems to have occurred in parts of Venezuela, or whether the varieties of chieftainship represent different evolutionary phases of development responding to the general conditions of the culture in which they occurred, is not yet clear. Presumably some consistent set of factors may be found, perhaps along the techno-ecological lines suggested by Sahlins or Harris[2] or the socio-economic conditions such as warfare suggested by Carneiro[3], which will serve as principles in the explanation of the tropical South American and other chieftainships of similar characteristics, such as some of those found in Melanesia. It is hoped that the following interpretation, largely dealing with the ecological foundations of chieftainship, will contribute towards this formulation of principles.

II

Briefly, Yaruro chieftainship is characterized by its ineffectiveness. The *capitan*, as he is called in Spanish, or *o'te-ta'ra* (elder head) in Yaruro, rarely commands. When he does, the commands most often are directed at children and young people, especially males, women, on the whole, being consulted not commanded. Most direct

[1] E. g. Akawaio, Barama River Carib and other Carib groups, Canella, Carajá, Cayapó, Kiukuru, Sherente, Tauliping, Waika, etc. Cf. Lowie, 1949, especially pages 341—350.

[2] Harris, 1958; Sahlins, 1958.

[3] Carneiro, 1961.

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Most direct

commands, in so far as I was able to observe, were made in Spanish![4] — essentially in acculturation contexts. In general, they concerned village care, small services, and the like. No occasion was observed of commanding older men, except for a married youth of 19, who was the youngest adult male in the village. The two or three commands he received during my stay went unnoticed, and, in one or two instances, were even directly contravened. The capitans of the Cinaruco river group and of Palmarito de Guachara both consistently complained that no one paid enough attention to them, and the Palmarito chief complained that he never was kept sufficiently informed of events by his people. The fact is that people do pretty much as they choose in all important decision-making situations which do not involve the community at large, or the relationship of some member of the community or the entire group to outsiders.[5] In the former situation, the chief serves as a consultative funnel through which the community discussion pours back and forth until the community achieves some clear but unstated consensus upon which community members can act, individually of course. Only in the situations dealing with outside groups does the Yaruro capitanship emerge as a more developed status which might metaphorically be described as a position similar to that of a minister of foreign relations. In behalf of his group, he talks with any representatives of outside groups, especially if they are non-Yaruro, and acts as gatherer of information and as channel of communication between the community and the outside entity. Even this is weakened, however, since it applies more by courtesy than by fact among the Yaruro themselves, and other members of the community may perform the same function even if to a somewhat smaller degree. It is also weakened in that no Yaruro is prevented from acting on his own with respect to non-Yaruro outsiders, and, in fact, many Yaruro do establish their own relationships with outsiders as a number of instances attested. Indeed, the rights of the individual members of the society to make their own decisions, at least internally if not also externally, is insisted on. In one instance, a chief who took it upon himself to

[4] Commands and other stress situations, which generally appear to be uncongenial to the Yaruro and more overt as the people have been more subject to acculturation, seem to elicit from the Yaruro Spanish responses rather than Yaruro ones. It is as though it were not fitting to utter commands or express anger in Yaruro. Thus, the few times noisy altercation was heard among the Cinaruco Yaruro, the language used was Spanish. The chief's commands and his overt anger were always expressed in Spanish, even if he had just before been speaking in Yaruro. Though anger may often be felt, it is not shown if the participants are expressing themselves in Yaruro. Thus, the chief scolded one of the village boys for riding one of the recently acquired burros — in Spanish; he ordered a 19-year old young man to do some task — in Spanish; he complained of the actions of one of the village elders in taking on the job of guide without first consulting him (though he would certainly have permitted it) — in Spanish.

[5] Cf. Leeds, 1960 a, with respect to the place of individual action in Yaruro society. Though there is individual action, choice, and responsibility, these are all carried out as an aspect of community organization and essentially with community affirmation. A person is not an individual set in counterpoint to his society — there is no polarity of individual-society, as we, in our culture, generally seem to conceive. Individualism in the latter sense does not exist among the Yaruro. The Yaruro should not be mistaken for an individualistic culture, as, I suspect, several of the cultures described as individualistic in Mead, 1937, should not have been.

represent his people to the outside world without consultation and to make arbitrary decisions for them inside the community — mainly in his own interest — was, with the consent of the community, assassinated by one of the members, now in excellent standing in that community as a respected shaman. The chief in question had stepped beyond the bounds designated for his status. In sum, the position of chief, even though formally recognized by Yaruro society and reinforced by formal recognition and appointment by Venezuelan authorities, is feeble as an institution and as a status.[6] It is our hypothesis that ecological conditions of Yaruro life determine the form of the chieftainship in such a way that its stronger institutionalization would be impossible, and we turn to this question now.

III

Yaruro subsistence activities[7] comprise swiddening, gathering, pig herding, hunting and fishing, mentioned in the order of their importance as contributors to the total food supply as measured in calories.[8] Horticulture probably provides 60—70% of the total annual food supply. The horticulture practiced is characteristic of tropical forest slash-and-burn gardens, with a slow rotation of plots in order to permit soil renewal and weed control. Trees are cut, at present with steel axes and formerly, apparently, with axes of bone or shell, and then burnt. Occasional fences are roughly made of the logs to keep out pigs. Bitter manioc (*Manihot stilissima*),[9] in several varieties, is the main crop, though sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*), also in several varieties, is planted too, as are corn, bananas, sugar cane — each in several varieties — and a number of lesser crops such as melons, squashes, pumpkins, pineapples, sweet potatoes, and yautia or ocumo (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*). Crops are planted with a digging stick which may also be used in harvesting. Gardens are weeded, once only, early in the growth of the crops. Other than clearing, the only soil preparation is the construction of hills for planting bananas. This is done by burning hills made by a certain species of ants (*buachaquero*). The hills, which are quite wide and low, are filled with organic matter enriching the soil.[10] Harvesting is aided with baskets for carrying the crops. Baskets contain about half a bushel or less. No fertilization, no terracing, no drainage, no irrigation, no extensive turning of the soil is done.

The gathered resources include a number of roots, particularly changuango, changuanito, and guapo (*Marante arundinacea*);[11] varied fruits, especially that of

[6] Professor Benjamin N. Nelson informs me that in medieval Spain, village communities had an official, also called *capitan*, whose function was to treat with state functionaries representing the world beyond the village community's frontier. It is possible that the Yaruro capitan, and many others in Venezuela, are an acculturative transfer of this office to tribal groups. In the case of the Yaruro, this would have happened some 250—300 years ago.

[7] The use, here, of the terms 'activity', 'tasks', 'techniques', 'tools', 'resources', and 'habitat' corresponds to the definitions given in Leeds, 1960 b.

[8] Cf. Leeds, 1961, which gives this data in detail and describes the habitat and horticulture *in extenso*.

[9] Native terms for these crops are given *ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, note 9, contains data on soil values.

[11] Identifications are from Pittier, 1926.

222 the moriche palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*); several seeds, notably chiga (= chigo?; — *Campsiandra comosa*); calabashes (*Crescentia Cujete*), and bees' wax and honey. Non of the items gathered are large in size or difficult of access except the bees' wax, one or two of the fruits, and calabashes which grow on higher trees, or may be very far. Gathered foods may be picked up by hand or with the aid of a digging [412] stick or machete, and may be brought back in the harvesting baskets. Other items [415] which may be gathered include the raw materials for baskets and mat-making or for food-processing tools such as the tipiti, pots, or mortars and pestels. These 824 items include the fronds of the moriche palm, used for making cord, baskets, tipi- [285] tís, mats, and sacks; in some villages, clay for pots; reeds for arrows, wood for [323] house beams, mortars and pestles, bows, and for cooking utensils. Wood, palm fronds, and many other items are gathered with the help of the all-purpose machete.

231 Pig herding is unsystematically done. The pigs, a recent acquisition, spend most of their time at will in the foraging grounds. The significant herding activity occurs only at times when one or another of the groups of pigs breaks into the gardens, an almost daily occurrence. They are then driven to the foraging grounds again, or if late in the day, into a close till morning when they are either driven forth again or allowed to scavenge in the village. There are several herds of pigs of sizes varying from perhaps a maximum of 20 including piglets to the more usual six or eight animals. The only tools used in pig care include a slaughtering [442] stick with which the pig is clubbed to death and knives to cut up the meat. The [262] close is built of logs cut with a machete and carried in by one or two men. Pig meat, though eaten with regularity, is definitely a secondary element of diet.

411 Hunting is done almost exclusively with the bow and arrow. There are several types of arrows. One for fish has a metal point approximately 4 inches long with a side hook about five inches from the tip, where the tip is set into the shaft. This may also be used for smaller animals. One for birds has a blunt wooden head, and does not appear to be used very often. A third type is used for larger animals such as deer and capybara. It has a blade about 6 inches long shaped like a laurel leaf and, at present, made of steel. At the base of the blade, a small cross-piece is affixed in order to prevent the precious blade from piercing so deeply into the animal that, if it escapes, it would carry the arrow away with it. The fourth type of arrow is used for turtles, tortoises, and alligators or other animals which submerge. The head is short and strong with a sharp recurved hook. The entire metal head is attached to a cord, and this in turn is attached to the arrow shaft, from which the head is detachable. On detaching, the shaft floats and the game can be followed in its underwater course. The bow is generally about 6 feet long or a little more. It is made rather crudely of the wood of the macanilla palm (*Bactris Gasipaes*). Some animals, especially land tortoises and armadillos, may be caught [136] by hand. Alligators may also be hunted with exceedingly heavy steel hooks and [324] a strong line. In hunting, no traps, nets, surrounds, or drives are used.

226 Fishing is done chiefly with bows and arrows, though an arrow may sometimes be used as a spear, repeatedly jabbed into grassy waters near the river banks. Fishing may also be done with hooks and lines of different sizes. Bait is also used. A man may fish from a platform built by lashing logs horizontally to two trees

and then shooting into the still side pools of a stream into which he has driven a post with bait attached. He may also stand in a canoe to shoot. It is reported, though I have not myself seen it, that barbasco (*Jacquinia revoluta* or *macrosulata*) poison is used by some Yaruro.[12] No nets, weirs, traps, sweeps, or artificial fish pools are used.

Given the techniques and tools of the Yaruro, all the subsistence activities described can conveniently be done by one person. Some *must* be done by one person only, since the tools and techniques themselves do not permit two or more persons to operate jointly. As it were, the logic of the tools and techniques concerned demands utilization by single persons.[13] Some of the tools and techniques might conveniently involve two or more persons, e. g. lashing tree trunks together to make a fence or cornering a capybara, but do not definitively *require* more than one person. Activities of all sorts may be done by aggregates of persons, each utilizing his own tools and techniques individually but neither the activity, the tools nor the techniques entail the aggregation of individuals. Thus, from the point of view of human organization, the technology, by itself, entails no managerial functions, no coordination of tasks which must be overseen by someone occupying an appropriately defined status.[14] That is, there are no technologically determined positions of leadership in Yaruro society. Further, the technology as such entails no significant cooperation in work organization, even when this is convenient, and correspondingly, no standard work groups or management functions, as represented in some defined status, for facilitating cooperation are to be expected or to be found. In fact, Yaruro techoology and resource distribution are such as to elicit considerable dispersion of activities and actors at any given time of work, and to inhibit the development of rank and the personal acquisition of superordinating prestige.

IV

We may now examine the habitat aspect of the ecological relationship. A clearly marked annual cycle occurs in the Yaruro habitat.[15] However, despite a sharp seasonal change from heavy rains up to 60 inches in one half of the year to almost

[12] Personal communication from Mr. Thomas Rootes who has studied Yaruro linguistics for a number of months, having visited several groups.

[13] Different kinds of tools require different kinds of organization. A simple hand saw can be used by only one person at a time. A logging saw, though it can awkwardly be used by one person, is surely best used by two persons. Certain other saws, e. g. jig saws, make up one of a series of machine processes on a single part of a product, the entire series being the unit of operation which requires a still more complex level of organization. Cf. Leeds, 1960 b.

[14] For the structure of argument which is involved here, see Leeds, 1960 b.

[15] 'Habitat' here refers to all physical objects and conditions of the environment which are relevant to the existence or production of resources as defined by the culture. For the most part, then, 'habitat' refers to those environmental conditions such as humidity, temperature, insolation, rainfall, etc., which affect the food supply, as well as the food and water available for animals and plants and other culturally relevant physical objects. By extension, it refers to daily, seasonal, annual, and long-term variations and cycles in the various relevant factors of the environment, whether climatic, geologic, or biotic, which affect any of these supplies.

desert-like conditions in the other, temperature, sun, soil, and water-table conditions are such that plants will grow all year round, supplying a steady flow of vegetable foods to the people. The change of the water level in the rivers and in the water-table and the sharp increases and decreases of rain strongly affect the patterns of animal and plant life in the Yaruro environment. Annual cyclical variations in wind, humidity, and temperature are also quite marked. Plants and most especially animals, experience a kind of seasonal pulsation. As the rivers fill during the rainy season, the larger animals, such as the cayman, alligator, manatí, and dugong, move upstream to somewhat shallower waters, where their food supply is easier of access. Fish also move upstream and even up small brooks, where this is possible. If the savannas flood, many fish swim out into the savannas where numerous insects and other foods are now to be found. The insects themselves multiply and are distributed farther and farther back from the rivers as the rains progress and the savanna floods widen. Meanwhile, foraging animals move farther from the rivers and ponds, and range over greater distances as the rains and the elevated water-tables foster greater plant food resources. Insects in part follow the animals, in part the vegetation as it wakens to winter life in the interfluves. As the dry season begins to return, the reverse process takes place, and all life concentrates nearer and nearer the permanent waters such as the big rivers and some lakes, or at points where the land surface is near enough the permanent water-table to maintain some vegetation, notably the gallery forests and the woodlots, called *montes* in Spanish. Thus one may ideally describe a summer and a winter organization of the habitat. The incidence of resources varies accordingly, and consequently so do the technological activities and tasks to be done. In the dry season, there is a marked increase of gathering, particularly of roots and seeds which appear to store starches for dry season use in the wet season, whereas fruits appear mainly in the rainy season. Hunting increases in the dry season when animals are more highly concentrated in and near the rivers and tributary brooks and streams. Fishing also increases in the dry season as the waters become shallower, less grass-choked, and no longer laden with muds from upstream erosion which makes it impossible to see the fish. Garden production appears to decrease in summer as the dry season precludes growing some crops, such as pineapples, altogether, and reduces the possibility of growing sugar cane and corn.

Despite this marked seasonality, the habitat conditions of both seasons resemble each other in certain formal respects vital to our argument.[10] First, at any given moment of either season, from the point of view of work organization, the resources are what we may call dispersive. Thus, in mid-rainy season, swiddens are to be found dispersed along the streams and brooks flowing into the rivers and these adits are distributed irregularly over the land within a distance of 4—5 miles of the river. Even low slip-off slopes of the river may be used for growing sugar cane in the wet season, though they are too dry in the dry season. Game, such as tortoise, armadillo, deer, birds, and occasional other animals, are to be found throughout the savannas and about the river banks. Fish are found in most streams and in the rivers including those which have no useful banks for horticulture.

[10] Cf. Leeds, 1961, for further details and maps of the seasonal resource locations.

Gathered resources are found near the streams in marshy places where the moriche palm grows, and to a lesser extent in the savannas.[27] The dry season resources are also distributively located though the pattern is somewhat different. Quotas of production from these resources at any one time are rarely great. The larder, as it were, must be filled from a number of sources at once, even though one crop, particularly bitter manioc, and occasionally sweet manioc and corn, may rise briefly to as much as 50 or 60% of the food supply. Thus the available quotas of resources and their distribution at given moments in time are such as to demand a distributive form of labor organization: workers, as individuals or in very small groups, must go off in different directions at the same time. The obverse of this, of course, is that no sizable or permanent working groups are to be expected and none in fact occur. Further, because a dispersion of the labor force and a constant flux in the constitution of work groups is entailed by the relationships between the technology and the habitat, organized and permanent managerial functions can scarcely occur, and no fixed status with significant managerial powers would be expected. The observed data of leadership among the Yaruro and many other tribes in South America and other parts of the world, such as Melanesia, having fundamentally similar ecologies, corresponds precisely with what one is led to expect logically from the form of the ecology.

The absolute size of work groups achievable in the Yaruro habitat is limited not only by the dispersed locations and temporal harvest patterns of resources, but also by the absolute productivity of the ecology. If one calculates the distribution per land area of those calories potentially convertible to human energy, the rate of calories per unit of land surface is so low that even at maximum utilization only a very low population density of about 2 persons per square mile would be possible. If concentrated in the center of an effective walking distance for exploiting resources of, say, six miles radius from a village, with a resultant total area of about 110 square miles, there would be about 220 souls. Of these, perhaps 70% (all persons over age 10), at maximum, might constitute the labor force, i. e. 154 adults and older children. The actual conditions are, of course, much more limiting, since the efficiency of the technology is such that it cannot exploit the totality of calories potentially available for conversion to human energy at any one time.[28] The actually harvested calories are considerably less, though I have no estimates as to how much less. Let us estimate half, or enough to support one person per square mile, that is, 110 persons. With a somewhat smaller per cent of the population available for the labor force, say 60% of the 110, the force would have only about 67 persons at most. This appears to be a reasonable number for the Cinaruco Yaruro groups, although due to depopulation from disease and mas-

[27] *Ibid.*, Map I.
[28] *Ibid.*, Map II.
[29] For example, all the fish available in the streams at a given time cannot be caught. More could be caught with an improved technology, such as the use of fish traps, weirs, or fish poisons, which, as we have said, are absent from the technology of the Cinaruco Yaruro. Density of fish, or any other biotic population, can be estimated (cf. Dice, 1952, Ch. IV), and then compared with rates of harvesting. Furthermore, it should be noted that often the totality of an actually harvested resource may not be available. For example, in

acre, the labor force actually observed in "my" group was a little more than 25% of that number, or 18, and neighboring groups were generally still smaller. These 154, 67, and especially the actual 18 workers, even if, at any given moment, *all* were working at subsistence activities, would be distributed over various parts of the 110 square miles of territory under the kind of dispersive habitat and technological conditions described. They are in fact so thinly scattered as to preclude any sort of continuing managerial functions.

V

A consideration of the forms of the harvest surplus[89] is relevant to our discussion. Harvest surpluses must be considered with respect both to individual subsistence resources and to all subsistence resources taken together. In the annual cycle, there is considerable variation in the amount produced of any given crop, except for sweet and bitter manioc which together constitute perhaps 40% of the annual food supply of the Yaruro. Manioc produces throughout the year. Given that the manioc-growing areas are widely dispersed and that considerable labor is drawn from manioc areas by still more dispersed resources, it follows that most work units for manioc gardens will consist of only one or two men, each having their own swidden or sharing it with one or two others to supply themselves and their immediate families throughout the year. As might be expected, land tenure and land usage patterns are in accord with this inference. Occasionally small oscillations in the manioc crops may produce small harvest surpluses. These, at least nominally, belong to the man in whose swidden they grow and are his for disposal. The quantities, however, are exceedingly small, and present no problems of storage or disposal necessitating more centralized supervision and allocation. Most other resources display a similar pattern though to an even smaller degree. Fish are obtainable, for the Cinaruco Yaruro, all year round with almost equal ease, though the Palmariteños have a more difficult time because of the grassy and muddy waters in the rainy season. Hunting windfalls and large pigs are the only animal sources which present harvest surpluses of any size. However, these are small enough so that they last at most two or three days, and they are so irregular both as to occurrence and as to personnel involved that no regular centralized institutional mode of handling them is entailed. The virtual absence of meat storage

[89] The Trobriand Islands, in a good year, all the yams harvested cannot be eaten at once, nor can they be stored. Some portion of the crop is then lost by spoilage. We may construct, in terms of calories or other significant food values, two ratios:

$$\frac{C_h}{C_p} \qquad \frac{C_c}{C_h}$$

C — Calories
c — consumed
p — potential
h — harvested (= available for use)

The first may be used as a measure of the efficiency of the productive capacity of the technology; the second as a measure of the efficiency of the distributive capacity of the technology.

[89] The technological, producers, and harvest surpluses are defined in Harris, 1958, and implied in Harris, 1959. They are dealt with in detail with respect to the Yaruro in Leeds, 1961. Other relevant discussions of surplus are found Sahlins, 1958; Jacobs and Stern, 1952, Ch VI.

also inhibits any such development because it forces the immediate distribution of most of the meat of the slaughtered pig or captured game. There is no constantly or repeatedly stored supply to be supervised or allocated. In fact swine and windfall game, properly considered, correspond to the small oscillations of the manioc supply and are totally different from the regularly occurring massive incidence of food sources like buffalo herds, salmon runs, and wheat harvests of temperate climates or crab runs in the tropical Orinoco delta of Venezuela.[21]. Of all the food resources, the only one with a marked harvest surplus is corn. The significance of even this harvest surplus is reduced by a) the smallness of the quanta involved relative to the total food supply, and b) the fact that there are two corn seasons, one beginning in June, one about the beginning of February. Temporary harvest surpluses of corn may, however, contribute slightly to the enhanced prestige of those individuals who by their own will and work have been most productive.[22] They say with appreciation, "He is a hard worker", but the prestige is relevant only to the sphere in which it is gained. It does not necessarily give him prestige in some other spheres of cultural life, such as, for example, the ceremonial or decision-making activities.

In taking an overall view of the food resources, it will be noted that there are no clear harvest surpluses, and that the oscillations in supply, which are in truth minute and momentary harvest surpluses, are so small and irregular and varied in location as to be insignificant determiners of managerial functions. At most one might expect the harvest surplus of corn to elicit some small allocative function, generally none. Storage, too, in this case, is not a technique requiring administration as with wheat in grain elevators. It would in fact be better to consider this kind of storage as a steady presence of food rather than as storage at all, even though it functions as such.

The extra labor requirements of these small upward oscillations of the harvest surplus are likewise, in general, indistinguishable from regular labor requirements and are easily absorbed by individual workers. Or a worker may take along a child, who goes as much for the fun of being with his father or grandfather, but nevertheless carries back some produce. This type of situation is in sharp contrast with, say, the labor requirements of a large harvest surplus like the wheat crop in the United States which demands a large amount of labor quickly and temporarily. Such a harvest surplus entails a number of organizational problems foreign to the harvest oscillations.

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[21] Personal communication from Johannes Wilbert who has done extensive fieldwork with the Warrau in the Amacuro Delta of the Orinoco River.

[22] Yaruro individuals differ in productivity not only because of inborn qualities such as strength and native abilities, but also by choice based on tastes. Some do not like to grow corn, others do not like to grow pigs, others still prefer to hunt or trade. The food quanta produced by these several activities vary greatly. The individual may exercise these choices in a cultural setting where any such choice benefits the community. All produce eventually finds its way into the community at large through the distribution mechanism. The person is not acting as an individualist regardless of the interest of others, but at his own optimum, given his unique person, in the community as a whole. Cf Fn 3 *supra*.

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221 262 Finally, the Yaruro deny any considerable long-term oscillations in the environment and consequently in the resources. The extremes, particularly the minima, of habitat factors which regulate food and population balances, according to Liebig's Law, fall within narrow limits and again elicit no special institutions of management or of equilibrium maintenance to compensate for them, as in the case of the potlatches of the Northwest Coast of America, the buffalo hunts in the Great Plains of the United States, or the use of pigs in Melanesia. [22]

VI

868 One more point may be made regarding the ecology as limiter of chieftainship among the Yaruro. The tools, techniques, and resources require no very extensive, highly specialized or esoteric knowledge. In fact any man or woman, and any child as well, has access to such knowledge, and it is easily acquired by all members of the society who thus have, at least potentially, equal access to control over the means of life. There is no specialized knowledge, at least with respect to technology and habitat, which requires a specialized repository in the form of a chief or learned person. Yaruro knowledge, itself dependent upon the inventory of tools, techniques, and resources, inhibits any tendency towards the development of any [463] sort of specialists in technical or managerial knowledge. As one might expect, there are no true specialists in Yaruro society. Here and there women make pots and certain women seem to have a special bent for making woven sacks but these [756] are not properly specialities. Nor, from a technological or ecological point of view, is male or female shamanism in any way a speciality. They do not appear to be specialists even in esoteric knowledge. Knowledge of the general type described here might be called 'dispersive' or 'egalitarian' since it tends to become more or less uniformly distributed among the members of the society. A consequence of the existence of this type of knowledge, associated with the kind of technology described, is that there will be no specialised training of any specialists and, of course, no specialised personnel to do such training. This is the situation which obtains among the Yaruro both with respect to technical and managerial activities. Thus, in Yaruro knowledge, there is no source for the support of an institutionalized and strong chieftainship.

VII

221 241 361 622 In one respect, the ecology encourages chiefly functions. A balance is struck between the cultural resources, the possibilities that the habitat affords for their production, and the length of time that areas of land can be exploited. This is particularly true of the horticultural lands since they can no longer be used after three years of cropping, and it becomes necessary to move on. The result is that there is a slow migration of resource areas, chiefly of horticultural areas across the tribal territory. The lands in cultivation move further and further from any given village until a point of suspension is reached at which the walking and working

[22] Cf. Suttles, 1960 a, 1960 b; Llewelly and Hoebel, 1941; Vayda, 1961; Vayda, Leeds, and Smith, 1961.

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distance of the gardens is too far from the village for effective or efficient exploitation. At this point a village or part of a village must move. Moving the villages involves decision-making with respect to time, new location, and so on. Plainly, moving a village involves a community decision. A community institution for handling the decision-making is necessary. Technologically speaking, the moving itself is not a community task and does not involve supervision and direction. Therefore, one would not expect the institution of decision-making to be a directive one, but a consultative one. Again this corresponds to the observed modes of action of the Yaruro chiefs. The chiefs' function is to facilitate the formation of the decisions of the community by funnelling and interpreting individuals' feelings and expressions to the rest of the members of the community.

In sum, I have presented a model of a form of ecology which, hypothetically, determines the limits within which any sort of chiefly functions may operate. This model, again hypothetically, is applicable to all cultures having the kind of technological and habitat characteristics and forms of surplus here described. I think the model applies particularly to cultures which grow root-crops such as manioc, which utilize no labor-concentrative techniques, such as irrigation, and for whose food resources notable seasonality is absent. Such cultures have been noted widely in tropical South America and also in Melanesia. In both areas, chiefly functions are notably limited as contrasted, say, with Circum-Caribbean corn-raising cultures with some irrigation and other intensive techniques [24] and with Polynesian high cultures with elaborate irrigation and other public works. [25] It should be noted, first, that the Yaruro were not far from these Circum-Caribbean chiefdoms and even show a number of trait similarities, and, second, that the Yaruro have been under Spanish acculturation, which has involved encouragement of chiefly functions, for probably 250 years. Yet, despite the pressures of both diffusion and acculturation to produce a more developed chieftaincy, the attenuated form described persists. The explanation of this persistence seems to me to be ecological. I suggest that the model of explanation presented here is based on a set of analytic dimensions — the characteristics of the technology, those of the habitat, those of the harvest surplus, and the interrelationships of these — which may be used for all cultures, but whose formal, systemic relations vary from culture to culture, or class of cultures to class of cultures, thus giving different models for different cultures or classes of cultures. By using such dimensions, one can account for cultural differences by means of a standard set of principles, thus facilitating genuine comparisons and generalizations.

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[24] Cf. Sturtevant, 1961; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961.
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THE IDEOLOGY OF THE YARURO INDIANS IN RELATION TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Anthony LEEDS

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It is the purpose of this paper to show the correspondence between the principles of socio-economic organization of the Yaruro Indians and their ideology and to isolate some dimensions of ideology which may be used for comparative purposes. It is hoped that by further isolation of such categories it will eventually become possible to compare the structure and content of widely different ideologies, as we today are able to compare kinship systems, so that we may be able to recognize synchronic regularities of a functional order and diachronic regularities of an evolutionary sort. Yaruro religious and philosophical beliefs are reduced to a series of postulates or axioms about the nature of the universe and man in an analysis somewhat like Kluckhohn's study of Navaho philosophy and Opler's of Apache themes. (1). No Yaruro would be able to express the axioms nor see them in the logical series as presented here, yet each would recognize them, when couched in the phrasings of his own language, as referring to his particular *Weltanschauung*. The postulates are derived from direct statements by informants about the cosmos or about human living, from other verbal materials such as discussions of disease and social organization, and, more occasionally, from observed behavior. The generalized titles introducing each of the summarized postulates appearing at the end of the paper comprise the dimensions, here inductively arrived at, which may serve for cross-cultural analysis.

101
[131]

The Yaruro Indians have been living in the savannas or llanos of Southern Venezuela for an unknown number of centuaries. They have developed a socio-economic life well-articulated to the geographical conditions of life.

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The gross geographical characteristics of the alternately desert-like and flood-covered llanos cause all the best economic resources to be concentrated

(1) Kluckhohn (1949); Opler (1945).

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along the west-to-east flowing rivers in ribbons some kilometers wide. Most significant fauna and flora of economic use occur in these ribbons. This ecological distribution of resources governs subsistence activities whether they be mainly hunting, fishing, collecting, or horticulture.

Yaruro subsistence comprises all these activities. (2). Horticulture in the rainy season appears considerably to outweigh all other sources of food together, but in the dry season, hunting, fishing, and collecting perhaps equal or outstrip horticulture. In any case, slash and burn gardening of manioc, corn, plantains, and a number of lesser crops is by far the single most important economic activity. The technology is exceedingly simple in all aspects of production, the main tools being the machete and digging stick. The most elaborate technology occurs in the conversion of food into edibles and in the manufacture of hammocks, pottery, objects of wood such as canoes, and woven containers of all types.

The economic organization displays a sharp division of labor between men's and women's work. Men do all hunting and fishing, make all objects of wood, haul lumber and householding materials, make hammocks, and carry out the heavy labor of gardening. Women do most of the collecting of roots, seeds, and fruits. Since collecting contributes a substantial portion of the food supply in summer, woman's contribution, here, is of considerable communal importance. Women's work, a continuous activity from dawn to dusk, is, first, the conversion of raw foodstuffs into edibles. Second, women make all pottery, mats and baskets, the manioc squeezers, and much of the cord used to make hammocks. Another important contribution of women is their help in harvesting in the gardens. Men sometimes help the women with the cookery.

Men may work alone, in groups of 2 or 3, or in larger groups on rare occasions. No occasion exists for all men to work at a single task since there is no technological need for it. Women's work groups for collecting or householding are of similar size. Work group alignments are often based on choice or accident but in other instances coresidence and kinship are determinants. The household, however, constitutes the only really necessary cooperative group for production. The man is a funnel for produce which the woman converts to

(2) The present description applies to the Cinaruco River Yaruro where the major part of the writer's field work, supported by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, was done. The Capanaparo River Yaruro were reported by Petrullo (1939) and Le Besnerais (1948) as being hunters and gatherers, although Le Besnerais observed small horticultural patches which he claimed were diffusions from Venezuelan farmers which had occurred recently. Le Besnerais in 1954 states directly that they were horticulturalists, omitting any mention of possible diffusions from Venezuelans. The passing mention of horticulture by Fiasson (1947) confirms the present writer in his opinion that, although horticulture may be more restricted on the Capanaparo than on the Cinaruco and Cunaviche-Arauca (where the writer also spent several weeks) which are not discussed at all by Petrullo or Le Besnerais, nevertheless, the absence of horticulture is probably not aboriginal with the Yaruro as has been suggested by Kirchhoff (1948, p. 456). Rather the restricted gardening is a result of ecological conditions on the Capanaparo which are less favorable to horticulture than on the neighboring rivers, combined with extremely violent acculturation, including large-scale massacres of natives. The only other possibility, in my opinion, is that horticulture was introduced by the missionaries in the early part of the Eighteenth Century, which is certainly the period when the Yaruro first became acquainted with iron tools (cf Lodares, 1922).

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make it usable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses. [461]

Objects used by men are men's property and are inherited by the men; objects used by women are women's property and are inherited in the women's line. Immovable property such as gardens and houses are said to be inherited by the decedent's children of both sexes. Male animals, such as boars and dogs, are owned by men, the females by women. Thus the division of property is as sharp as the division of labor, a fact reflected throughout the ideology. 428 [422] [231]

No two producers produce the same quantity or inventory of goods, especially as each has great freedom to concentrate in the productive activities he prefers to the exclusion of others. Yet each producer contributes to household and community in what is felt to be equivalent value since most foods are considered good and of equal worth. Each household producing unit distributes supplies of raw or cooked foods to other households along the lines of coresidence and kinship. In this way, all villagers, as consumers, receive the same total amount of food and no one goes without. Thus all persons and households in the community are equivalent as producers, distributers, and consumers. All are tied together in a loosely formalized network of coordinate reciprocal exchanges and obligations in which scales of value are not necessary, since each person contributes approximately equally of all values. In this situation, accumulation of wealth by individuals is out of the question and management of production or of wealth distribution is unnecessary. Consequently, there are no economic status differentiations and no effective leadership among the Yaruro. 433 592 621 [435] [556] [554] [622]

Similarly, no purely social differentiations based on status ranking occur in Yaruro society, except by casual deference to those of age and experience like shamans and village spokesmen, called 'capitans'. The status of women is coordinate with that of men. The complementary and coordinate units, a man and a woman, combine into a series of coordinate but semi-autonomous units, the households. A group of these constitute the Yaruro social unit, the neither endogamous nor exogamous (Murdock's "agamous") village. All these units are tied together by links of bilaterally traced kinship, with coordinate relations on both sides, the ultimate tie being the reciprocal marriage of cross-cousins. Marriage is ideally matrilocal, and occurs most frequently within the village. As a consequence, the most immediate kinship ties in the village are matrilateral, whereas kinship among the men is more diffuse. The villages themselves are tied together by kinship ties, real or imputed, as well as by marriage and visiting, but by no other ties of an all-tribal nature. People who are known to any particular village —to 'us'— are considered part of our village's family, since their kinship ties to our members can be discovered or invented freely. Persons recognized as being of our linguistic and cultural stock will be included under the general term *pumé*, but may not be considered 'of our family' unless the kinship ties are recognized. Thus there is a Yaruro people, but no Yaruro tribal unit. Even the persons included in 'our family' do not constitute a unit, since there are no cross village unifying institutions other than real or imputed bilateral kinship ties. Even these vary from 554 621 [562] [592] 621 [612] [602] [619] [612]

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village to village, since each village constitutes a separate and independent center of relationships with neighboring villages and consequently has its own unique assortment of outside relationships, based partly on choice. This situation, like so many other aspects of the socio-economic organization is reflected in the cosmology.

[776] According to the Yaruro, the cosmos originally lacked not only humans, but even gods. There existed only three, concentric, rigid, blue, celestial domes; below them, a flat, undifferentiated, vast savana all of sand; and a cold, dark, flat underworld. Beyond these there was, and is, nothing. Thunder, already then, was to be found between the upper celestial domes, while Sun, his wife, Moon, and their children, the stars, were already revolving between the lower two.

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Into this cosmos were spontaneously born the primordial gods. The goddess Ku'ma^{n}, the grandmother of us all, who lives in a land to the west, out of the savana created the discrete lands of her fellow gods and of the Yaruro. She created the non-Yaruro peoples, the *nivé*, first, and the Yaruro, the *pumé*, last, which is why there are so few - there were few left to create. She ordered Kiberó, the female toad who lives in the dark underworld to give fire, which she belched from her belly. Ku'ma^{n} created the foods wich are collected and the modes of preparing them. She instructed the men and the women in their crafts. She ordained the social order. Her husband, Poa'na^{n}, the snake god, who lives in a land to the south, created the characteristic savana features: the rivers, the woods, the grasses for the animals to eat.

[772] He taught men the technology of horticulture and gave them the seeds of the garden crops. He, with his fellow god, Icial, who lives in a land to the north and was born a boy given to troublemaking though he later matured, then taught the arts of hunting and fishing. Poa'na^{n} son, Hachawa, who lives in a land to the east, created only the ceremonial cigarettes. The four godly other-worlds lie beyond the Great Water which surrounds, but is not quite contiguous to, the Yaruro hither world. This geographical break in the cosmos is negligible, however, since the hither-world and the other-worlds become continuous in the thought and action of the Yaruro. The Great Water continues in an endless expanse beyond the four other-worlds, according to one interpretation, while in another, it is said to be enclosed by limitless, unpeopled and empty savanas. The four Yaruro other-worlds are also inhabited by a younger generation of gods all possessing Spanish names. Some interpreters identify these with the primordial gods. Others do not. According to some informants, they live in the same lands as the older gods. Others say they live in different lands. Such variations of religious interpretation occur frequently despite general agreement in all essentials. Individual freedom of choice and interpretation, already noted in connection with economic choice and social interrelationships, is also found in relation to ideology.

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The godly other-worlds are generally described as idealized versions of the Yaruro hab'tat. This is true also of a fifth otherworld, one which is discontinuous geographically, conceptually, and behaviorally with the rest of the Yaruro worlds, though similar in form. This is the land of Dios, the God of

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Christian Venezuelans, which lies between the two lower celestial domes and existed prior to Ku'maⁿ.

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It is to be noted that Ku'maⁿ was not responsible for creating her fellow primordial gods. She is not an omnipotent creator but is fundamentally limited to creating other-world and hither-world things familiar to the Yaruro. She exists in an independent but loosely coordinate status with other celestial beings or phenomena like Thunder, Sun, Moon, the stars, the rainbow, and possibly Dios — the prototype for personal status among the Yaruro. Furthermore, despite wide variation in creation myths, the fact stands out, too, that she must almost equal honors with Poa'naⁿ in the creation of all that is vital to the Yaruro in the hither-world in a creational division of labor closely paralleling the division of labor found in the actual economy. Further, Ku'maⁿ and Poa'naⁿ, by the link of marriage, provide a prototype for the essential productive and distributional unit, the household. Hachawa, their son according to some informants, and Icial, Poa'naⁿ s'ster's son, both boys at the time of the creation, contribute little and are as much nuisance as help until they have matured, an apt reflection of the position of children in Yaruro economy. Today Poa'naⁿ and Ku'maⁿ seem preeminent in status among the gods, but at the same time are definitely merely *primi inter pares*, occupying the position of more experienced elders within the community of the gods, each of whom acts autonomously according to his own dictates.

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The community of the gods is again prototypic for Yaruro hither-world life. Each god and his land constitutes a sort of village community populated by the god or gods, by dead *pumé*, by dead animals, and by the regular other-worldly animal population especially jaguars in human form and dress. The human-like inhabitants of the other-world eat, drink, dance, have sex relations, and visit from god's land to god's land. They enter into the web of kinship which ties the gods to each other, to the dead Yaruro, and to the live *pumé* of the hither-world in complex, if varying, genealogical connections. Even the great jaguar god, T:ó whose bailiwick is the first celestial dome and whose main task, under the general direction of Ku'maⁿ, is to cure, is considered distantly related and of the family of Poa'naⁿ. A number of animal species are similarly distantly related, but like those Yaruro who cannot be fitted into the kinship system, are merely connected to us nominally. The gods, the dead, and the live *pumé* equally observe kinship obligations. Thus kinship and visits among the autonomous lands of the gods are the chief ties holding the four other-worlds together, a prototype for Yaruro village and social structure. (3)

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Howewer, in relationship to the living, Ku'maⁿ is 'our chief'. More than any other god, she is turned to for advice, for ethical reaffirmations, and for fulfillment of needs. It is first to Ku'maⁿ bright and golden land that the *pumé* go at death, during unconsciousness, in dreams, and during the religious ceremonies, the *tonghés*. The other lands are visited later and are less important in the other-worldly journeys made by the living. The dead of Ku'maⁿ land are the first to be called upon by the shaman when, during the *tonghés*, he arrives in the other-worlds. He asks them, as well as Ku'maⁿ and the other gods, to

(3) Eliade (1954) emphasizes this prototypic quality of "primitive" ideologies throughout the book.

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776 775 return to earth and guide the community. In this manner, Ku'maⁿ is a center of gravity of the Yaruro ideological life. She is the center of a communications network which ties the Yaruro of the hither-world, those of the other-worlds, and the gods all in one continuous system of personal and social relations. This is somewhat the position of the spokesman or 'capitan' in the community [622] life of the Yaruro, though he has proportionally much less influence in his village than Ku'maⁿ has in her universe.

775 776 772 In sum, the gods and the dead are conceptualized as continuous with those of us on earth. Conceptually they appear to constitute the two highest steps in the age levels: infant, child, young adult, elder, the dead, and the gods. The last four classes are increasingly instrumental in teaching the ethics of living in tranquility, of respect and deference to one's spouse and to all members of one's people, and in teaching the values of the community. They exhort but never compel the community to follow these ideals. These precepts are followed not only among the egalitarian gods in their autonomous other-world communities, but in the personal and social relations between the gods and the hither-world *pumé*. The relations between men and gods, the communication between the hither-and other-worlds, the cosmography itself, all show quite clearly that [771] there is no separation of "natural" and "supernatural" as discrete classes of events. The cosmos, society, and man are a single system in Yaruro thought.

796 771 The nexus through which the flow of life in the other-world and the ongoing rhythm of daily life in the hither-world are meshed into a single system is the religious ceremony, the *tonghé*. Some description of the *tonghé* will afford us further insight into Yaruro ideology.

796 756 787 During the night-long *tonghés*, the entire community sits behind the shaman, ranged roughly by age levels. The women sit to his right, the men to his left. At dusk he begins to sing as he starts his journey to the land of Ku'maⁿ through the dark, cold land of Kiberó, the toad who gave man fire. In hundreds of improvised verses and melodies, he describes his journey, and then, after his arrival about midnight, his adventures in the lands of Ku'maⁿ and subsequently of the other gods. In each verse, the shaman sings an intonation which the entire community repeats in an identical antiphon. Thus the full experience of the shaman is transmitted to and shared by every member of the community. All is public; there is no secret knowledge. The shaman urges his people to sing with him and the other-worldly beings, to share in the responsibilities and joys of the community in supporting their individual members whether the [757] shaman in his journey or the sick person for whom the *tonghé* may be being held. At the same time, in Ku'maⁿ land, he urges the other-worldly beings to come to advise his people and teach them. Later, the verses are no longer sung by the shaman, but rather by the dead and the gods who arrive in the husk of [776] the shaman which he has left behind as a channel of communications for the other-worldly beings while his divisible self travels abroad. As these beings arrive in the shaman's husk, all members of the community may greet them by putting their arms around them or giving them cigarettes or drink. This is done separately by women, sometimes in groups, and by men. Throughout the ceremony the chief link between the sexually divided community is the shaman or the gods in the shaman's husk upon whom both sexes are focusing

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their attention. The shaman's position as link is emphasized by the fact that his wife invariably sits next to him during the *tonghés* to minister to him and to supply him cigarettes and drink. Thus, the socio-economic link of the household is also the unique link between the sexes in ceremonial life.

The various forms of socio-economic and ceremonial division of the sexes is even more remarkably underscored by the existence of female shamanism. As one might expect, shamanesses behave differently from shamans. Shamanesses sing only in the day-time. They, like Ku'maⁿ, sing from hammocks whereas men sing sitting on the ground or dancing. Furthermore, messages trasmitted to them from Ku'maⁿ are sent only to them, though the men hear and understand them. The men listen to these messages with care and respect and with the air that there are things to be learned from them which they would otherwise not hear. The shamanesses cannot receive male gods or their messages. Female shamanism seems to be an affirmation of the kin-bonds of the matri-centered local group as well as a means of asserting the values and rights pertaining to the women's world. The women's experience ideologically, as well as socially and biologically, is recognized as being systematically distinct from men's experience in life.

Behavior in the *tonghés* is very relaxed. Villagers laugh, joke, sleep, play, get up, walk about. Sometimes persons may even fail to attend if they have chosen to go to work the next day. The only thing explicitly forbidden, because Ku'maⁿ would consider it most indelicate, is sexual intercourse. Otherwise, the lack of formalism and freedom of individual behavior so often noted before is again found here.

The importance of the *tonghés* as the foremost way of reinforcing social relations and communal values as well as for curing is seen in several ways. First, when there has been no *tonghé* for several days, one begins to feel and hear a bruiting for *another* tonghé. It is felt that much time has elapsed since the last *tonghé*. Someone asks what's wrong that we haven't had a *tonghé* in so long. Another says we need a *tonghé*. Rumors of *tonghé* begin to be heard. By the fifth or sixth day another *tonghé* is held and community bonds are again reasserted. Again, the sexual division of labor and social life observed in the other- and hither-worlds is systematically carried through into religious observances. We have mentioned the seating of men separate from women and the separate greetings given to the gods. This theme is carried still further in the exclusive women's shamanism and the equally exclusive capacity of men to do curing, either as shamans or as purely private individuals.

The *tonghé* illuminates much about Yaruro ideology. First, shamans both male and female are not considered authorities possessed of special gifts and prerogatives who interpret lore for the entire community. Rather they are considered merely the comunity religious spokesmen for the public expression of community values and for curing, who, by their own choice, enjoy and are willing to undertake the long, arduous work of training and practice. They reaffirm community bonds by repeating in endless verses the precepts and knowledge contained in the Yaruro ideology. All knowledge and all experience is, at least potentially, open to all members of the community and even the private or personal experience of each is made known to all. Any member of

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the community may do the shaman's work if he chooses, just as any can travel to the other-world or commune with the gods, although, because of age, temperament, or individual taste, not every one does so. There were, in fact, two shamans among the nine men of the writer's village, as well as a number of men who cured and who occasionally sang verse intonations in the *tonghés* although they were not shamans. The shamans are no more than respected community members outside the ceremony. Here again we observe the egalitarianism and individual self-determinism which is so much a pattern of this culture.

The *tonghé* also clearly shows the relationships which prevail between men and gods. The shamans and the other adults of the village converse with the gods in great mutual respect. They do not manipulate them nor minister to them, nor implore them. Before the gods, they are in a position corresponding to active and adept junior members of the village before their elders and especially their lineal ascendants. Furthermore, in a very real sense, no individual person, *qua* person, deals with the gods. The community, with its religious catalyst, the shaman, is the unit of action. The only individual relations with the gods occur in dreams, unconsciousness, and death. Dreams about gods are made public by singing aloud in sleep, the experience of unconsciousness is recounted publicly, and death, too, becomes public because the dead man is accessible through the *tonghés*.

The directness of contact between man and gods again emphasizes the unity of cosmos, society, and man. Within this unity, the sharp division of a male sphere from a female sphere is found. These quite coordinate spheres, in the other-worlds as in the hither-world, in religion as in socio-economic life, are linked through the household.

In conclusion, I would like briefly to review the major dimensions of Yaruro ideology. We may state these as a set of propositions, each presenting a major dimension of the ideology.

1. Cosmic structure. ***The cosmos is static, limited, concrete, and internally continuous in that no barriers separate man and his society in the physical world from the nonphysical world.*** The parts of the universe together form a rather rigid, symmetrical, architectonic structure, although each individual Yaruro may vary the description of the whole to suit his particular taste. All parts are of roughly coordinate importance. The major motions of nature, such as thunder and lightning, the revolutions of sun and moon, are often embodied, personalized, and independently operating entities, moved by semi-human motivations.

2. The good. ***Goodness inheres generally in the cosmos as a system. The goodness manifests itself in understood causes and concretely and describably known parts of the cosmos which, whether places, persons, or things, are given exact locations.*** Conversely all known and localizable objects, persons, or places and understood causes are generally good.

3. The not-good. ***Evil, which is not polar to good, finds its locus in specific persons, things, or events inside or outside the cosmos, and is manifest in specific results. The underlying causes of evil, however, are inac-***

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cessible to the senses or to understanding. For example, all cosmic or extra-cosmic personnel whose locations are variable, vague, or unknown, are capable of doing evil. Being neither known nor localizable, they are not part of the unified kin and cosmic structure in which gods, the dead, and men and their respective lands are tied together. They exist outside society, hence only loosely attached to, or even outside of, the cosmos. Thus disease and death are both caused by sorcerers (*brujos*, Sp; *yareké*, Y.). These are described as wandering about freely in the savanas where they attack persons. Not only can the Yaruro advert to them only in the most indefinite way with regard to form, but they also specifically deny that human beings are or can be sorcerers or that human beings practice witchcraft. Thus, to the Yaruro, the major evils of disease and of wicked hearts (*corazones malos*) of individual Yaruros are caused by unknowable spirits. Even the chief and father of the *yareké*, Abukári, is as indefinite in form as his sons, and the Yaruro either do not locate him at all, or are very much disagreed as to his locus. No proper Yaruro self has any personal contact with him. Though the *yareké* are kin-related among themselves, they are not "of our family" (*de la familia de nosotros*), hence outside of our society.

4. The good society. *In the good cosmos, the good society consists of kin-related gods, the dead, communities and individuals of largely coordinate and reciprocal statuses living in tranquility and sharing all things.* Gods, community, and individuals are all actors knowing the general principles of the cosmic society. Such principles include kinship, equivalent rights and privileges for all.

5. The determinants of action. *In the good society, action is guided by precept, suggestion, and by sensibility to the wants of others and of self, but compulsion and hostility are not permissible.*

6. Nature of precepts and principles of action. *In the good society, precepts and principles are general rather than specific and prescriptive.* The result is that patterns of behavior and thought in Yaruro society are quite unformalized, unritualized, and unspecified. All classes of behavior show a great range of variability and flexibility. The individual can choose to fulfil his obligations to the community, an the community to the cosmos, in various ways.

7. Freedom or restriction of will. *The individual not only has a broad range of choice of actions but is not compelled by the nature of the cosmos nor by the personel in it to follow any particular path. He has free will with regard to the ordained order of things* (4) .Each man is, in theory, as in fact, to a remarkable degree self-determining in actions and thought. Except in extreme divergences, he need not account to anyone.

Several dimensions which appear as dualistic distinctions in western thought are conceptually single in Yaruro ideology. The self, as the expe- [828]

(4) Petrullo (1939, p. 229) first noted this aspect.

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riences in shamanism, dreams, unconsciousness, and immediately after death show, is conceived as being undifferentiated and unitary, though divisible into like, but unequally active parts. No mind-body distinction is made. Again in a static and limited universe within which, however, all parts, visible and invisible, sensible or not directly sensible, are in a flux of interaction, all things have some degree of reality. The distinction "real-unreal" as it is understood in the West is lacking among the Yaruro. Further, in this same universe, those parts which we might designate "immaterial" are, to the Yaruro, quite as concrete and sensed as the so-called "material" objects and events. The western distinction between "material" and "immaterial" is not a meaningful one to the Yaruro. Finally, the unity and continuity of what westerners would call "natural" and "supernatural" has been discussed above. Such a distinction is not made by the Yaruro.

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Contribution to the Study of the Yaruro Indians (Venezuela)
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Human Relations Area Files

1966

[Title page]

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101 The Yaruro Indians, who among themselve call themselves by the term "pumę," live in the Venezuelan llanos, the tropical savannas that border the left bank of the Orinoco. They are fishermen, hunters, gatherers, and agriculturalists whose original culture has already greatly changed. All of their past
197 is not yet known. As to their dialect, it has not as yet been classified in any of the known South American linguistic fami-
114 lies. The observations that make up this article come from investigations made on the spot by the author between 1947 and 1950.

I. The Territory
(see Map 1)[1]

131 a) Boundaries.

At the present time the territory populated by the Yaruro Indians lies approximately between 6.30 and 7.30 degrees north latitude and 67 and 69.30 degrees west longitude.

The bulk of the population, which was the subject of our investigations, lives along the banks of the Capanaparo and one of its tributaries, the Riecito, that is, on some 400 kilometers of river.

The rest are dispersed north of the Capanaparo, on the Arauca, the Cunaviche, and the neighboring rivers, and, to the south, on the banks of the Orinoco between the mouths of the Capanaparo and the Cinaruco and near the rivers located between the Capanaparo, the Riecito, and the Cinaruco.

b) Neighbors.

101 The whole region located north of the Capanaparo, the banks of the Orinoco, and part of the banks of the Capanaparo itself -- going upstream, the northern part up to the junction with the Riecito and the southern part on 220 kilometers up to the Madre Vieja Basiliero -- are populated by Venezuelan peasants, the llaneros, who thus occupy part of the Yaruro territory.

1 [see p. 3. — Analyst]

Jirajara SS12
Guahibo SC14

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Y 101 On the other boundaries the neighbors of the Yaruro are Indians. They are the Cuiba to the west, and the Guahibo and the Chiricoa to the south (1). In addition, Amburua coming

1. Unverified information received from Yaruro, llaneros, or travelers.

from the south would have had intermittent contact with them. As for the Otomaco /Otomac/, whose territory formerly extended to the north of the Capanaparo, there remain only a few survivors who have become Venezuelan peasants and have completely forgotten their ancient culture. /Map 1 appears here./[1]

We shall deal with the llaneros and the Otomaco, with whom the Yaruro may perhaps be related, in subsequent articles, and we shall limit ourselves here to giving the little information gathered on the other Indians mentioned.

The Cuiba.

J 131 Some Cuiba appear to live on the upper Capanaparo and the upper Riecito near the border which on the west separates Venezuela from Colombia, but their territory /111/ lies principally in Colombia along the Casanare and on the other bank of the Meta. They seem to maintain commercial relations with the Yaruro, bringing to the last Yaruro village on the Riecito (community 30) canoes (we saw one) or hammocks for barter against manufactured products of Venezuelan origin, cloth or machetes that they use in clearing forest galleries and in cultivating land. They may likewise trade with the Guahibo, but by silent trade.

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G 101 114 131 Guahibo and Chiricoa.

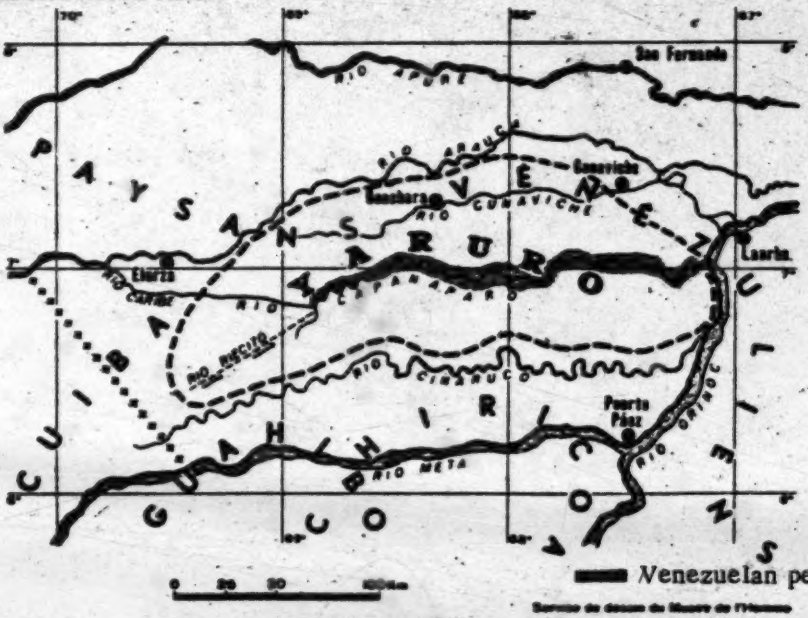
Guahibo and Chiricoa, according to the majority of our informants, may be two synonymous terms; only one informant claims that they designate two distinct groups, the first inhabiting

[1] [Map 1 now appears p. 3. —Analyst]

G 101 114 131 GY 431

/111 cont./

the territory mentioned above, in the west, and the second in the east along the Orinoco; they meet to the south of the Cinaruco, the northern limit of their territory which lies principally in Colombia. Like the Cuiba, they seem to trade with the Yaruro, exchanges taking place in the Yaruro villages located near the Cinaruco and consisting also of products of their making for manufactured ones.



Map 1

Correction: Elorza instead of Elurza.

/111 cont./

G 101 114 Raymond Fiasson (1) in 1947 reported the existence of

1. Raymond Fiasson, "Algunos aspectos cientificos del Apure /Some Scientific Aspects of the Apure/," in El Agricultor Venezolano, Year XII, No. 127, No. 1947, p. 11.

Guliguli Indians on the banks of the Juriepe, a southern tributary of the Cinaruco. According to our Yaruro informants, these did not exist. Guliguli perhaps is only a synonym for Guahibo-Chiricoa.

The Amburua.

G 101 The Amburua appear to live on the other side of the Meta, on the Rio Negro in Colombia. Not direct neighbors of the Yaruro, they have only rare contacts with the latter. The Y G 648 Yaruro of village 30 on the Riecito recounted to us a fight against the Amburua which took place not far from them, in the course of which their adversaries were decimated.

2. The Habitat (Capanaparo and Riecito Rivers) (see Map 2[1] and Tables I and II)

Y 361 621 The Yaruro population is divided on an economic basis into small communities, established near a water course and composed of several families grouped under the authority of one head.

Y 361 Along the Capanaparo and Riecito explored by us, there are some 30 irregularly spaced on the 400 kilometers of river (2).

2. We shall dwell in detail on the structure of the communities in other articles, as we have on habitation types further on here.

[1] [see pp. 19-20. -Analyst]

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Table I

Statement of Observations on Habitation Types

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No. [1]	Dates of Observations	TYPE I	TYPE II$_1$ a	TYPE II$_1$ b	TYPE II$_2$ a	TYPE II$_2$ b	TYPE III
1	25-28 Aug. 47		●				
2 a	29 Aug. - 3 Sept. 47		●				
2 b	30 June 49; 5-6 July 49	★	●				
2 »	22 Oct. 49; 3 Jan. 50	☆	o		■		
3	3-4 Sept. 47; 30 June 49		●				
4 a	5 Sept. 47; 5 July 49		●				
4 b	5 Sept. 47	★					
4 c	5 Sept. 47		●				
5	6 Sept. 47; 20 Oct. - 17 Nov. 47		●				
5	24 Oct. 49; 1 Jan. 50		o		■		
6 a	6-7 Sept. 47; 20 Oct. - 11 Nov. 47		●				
6 »	11-17 Nov. 47		o				▲
6 b	4-5 July 49; 24-30 Oct. 49		●				
6 »	30 Oct. 49 - 1 Jan. 50		o				▲
7	24 Oct. 40 - 1 Jan. 50		●		■		▲
8	31 July 47; 8 Sept. 47	★					
8	19 Oct. 47	☆			■		
9	11 Sept. 47	★					
9	17 Oct. 47	☆			■		
10 a	11 Sept. 47; 17 Oct. 47; 4 July 49			▬			
10 b	12 Sept. 47	★					
10 »	15 Oct. 47	☆					
11	12-13 Sept. 47	★			■		
11	15 Oct. 47	☆			■		
12	14 Sept. 47	★					
12	24-26 Feb. 48	☆					▲
13	14 Sept. 47	★					
14	15 Sept. 47	★					
15	5-6 Mar. 48; 5 Apr. 48; 12 Apr. - 5 Mar. 48	☆				◆	▲
15	2-3 July 49	★					
16	4 Mar. 48; 23-24 Apr. 48; 27 Apr. 48	☆				◆	▲
17	16 Sept. 47	★					
17	13 Oct. 47; 25 Apr. 48	☆				◆	
18	16 Sept. 47	★					

1. Number of communities corresponding to those on Map 2.

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Nos	Dates of Observations	TYPE I	TYPE II$_1$ a	TYPE II$_1$ b	TYPE II$_2$ a	TYPE II$_2$ b	TYPE III
19	16 Sept. 47 13 Oct. 47	★ ☆			■		
20	13 Oct. 47	★					
21	17 Sept. 47 13 Oct. 47	★ ☆			■		
22	12 Oct. 47	★					
23	17 Sept. 47 12 Oct. 47		● ○		■		
24	2-3 July 49	★					
25	5 Apr. 48; 11 Apr. 48 2 July 49	★ ★					
26	6 Apr. 48	★			■		▲
27	6 Apr. 48; 11 Apr. 48	☆					▲
28	6-7 Apr. 48; 10-11 Apr. 48	★					
29	7 Apr. 48; 10 Apr. 48	☆			■		▲
30	7-10 Apr. 48	☆	○		■		▲

HABITATION TYPE	I	II$_1$ a	II$_1$ b	II$_2$ a	II$_2$ b	III
Observed occupied	★	●	◗	■	◆	▲
Observed unoccupied	☆	○	◡	□	◇	△

HABITATION TYPES

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I. Upright house with rectangular base, sometimes oval, three to four meters wide by five to seven long and three to four high, without walls, and covered with a roof of straw or palms with two sloping sides, open at one or two ends and which protects from rain. It is built on the hard ground of high banks which the floods of the rainy season do not reach.

II. 1 a. Small low hut, hemispherical (a man cannot stand erect in it), without walls, and covered with a palm roof which protects from rain. It stands on the soft, sandy ground of dunes and high shores out of reach of floods.

II. 1 b. Small low hut (a man cannot stand up in it) with an oblong base, without walls, and covered with a roof of palms with two slopes which protects against rain. It stands on the soft, sandy soil of dunes and high shores out of reach of floods.

II. 2 a. Same type as II 1 a but standing on the lower shores freed by a drop in the water level.

/113 cont./

342 II. 2 b. Same type as II 1 b but standing on the lower shores freed by a drop in the water level.

III. A shelter of the same height as the type II huts, formed of several leafy branches which protect only from the sun's rays. It stands on the sand of the low shores freed by a drop in the water level. This shelter is sometimes only a type II hut covered with several palms.

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Table II

Habitation Types by Community and according to the Months of the Year

No. of the Community	Rainy Season						Dry Season					
	June	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May
1	☆	☆	★	☆	☆							
2	★ ●	★ ●	☆ ●	☆ ●	■	□	□	■	□	□	□	□
3	●	○	○	●	○							
4	☆ ○	☆ ●	☆ ○	★ ●	☆ ○							
5	○	○	○	●	● ■	● ■	■	■	□	□	□	□
6	○	●	○	●	● ▲	● ▲	▲	▲	△	△	△	△
7	○	○	○	○	● ■ ▲	● ■ ▲	● ■ ▲	● ■ ▲	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △
8	☆	★	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
9	☆	☆	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
10	☆ D	☆ ◗	☆ D	★ ◗	☆ ◗							
11	☆	☆	☆	★ ■	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
12	☆	☆	☆	★	☆	△	△	△	▲	△	△	△
13	☆	☆	☆	★	☆							
14	☆	☆	☆	★	☆							
15	☆	★	☆	☆	☆	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◆ ▲	◆ ▲	◆ ▲
16	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◆ ▲	◆ ▲	◇ △
17	☆	☆	☆	★	◆	◇	◇	◇	◇	◇	◆	◇
18	☆	☆	☆	★	☆							
19	☆	☆	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□

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No. of the Comm.	Rainy Season						Dry Season					
	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May
20	☆	☆	☆	☆	★							
21	☆	☆	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
22	☆	☆	☆	☆	★							
23	○	○	○	●	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
24	☆	★	☆	☆	☆							
25	☆	★	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	★	☆
26	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	★ ■ ▲	☆ □ △
27	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	△	△	△	△	△	▲	△
28	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	★	☆
29	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	■ ▲	□ △
30	☆ ○	☆ ○	☆ ○	☆ ○	☆ ○	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	■ ▲	□ △

HABITATION TYPE	I	II, a	II, b	II, a	II, b	III
Type observed occupied (Table I)	★	●	◗	■	◆	▲
Type presumed resulting from the extension of the type observed occupied	☆	○	◗	□	◇	△

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Corrections: Put all the white signs of the table and its legend in grey.
Community No. 1 -- Replace all the signs for Type 1 (stars) by the signs for Type II 1 a (circles).

The extension was made in the following manner: 342 361

A type observed during the months of the rainy season (June to September) was extended to all the months of this season and for that which follows it (October), that is, for half of the transition period, rainy season-dry season.

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342 A type observed during the months of the dry season
341 (December to April) was extended to all the months of this season as well as that which precedes it (November) and that which follows it (May), that is, for half of the transition period rainy season-dry season, and all of the transition period, dry season-rainy season. The intermediate type is actually not reconstructed during this period as the Yaruro reinstate their winter huts immediately after the first serious downpours.

When a type has been observed only during the months of the transition period the months of the rainy season if it was a winter type, i.e., I and II 1 a or b (communities 7, 20, and 22) and for all those of the dry season if it was an aestival type II 2 a or b and III (communities 8, 9, 11, 19, 21 and 23).

In communities 16, 27, 29, and 30, the rainy season type was only observed occupied during the dry season.

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162 Each community is comprised of ten to 30 individuals
621 including children (average: 17.9), distributed in one or
942 several habitations of which the type varies according to function and the nature of the terrain and the season (1).

[132]
[133]

1. The Venezuelan llanos are huge savannas furrowed with watercourses running west-east and bordered with a corridor of forest, narrow but dense; they have a tropical climate characterized by two seasons: a rainy season, winter (June to September), during which the rivers overflow their beds and flood the savanna, and a dry season, summer (December to April), during which the latter become dry in part, uncovering long sandy shores.

342 The first type (I) is an upright house with a rectangular base (sometimes oval), three to four meters wide by five to seven long and three to four high, without walls and covered with a straw or palm roof with two sloping sides, open or closed at one or two ends and protecting from rain. It is built on the hard ground of high banks that the floods of the rainy season do not reach.

The second type (II) is a small, low hut (a man cannot stand in it) with a round base (II a) or oblong (II b), also without walls and covered with a roof of palms, either hemispherical (II a) or with two sloping sides (II b), protecting from rain; it stands on the soft ground of sand dunes and shores raised above the flood level (II 1), or shores freed by a drop in the water level (II 2).

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342 The third type (III) is a shelter of the same height as the preceding hut; sometimes it is only one of the type II huts covered over with some palms; it is composed of leafy branches designed for protection against the sun's rays, and it stands on low sandy shores which are no longer covered by water.

342 The first type (I) and the second built on a sand dune or a 361 shore out of reach of floods (II 1 a or b) are those which the Yaruro use in the rainy season, when the rivers overflow their beds and flood the savanna.

As soon as the water level begins to drop, these winter quarters are abandoned for the huts of the second type, but built on low shores (II 2 a or b), the roof of which protects them from the rain that still persists. At the height of the dry season, when the latter ceases to fall and only protection against the sun is necessary, they use the third type (III) which they install, approaching nearer to the water, on the sand which the dropping level of the river has newly freed.

With the return of the first rains they follow this same process in reverse, but skipping the transitional type, that is, directly reinstating their winter habitations.

[648] The most widespread winter habitation is type I. In winter, type II is only found in exceptional cases; it is present in nine communities (of which three also have type I) out of 30 when type I is temporarily nonexistent or unusable: destroyed and not reconstructed (its construction /117/ requiring time and manual labor and the adult men often being absorbed in the quest for daily food) or placed under an interdict by the Venezuelan peasants, as in the case of the communities of the lower Capanaparo where the Yaruro, accused of having stolen livestock, were driven from their winter habitations on the banks and forced to install themselves outside the domain of the Llaneros, i.e., on the sand dunes which border the river.

Concerning type II built during the transition period, it may sometimes be kept throughout the entire dry season (communities 2, 5, 7, 15, 16, 26, 29 and 30). As for type I, it

/117 cont./

342 361 may also be used, but rarely, throughout the year (communities 25, 26, and 28).

The type I house is a house that lasts for several years, whereas the small huts (II) and the shelters of boughs (III), either dismantled by the wind or carried off by the rising water in each new rainy season, must almost always be reconstructed the following year.

The winter habitations of a community are always grouped (the dispersion of those of communities 4 and 10 is provisional), whereas the huts and camping shelters of the seasonal changes and of the dry season are sometimes dispersed (one, two, or three huts) on shores located around the winter village.

[396 464] In addition, if the Yaruro spend the entire rainy season in the same place and lead a sedentary life at this time, during the dry season and even during the transition period between the two seasons, they move their encampments from one place to another on the same shore or from one shore to another, with the intention of either drawing nearer to water or of reinstalling themselves on sand which is clean and not encumbered with refuse, or in order to be closer to a hunting, fishing, or work place (construction of a monosylic canoe or employment on a Venezuelan farm at dry season jobs).

Let us add in conclusion that on the Capanaparo, between the Orinoco and the Riecito, all the permanent winter habitations with one or two exceptions are located, or were, in the case of the lower Capanaparo, on the southern bank. The cause of this situation seems to be the configuration of the terrain: the southern bank at this place is in general more elevated than the northern bank and hence better shielded from floods.

/117 cont./

3. The Population.

162 a) Demography (see Tables III, IV, and V).

On the Capanaparo and the Riecito we have taken a census of 519 Yaruro (29 communities out of 30). Two-thirds (65.1%) of this population are adults (we do not have a breakdown by age) and the remainder (34.9%) prepuberal children. Among the adults the sexes are divided into two almost equal figures: 173 (51.2%) are men and 165 (48.8%) women. We have the /118/ /Table III appears here/ /119/ /Table IV and Table V appear here/ /120/ breakdown by sexes for children only in five communities; the totals for each of them gives us, there also, twofigures which are practically equal: 23 male children to 21 female.

163 165 Our statistics on births and mortality bear on only three communities with a total of 38 inhabitants in 1947; they are thus rather imprecise. During the period 1947 to 1950, i.e., during three years, we registered 6 births and 9 deaths (6 adults--2 men and 4 women--and 3 young children), that is, two births for three deaths (150% mortality) or, for the total population of the three villages, the respective percentages of 15.8% births and 23.7% deaths. The young children who died comprise one-third of the total of deaths (33.3%) and one half of the total births, which gives, for these 38 Yaruro, a 50% infant mortality.

161 On the basis of these statistics the Yaruro are on the way to extinction. This appears to be confirmed by the Indians themselves who state that they were formerly more numerous and that their number is going down each year. "We die with [115] the first sickness," our old informant, Pedro Ramon Camacho (1) [756]

1. Head and shaman of community 6.

told us, "and that's why there are so few of us. We are disappearing."

[text continues on p. 16]

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TABLE III

CENSUS 1947-1948

162

No. of the Comm.	ADULTS ♂	ADULTS ♀	ADULTS Total	CHILDREN ♂	CHILDREN ♀	CHILDREN Total	General Total
1	6	7	13			7	20
2	11	5	16			9	25
3	12	14	26			14	40
4	4	5	9			6	15
5	4	5	9	5	6	11	20
6	3	6	9	6	3	9	18
7	1	4	5	2	4	6	11
8	3	2	5			4	9
9	28	16	44	10	8	18	62
10							
11	9	9	18			5	23
12	4	5	9			8	17
13	3	6	9			7	16
14	5	4	9			4	13
15	6	3	9			5	14
16	7	8	15			7	22
17	11	12	23			10	33
18	7	7	14			4	18
19							
20	—	—	—			—	—
21	3	3	6			3	9
22	5	3	8			4	12
23	13	13	26			14	40
24	4	4	8			4	12
25	6	6	12			2	14
26	1	3	4			4	8
27	4	2	6			3	9
28	2	0	2			0	2
29	4	5	9			5	14
30	7	8	15			8	23
Total	173	165	338	23 (c)	21 (c)	181	519
%	51.2 (a)	48.8 (a)	65.1 (b)			34.9 (b)	

EVALUATIONS 1947-1948

(1)	150	150	300				300
(2)	34	30	64				64
(3)	5	5	10			7	17
(4)	6	5	11				11
General Total	368 (5)	355 (5)	723 (5)			188 (5)	911 (5)

a) Of the "adult" total. — b) Of the "general" total. — c) Total from 5 /sic/ communities.

1) On the Cunaviche (6 communities). — 2) Between the Capanaparo and the Cinaruco (5 communities). — 3) Between the Capanaparo and the Riecito (1 community). — 4) On the Cinaruco (1 community). — 5) Census and evaluations.

5:Le Benerais--14 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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TABLE IV

BIRTHS — DEATHS

No. of the Comm.	POPULATION 1947				BIRTHS 1947-1950	DEATHS 1947-1950					% Deaths/Births	
	Adults ♂	Adults ♀	Children	Total		Adults ♂	Adults ♀	Total	Children	General Total	General	Children
6	3	6	9	18								
7	1	4	6	11								
8	3	2	4	9								
Total	7	12	19	38	6	2	4	6	3.	9		
%					15.8 (a)				33.3 (b)	23.7 (a)	150.0	50.0

(a) Of the total population of the three communities.

(b) Of the total deaths.

5:Le Besnerais--15 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19 Venezuela 554

/119 cont./

TABLE V

DENSITY

TERRITORY			YARURO		VENEZUELAN PEASANTS				
					Farms				
Sections	Nos. of the Communities	Kms.	Population	Density per 10 kms.	South bank	North bank	Total	Population 8 per Farm	Density per 10 kms.
Orinoco to Madre Vieja Basiliero	1 to 10	220	220	10.0	29	8	37	296	13.5
Madre Vieja Basiliero to Riecito	11 to 15	40	83	20.5	0	8	8	64	16.0
Riecito to Caribe	16 to 23	55	134	24.5	0	0	0	0	0
Riecito	24 to 30	89	82	9.0	0	0	0	0	0
Whole Territory	Totals and averages	404	519	13.0	29	16	45	360	14.0 (a)

(a) On 260 kms.

/120 cont./

Y 161 These 519 Yaruro live along 400 kilometers of river, which gives an average density of 13 inhabitants for 10 kilometers of river. This average conceals considerable variance from one place to another in this part of their territory. On the first 220 kilometers of the Capanaparo starting from the mouth, that is, up to the last Venezuelan farm on the south bank (Madre Vieja Basiliero), the density is 10 inhabitants to ten kilometers. From kilometer 220 up to the mouth of the Riecito (near which the last Venezuelan farm on the Capanaparo is located) the density doubles and goes to 20.5 per ten kilometers and to 24.5 between this latter point and the mouth of the Rio Caribe. On the Riecito the density drops back to 9 inhabitants per ten kilometers of river.

V 161 The density of the Venezuelans on the two banks, between the mouth of the Capanaparo and the Riecito, allowing an average of eight inhabitants for each farm, is 13.5 inhabitants per ten kilometers of river up to the Madre Vieja Basiliero and 16 from the Madre Vieja Basiliero up to the Riecito.

We shall consider the interpretations that these figures have been given in another article.

Y 16 [14] For the rest of the Yaruro population dispersed to the north and south of this region, whom we have not visited, we can only rely on some estimates. With reference to the Cunaviche, who appear to have ten communities, Pastor Juan Van Kompen(2)

2. Evangelical missionary established at San Fernando de Apure, Apure State, Venezuela.

has quoted us a figure of 300, which is without doubt higher than the reality. The Indians on their part have given us a figure of 64 for five communities located between the Capanaparo and the Cinaruco, and for two others, one located between the Capanaparo and the Riecito and the other /121/ on the Cinaruco, respectively 17 and 11. These last estimates are certainly more accurate.

/121 cont./

b) Somatology and Pathology.

113 Vincenzo Petrullo in his book Yaruros of the Capanaparo
162 River (1) has devoted one chapter to the physical characteristics

1. In Anthropological Papers, No. 11, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 123, pp. 161 to 290.

of the Yaruro. We refer the reader to this work, our own ob-
164 servations on this offering nothing very new. Let us add only that all the adults and some children of both sexes have their bodies and particularly the extremities of their limbs covered with white, painful plaques called carare, a fact already noted by Petrullo. According to the Yaruro, beginning with a certain, unspecified age—perhaps corresponding to puberty, for we have never observed it with the newborn and rarely with young children—the skin dries up in places and then loses its pigmenta-
164 tion. Again according to the Yaruro, this phenomenon, which
827 they seem to consider a blemish (they have frequently asked us if a remedy existed to get rid of it), is perhaps transmitted through the blood. When a wife is attacked by carare she infects her husband by pouring a drop of her own blood into his drink so that he will not abandon her.

164 Sanitary conditions among the Yaruro are on the whole extremely indifferent. Tests of blood from swords, carried out by Professor Mayer of the Institute of Hygiene in Caracas, and of blood previously drawn from some of the population reveal signs of severe anemia and very strong eosinophilia.

These Indians all suffer more or less, particularly during the rainy season, from colds, bronchitis, pneumonia, furunculosis, attacks of grippe with fever or marsh fever, headaches, caries and dental abcesses, pains which are doubtlessly rheumatic, and glandular inflammations. The colds, bronchitis, attacks

/121 cont./

164 of fever, and especially pneumonia frequently have fatal consequences. We also presume that the Yaruro are attacked by amoebiasis and by ancylostomiasis, the author of these lines having contracted these diseases while living among them. Finally, smallpox apparently attacks them periodically and commits ravages. It seems to have decimated all who lived on the Cinaruco about 20 years ago. Concerning tuberculosis and leprosy we have nothing to report.

5:Le Besnerais--19 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Venezuela SS1

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487

—— River, Caño or Madre Vieja (dead arm)
---- Land route during dry season
⊙ Venezuelan village
● Habitation of Venezuelan peasants
+1 (rainy season) } site of Yaruro habitations
×1 (dry season) } with no. of the community

Y
100
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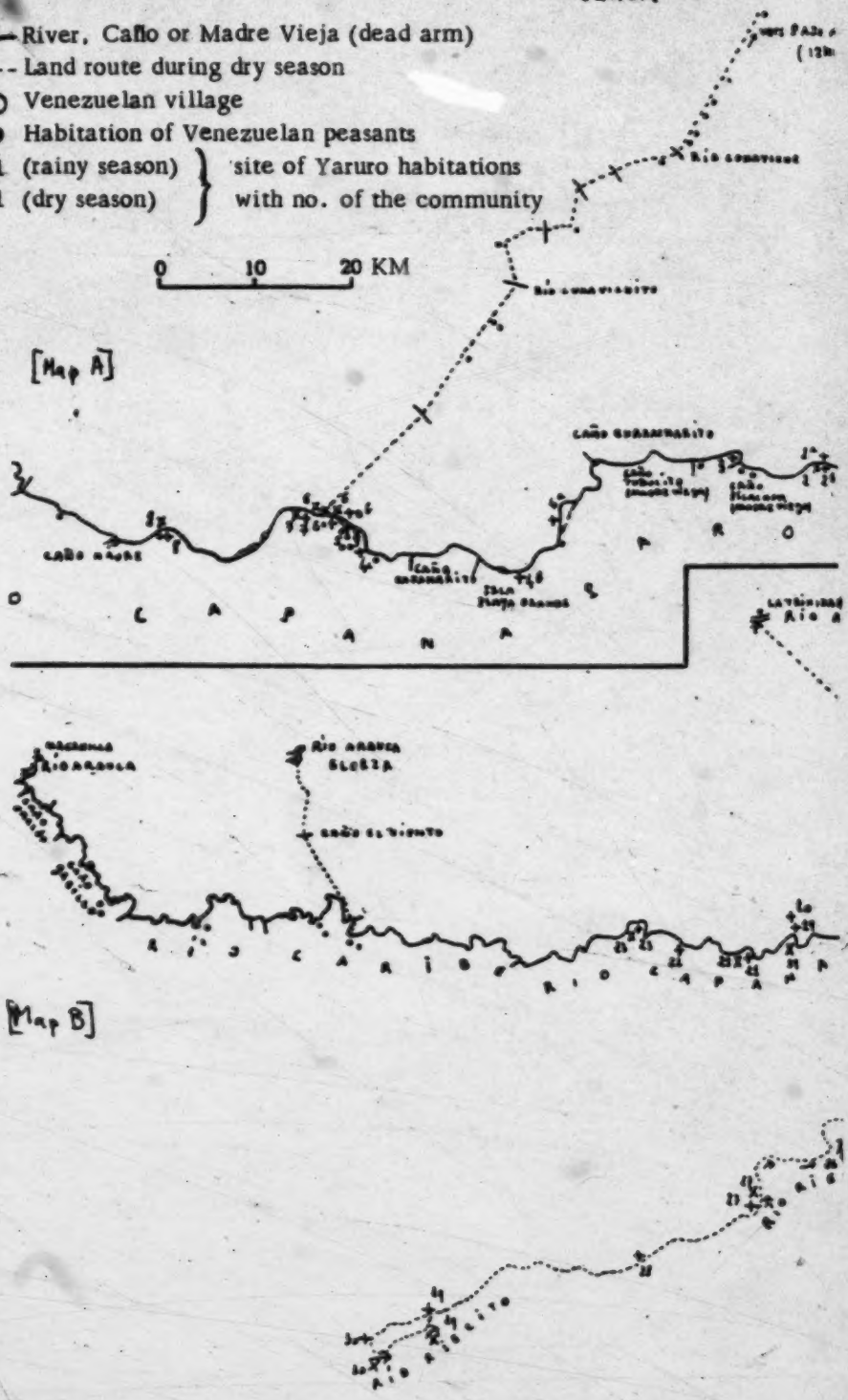
392
361
487



Map 2. Yaruro Territory

5:Le Besnerais--20 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Venezuela SS1

V
102
133
361
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Y
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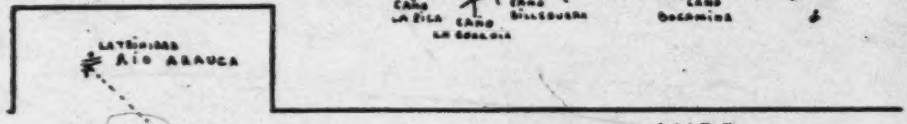
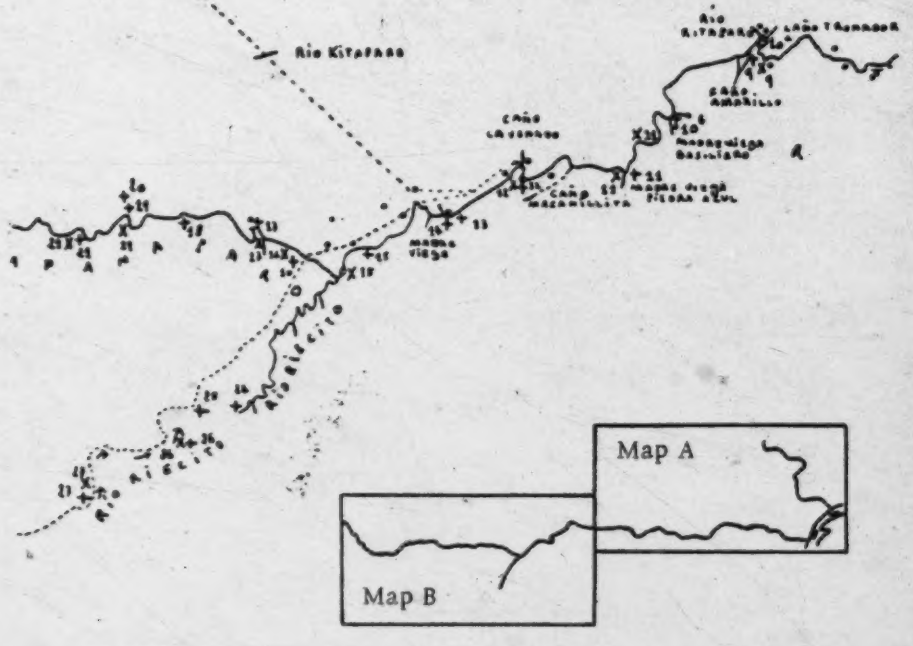
MAP A

MAP B





Author's correction: In MAP B, the first Yaruro community on the Capanaparo after the mouth of the Riecito should be 16 instead of 10.

5: Le Besnerais
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SS19 Yaruro SS19

[For a listing of dates during which the author observed various house types in numerous Yaruro settlements, see category 342, pp. 5-6.]

5: Le Beauvais 8519 Yarura

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[Title Page]

[P. 109]

CONTRIBUTION A L'ÉTUDE DES INDIENS YARURO (VENEZUELA)

QUELQUES OBSERVATIONS SUR LE TERRITOIRE, L'HABITAT ET LA POPULATION

PAR HENRY LE BESNERAIS.

Les Indiens Yaruro, qui se désignent entre eux par le terme de « pume », vivent dans les Llanos vénézuéliens, les savanes tropicales, qui bordent la rive gauche de l'Orénoque. Ce sont des pêcheurs, chasseurs, collecteurs et agriculteurs dont la culture originelle s'est déjà fortement altérée. On ignore tout encore de leur passé. Quant à leur dialecte il n'a été classé jusqu'à présent dans aucune des familles linguistiques sud-américaines connues. Les observations qui composent cet article proviennent d'enquêtes effectuées sur place entre 1947 et 1950 par l'auteur.

1° LE TERRITOIRE (voir carte I).

a) *Limites.*

A l'heure actuelle le territoire peuplé par les Indiens Yaruro s'étend approximativement entre les 6,30 et 7,30 degrés de latitude Nord et les 67 et 69,30 degrés de longitude Ouest.

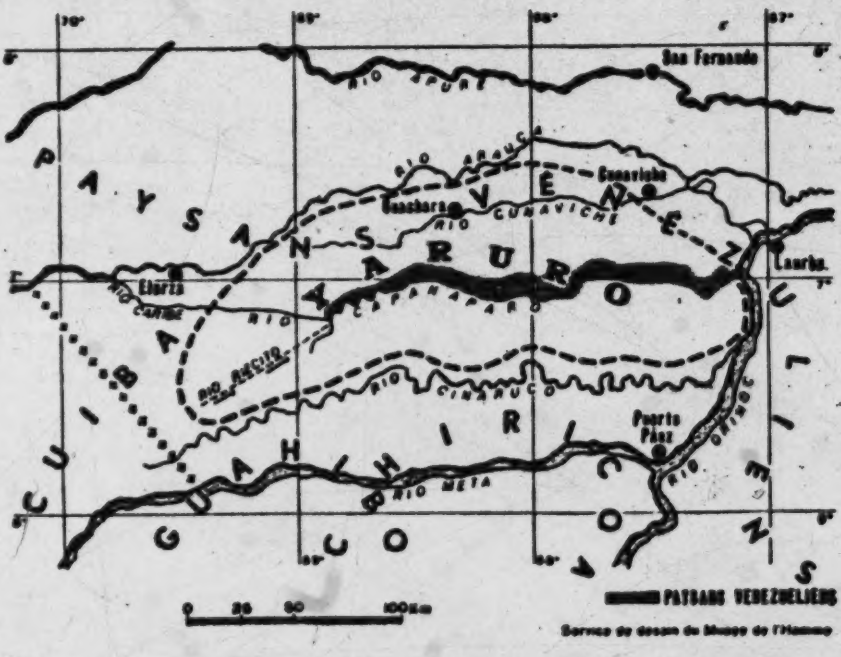
Le gros de la population, qui est celle ayant fait l'objet de nos enquêtes, vit le long des rives du Capanaparo et d'un de ses affluents, le Riecito, soit sur quelque 400 kilomètres de rivière.

Le reste est dispersé au Nord du Capanaparo, sur l'Arauca, le Cunaviche et les rivières voisines, et au Sud, sur les rives de l'Orénoque entre les embouchures du Capanaparo et du Cinaruco et près des rivières situées entre le Capanaparo, le Riecito et le Cinaruco.

b) *Voisins.*

Toute la région située au Nord du Capanaparo, les rives de l'Orénoque et une portion des rives du Capanaparo lui-même — en remontant le courant, la partie nord jusqu'au confluent du Riecito et la partie sud sur 220 kilomètres jusqu'à la Madre vieja Basiliero — sont peuplées par des paysans vénézuéliens, des Llaneros, qui occupent ainsi une partie du territoire yaruro.

Sur les autres frontières les voisins des Yaruro sont des Indiens. Ils seraient à l'Ouest des Cuiba et au Sud des Guahibo et des Chiricoa [1]. En outre des Amburua venant du Sud auraient des contacts intermittents avec eux. Quant aux Otomaco dont le territoire se serait étendu jadis au Nord du Capanaparo, il ne reste plus d'eux que quelques survivants devenus paysans vénézuéliens et ayant tout oublié de leur ancienne culture.



CARTE Nº 1.

Nous traiterons des Llaneros et des Otomaco, auxquels les Yaruro seraient peut-être apparentés, dans des articles ultérieurs et nous nous limiterons ici à reproduire les quelques brèves informations recueillies sur les autres Indiens mentionnés.

Cuiba.

Des Cuiba vivraient sur le haut Capanaparo et le haut Riecito près de la frontière qui sépare à l'Ouest le Venezuela de la Colombie, mais leur territoire

1. Informations non contrôlées recueillies auprès des Yaruro, de Llaneros ou de voyageurs.

5: La Besnerais 3819 Yaruro

s'étendrait principalement en Colombie du côté du Casanare et sur l'autre rive du Meta. Ils entretiendraient des rapports commerciaux avec les Yaruro se rendant dans le dernier village yaruro du Riecito (communauté 30) pour échanger pirogues (nous en avons vu une) ou hamacs contre des produits manufacturés d'origine vénézuélienne, tissus ou machetes qu'ils utiliseraient au défrichement des galeries forestières et à la culture de la terre. Ils commerceraient également avec les Guahibo, mais en commerce muet.

Guahibo et Chiricoa.

Guahibo et Chiricoa, selon la majorité de nos informateurs, seraient deux termes synonymes ; un seul prétendit qu'ils désignaient deux groupes distincts, le premier, habitant dans le territoire mentionné ci-dessous, à l'Ouest et le second à l'Est du côté de l'Orénoque ; ils se rencontreraient dès le Sud du Cinaruco, limite Nord de leur territoire qui s'étend principalement en Colombie. De même que les Cuiba, ils commerceraient avec les Yaruro, les échanges s'effectuant dans les villages yaruro situés près du Cinaruco et portant également sur des produits de leur fabrication contre des produits manufacturés.

Sur les rives du Juriepe, affluent sud du Cinaruco, Raymond Fiasson [1] signala en 1947 l'existence d'Indiens Guliguli. D'après nos informateurs yaruro, ces derniers n'existeraient pas. Guliguli ne serait qu'un synonyme de Guahibo-Chiricoa.

Amburua.

Les Amburua vivraient de l'autre côté du Meta, sur le rio Negro, en Colombie. Voisins non directs des Yaruro, ils n'auraient que de rares contacts avec ces derniers. Les Yaruro du village 30 sur le Riecito nous firent le récit d'un combat qu'ils soutinrent non loin de chez eux contre des Amburua et au cours duquel leurs adversaires furent décimés.

2° L'HABITAT (*Rios Capanaparo et Riecito*) (voir carte II et tableaux I et II).

La population yaruro se divise en petites communautés à base économique, établies à proximité des cours d'eau et se composant de quelques familles groupées sous l'autorité d'un même chef.

Le long du Capanaparo et du Riecito que nous avons reconnus, elles sont au nombre d'une trentaine échelonnées irrégulièrement sur les 400 kilomètres de rivière [2].

1. Raymond FIASSON, *Algunos aspectos cientificos del Apure*, in El Agricultor Venezolano, año XII, n° 127, nov. 1947, p. 11.

2. Nous nous étendrons en détail dans d'autres articles sur la structure des communautés, comme sur les types d'habitation décrits plus loin.

[P.112]

TABLEAU I

ÉTAT DES OBSERVATIONS SUR LES TYPES D'HABITATION

Nos [1]	DATES DES OBSERVATIONS	TYPE I	TYPE II$_1$ a	TYPE II$_1$ b	TYPE II$_2$ a	TYPE II$_2$ b	TYPE III
1	25-28 AOUT 47		●				
2 a	29 AOUT — 3 SEPT. 47		●				
b	30 JUIN 49 ; 5-6 JUIL. 49	★	●				
»	22 OCT. 49 ; 3 JAN. 50	☆	o		■		
3	3-4 SEPT. 47 ; 30 JUIN 49		●				
4 a	5 SEPT. 47 ; 5 JUIL. 49		●				
b	5 SEPT. 47	★					
c	5 SEPT. 47		●				
5	6 SEPT. 47 ; 20 OCT. — 17 NOV. 47		●				
	24 OCT. 49 ; 1er JAN. 50		o		■		
6 a	6-7 SEPT. 47 ; 20 OCT. — 11 NOV. 47		●				
»	11-17 NOV. 47		o				▲
b	4-5 JUIL. 49 ; 24-30 OCT. 49		●				
»	30 OCT. 49 — 1er JAN. 50		o				▲
7	24 OCT. 49 — 1er JAN. 50		●		■		▲
8	31 JUIL. 47 ; 8 SEPT. 47	★					
	19 OCT. 47	☆			■		
9	11 SEPT. 47	★					
	17 OCT. 47	☆			■		
10 a	11 SEPT. 47 ; 17 OCT. 47 ; 4 JUIL. 49			⬬			
b	12 SEPT. 47	★					
»	15 OCT. 47	☆					
11	12-13 SEPT. 47	★			■		
	15 OCT. 47	☆			■		
12	14 SEPT. 47	★					
	24-26 FÉVRIER 48	☆					▲
13	14 SEPT. 47	★					
14	15 SEPT. 47	★					
15	5-6 MARS 48 ; 5 AVR. 48 ; 12 AVR. — 5 MAI 48	☆				◆	▲
	2-3 JUIL. 49	★					
16	4 MARS 48 ; 23-24 AVR. 48 ; 27 AVR. 48	☆				◆	▲
17	16 SEPT. 47	★					
	13 OCT. 47 ; 25 AVRIL 48	☆				◆	
18	16 SEPT. 47	★					

1. Numéros des communautés correspondant à ceux de la carte II.

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Nos	DATES DES OBSERVATIONS	TYPE I	TYPE II_1 a	TYPE II_1 b	TYPE II_2 a	TYPE II_2 b	TYPE III
19	16 SEPT. 47 13 OCT. 47	★ ☆			■		
20	13 OCT. 47	★					
21	17 SEPT. 47 13 OCT. 47	★ ☆			■		
22	12 OCT. 47	★					
23	17 SEPT. 47 12 OCT. 47		● ○		■		
24	2-3 JUIL. 49	★					
25	5 AVRIL 48; 11 AVRIL 48 2 JUIL. 49	★ ★					
26	6 AVRIL 48	★			■		▲
27	6 AVRIL 48; 11 AVRIL 48	☆					▲
28	6-7 AVRIL 48; 10-11 AVRIL 48	★					
29	7 AVRIL 48; 10 AVRIL 48	☆			■		▲
30	7-10 AVRIL 48	☆	○		■		▲

TYPE D'HABITATION	I	II_1 a	II_1 b	II_2 a	II_2 b	III
OBSERVÉ HABITÉ	★	●	⬬	■	◆	▲
OBSERVÉ INHABITÉ	☆	○	⌓	□	◇	△

TYPES D'HABITATION

I. — Maison droite à base rectangulaire, parfois ovale, de 3 à 4 mètres de large sur 5 à 7 de long et 3 à 4 de haut, sans parois et couverte d'un toit de paille ou de palmes à deux versants, ouvert à une ou aux deux extrémités et qui protège des pluies. Elle est construite sur le sol dur des rives hautes que n'atteignent pas les inondations de la saison des pluies.

II. 1 a. — Petite hutte basse, hémisphérique (l'homme ne peut s'y tenir debout), sans parois et couverte d'un toit de palmes à deux versants qui protège des pluies. Elle est dressée sur le sol sablonneux et mou des dunes ou des plages élevées hors d'atteinte des inondations.

II. 1 b. — Petite hutte basse (l'homme ne peut s'y tenir debout) à base oblongue, sans parois et couverte d'un toit de palmes à deux versants qui protège des pluies. Elle est dressée sur le sol sablonneux et mou des dunes et des plages élevées hors d'atteinte des inondations.

II. 2 a. — Même type que II 1 a mais dressé sur les plages basses libérées par la baisse des eaux.

II. 2 b. — Même type que II 1 b mais dressé sur les plages basses libérées par la baisse des eaux.

III. — Abri de même hauteur que les huttes du type II formé par quelques branches feuillues qui ne protègent que des rayons du soleil. Il est dressé sur le sable des plages basses libérées par la baisse des eaux. Cet abri n'est parfois qu'une hutte du type II recouverte de quelques palmes.

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TABLEAU II

LES TYPES D'HABITATION PAR COMMUNAUTÉ ET SELON LES MOIS DE L'ANNÉE

	SAISON DES PLUIES						SAISON SÈCHE					
N° DE LA COMMUNAUTÉ	JUIN	JUILLET	AOUT	SEPTEMBRE	OCTOBRE	NOVEMBRE	DÉCEMBRE	JANVIER	FÉVRIER	MARS	AVRIL	MAI
1	☆	☆	★	☆	☆							
2	★ ●	★ ●	☆ ●	☆ ●	■	□	□	■	□	□	□	□
3	●	○	○	●	○							
4	☆ ○	☆ ●	☆ ○	★ ●	☆ ○							
5	○	○	○	●	● ■	● ■	■	■	□	□	□	□
6	○	●	○	●	● ▲	● ▲	▲	▲	△	△	△	△
7	○	○	○	○	● ■ ▲	● ■ ▲	● ■ ▲	● ■ ▲	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △
8	☆	★	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
9	☆	☆	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
10	☆ ◗	☆ ▬	☆ ◗	★ ▬	☆ ▬							
11	☆	☆	☆	★ ■	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
12	☆	☆	☆	★	☆	△	△	△	▲	△	△	△
13	☆	☆	☆	★	☆							
14	☆	☆	☆	★	☆							
15	☆	★	☆	☆	☆	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◆ ▲	◆ ▲	◆ ▲
16	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◆ ▲	◆ ▲	◇ △
17	☆	☆	☆	★	◆	◇	◇	◇	◇	◇	◆	◇
18	☆	☆	☆	★	☆							
19	☆	☆	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□

N° DE LA COMMUNAUTÉ	SAISON DES PLUIES						SAISON SÈCHE						
	JUIN	JUILLET	AOUT	SEPTEMBRE	OCTOBRE	NOVEMBRE	DÉCEMBRE	JANVIER	FÉVRIER	MARS	AVRIL	MAI	
20	☆	☆	☆	☆	★								
21	☆	☆	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□	
22	☆	☆	☆	☆	★								
23	○	○	○	●	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□	
24	☆	★	☆	☆	☆								
25	☆	★	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	★	☆	
26	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	★ ■ ▲	☆ □ △	
27	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	△	△	△	△	△	▲	△	
28	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	★	☆	
29	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	■ ▲	□ △	
30	☆ ○	☆ ○	☆ ○	☆ ○	☆ ○	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	■ ▲	□ △	

TYPE D'HABITATION	I	II, a	II, b	II, a	II, b	III
TYPE OBSERVÉ (TABLEAU 1)	★	●	◗	■	◆	▲
TYPE PRÉSUMÉ RÉSULTANT DE L'EXTENSION DU TYPE OBSERVÉ	☆	○	◡	□	◇	△

L'extension a été faite de la manière suivante :

Un type observé au cours de mois de la saison des pluies (juin à septembre) a été étendu à tous les mois de cette saison et à celui qui la suit (octobre), c'est-à-dire à la moitié de la période de transition, saison des pluies-saison sèche.

Un type observé au cours de mois de la saison sèche (décembre à avril) a été étendu à tous les mois de cette saison ainsi qu'à celui qui la précède (novembre) et celui qui la suit (mai), c'est-à-dire à la moitié de la période de transition, saison des pluies-saison sèche et à la totalité de la période de transition, saison sèche-saison des pluies. Le type intermédiaire n'est en effet pas reconstruit pendant cette période et les Yaruro réintègrent directement leurs huttes d'hiver dès les premières averses sérieuses.

Quand il s'est agi d'un type observé seulement au cours des mois de la période de transition saison des pluies-saison sèche (octobre et novembre), il a été étendu à tous les mois de la saison des pluies si c'était un type hivernal, c'est-à-dire I et II 1 a ou b (communautés 7, 20 et 22) et à tous ceux de la saison sèche si c'était un type estival II 2 a ou b et III (communautés 8, 9, 11, 19, 21 et 23).

Pour les communautés 16, 27, 29 et 30, le type de la saison des pluies n'a été observé qu'inhabité au cours de la saison sèche.

5: Le Besnerais SS19 Yaruro

Chaque communauté comprend de 10 à 30 individus, enfants inclus (moyenne 17,9) répartis en une ou plusieurs habitations dont le type varie en fonction et de la nature du terrain et de la saison [1].

Le premier type (I) est une maison droite à base rectangulaire (parfois ovale) de 3 à 4 mètres de large sur 5 à 7 de long et 3 à 4 de haut, sans parois et couverte d'un toit de paille ou de palmes à deux versants, ouvert ou fermé à une ou aux deux extrémités et protégeant des pluies. Elle est construite sur le sol dur des rives hautes que n'atteignent pas les inondations de la saison des pluies.

Le second type (II) est une petite hutte basse (l'homme ne peut s'y tenir debout) à base ronde (II *a*) ou oblongue (II *b*) également sans parois et couverte d'un toit de palmes hémisphérique (II *a*) ou à deux versants (II *b*) protégeant des pluies ; elle est dressée sur le sol mou soit des dunes de sable et des plages élevées hors d'atteinte des inondations (II 1), soit des plages libérées par la baisse des eaux (II 2).

Le troisième type (III) est un abri de même hauteur que la hutte précédente, il n'est parfois qu'une des huttes du type II recouvertes de quelques palmes ; il se compose de branches feuillues destinées à protéger des rayons du soleil, on le dresse sur les plages basses de sable que ne recouvrent plus les eaux.

Le premier type (I) et le second construit sur une dune de sable ou une plage élevée hors d'atteinte des inondations (II 1 *a* ou *b*) sont ceux qu'utilisent les Yaruro en saison des pluies, lorsque les rivières débordent de leur lit et inondent la savane.

Dès que le niveau de l'eau commence à baisser, ces quartiers d'hiver sont abandonnés pour des huttes du second type, mais construites sur des plages basses (II 2 *a* ou *b*) dont le toit les protège des pluies qui persistent encore. En pleine saison sèche, lorsque ces dernières cessent de tomber et que seule une protection contre le soleil devient nécessaire, ils utilisent le troisième type (III) qu'ils installent, en se rapprochant davantage de l'eau, sur le sable que le niveau de la rivière continuant à baisser a fraîchement libéré.

Avec le retour des premières pluies ils suivent en sens inverse ce même processus, mais en sautant le type de transition, c'est-à-dire en réintégrant directement leurs habitations hivernales.

Le type le plus répandu de l'habitation hivernale est le type I. En hiver, le type II ne se rencontre qu'exceptionnellement ; on en trouve dans 9 communautés (dont 3 sont également du type I) sur 30 lorsque le type I est temporairement inexistant ou inutilisable : détruit et non reconstruit (sa construction

1. Les llanos vénézuéliens sont d'immenses savanes sillonnées de cours d'eau à direction ouest-est et bordées d'une galerie forestière, étroite mais touffue, qui possèdent un climat tropical, caractérisé par deux saisons : une saison de pluie, l'hiver (juin à septembre), pendant laquelle les rivières débordent de leur lit et inondent la savane, et une saison sèche, l'été (décembre à avril) au cours de laquelle ces dernières s'assèchent en partie, découvrant de longues plages de sable.

5: Le Besnerais SS19 Yaruro

demandant du temps et de la main-d'œuvre et les hommes adultes étant souvent absorbés par la recherche de la nourriture quotidienne) ou interdit par les paysans vénézuéliens, comme c'est le cas pour les communautés du bas Capanaparo où les Yaruro, accusés d'avoir dérobé du bétail, ont été chassés de leurs habitations hivernales des rives et tenus de s'installer hors du domaine des Llaneros, c'est-à-dire sur les dunes de sable qui bordent la rivière.

En ce qui concerne le type II construit pendant la période de transition, il arrive qu'il soit conservé pendant toute la saison sèche (communautés 2, 5, 7, 15, 16, 26, 29 et 30). Quant au type I, il peut être également, mais rarement, utilisé tout au cours de l'année (communautés 25, 26 et 28).

La maison du type I est une maison qui dure plusieurs années, alors que les petites huttes (II) et les abris de branchages (III), soit démantelés par le vent, soit emportés par la montée des eaux à chaque nouvelle saison des pluies, doivent presque toujours être reconstruits l'année suivante.

Les habitations hivernales d'une communauté sont toujours groupées (la dispersion de celles des communautés 4 et 10 est provisoire), tandis que les huttes et les abris de campement des changements de saison et de la saison sèche sont parfois dispersés (une, deux ou trois huttes) sur des plages situées aux alentours du village d'hiver.

En outre, si les Yaruro passent toute leur saison des pluies au même endroit et mènent à cette époque une vie sédentaire, au cours de la saison sèche et même de la période de transition entre les deux saisons, il leur arrive de déplacer leurs campements d'un point à un autre sur une même plage ou d'une plage à une autre, dans l'intention soit de se rapprocher de l'eau ou de se réinstaller sur du sable propre non encombré de détritus, soit d'être plus près d'un lieu de pêche ou de travail (construction d'un canot monoxyle ou emploi dans une ferme vénézuélienne aux travaux de la saison sèche).

Ajoutons pour terminer que sur le Capanaparo, entre l'Orénoque et le Riecito, toutes les habitations permanentes de l'hiver, à part une ou deux exceptions, sont situées, ou l'étaient pour le bas Capanaparo, sur la rive sud. La cause de cette situation semble être due à la configuration du terrain : la rive sud à cet endroit est dans son ensemble plus élevée que la rive nord et donc mieux abritée des inondations.

3° La population.

a) *Démographie* (voir tableaux III, IV et V).

Sur le Capanaparo et le Riecito nous avons recensé 519 Yaruro (29 communautés sur 30). Les 2/3 (65,1 %) de cette population sont des adultes (nous n'avons pas leur répartition par âge) et le reste (34,9 %) des enfants non pubères. Chez les adultes les sexes se répartissent en deux nombres à peu près égaux : 173 (51,2 %) sont des hommes et 165 (48,8 %), des femmes. Nous n'avons la

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TABLEAU III

DÉNOMBREMENT 1947-1948

Nº DE LA COMMUN.	ADULTES ♂	ADULTES ♀	ADULTES Total	ENFANTS ♂	ENFANTS ♀	ENFANTS Total	TOTAL GÉNÉRAL
1	6	7	13			7	20
2	11	5	16			9	25
3	12	14	26			14	40
4	4	5	9			6	15
5	4	5	9	1	6	11	20
6	3	6	9	6	3	9	18
7	1	4	5	2	4	6	11
8	1	3	5			4	9
9	28	16	44	10	8	18	62
10	9	9	18			5	23
11	4	5	9			8	17
12	3	6	9			7	16
13	5	4	9			4	13
14	6	3	9			5	14
15	7	8	15			7	22
16	11	12	23			10	33
17							
18	7	7	14			4	18
19							
20	—	—	—			—	—
21	3	3	6			3	9
22	5	3	8			4	12
23	13	13	26			14	40
24	4	4	8			4	12
25	6	6	12			2	14
26	1	3	4			4	8
27	4	2	6			3	9
28	2	0	2			0	2
29	4	5	9			5	14
30	7	8	15			8	23
Total	173	165	338	23 (c)	21 (c)	181	519
%	51,2 (a)	48,8 (a)	65,1 (b)			34,9 (b)	

ÉVALUATIONS 1947-1948

(1)	150	150	300				300
(2)	34	30	64				64
(3)	5	5	10			7	17
(4)	6	5	11				11
Total général	368 (5)	355 (5)	723 (5)			188 (5)	911 (5)

a) Du total « adultes ». — b) Du total « général ». — c) Total de 5 communautés.

1) Sur le Cunaviche (6 communautés). — 2) Entre le Capanaparo et le Cinaruco (5 communautés). — 3) Entre le Capanaparo et le Riecito (1 communauté). — 4) Sur le Cinaruco (1 communauté). — 5) Dénombrement et évaluations.

[P 119]

TABLEAU IV
NATALITÉ — MORTALITÉ

N° DE LA COMM.	POPULATION 1947 ADULTES ♂	♀	Enfants	Total	NAIS. 1947-1950	DÉCÈS 1947-1950 ADULTES ♂	♀	Total	Enfants	Total général	% décès/nais. Général	Enfants
6	3	6	9	18								
7	1	4	6	11								
8	3	2	4	9								
Total	7	12	19	38	8	2	4	6	3	9		
%					15,8 (a)				33,3 (b)	23,7 (a)	112,9	50,0

(a) Du total de la population des 3 communautés.
(b) Du total des décès.

TABLEAU V
DENSITÉ

SECTEURS	TERRITOIRE N°s DES COMM.	KMS	YARURO POPULATION	DENSITÉ par 10 kms	PAYSANS VÉNÉZUÉLIENS FERMES RIVE SUD	RIVE NORD	TOTAL	POPULATION 8 par ferme	DENSITÉ par 10 kms
Orinoco à Madre Vieja Basilicro	1 à 10	220	220	10,0	29	8	37	296	13,5
Madre Vieja Basiliero à Riecito	11 à 15	40	83	20,5	0	8	8	64	16,0
Riecito à Caribe	16 à 23	55	134	24,5	0	0	0	0	0
Riecito	24 à 30	89	82	9,0	0	0	0	0	0
Totalité du territoire	Totaux et moyennes	404	519	12,0	29	16	45	360	14,0 (a)

(a) Sur 260 kms.

répartition des sexes chez les enfants que pour cinq communautés et les totaux pour chacun d'entre eux nous donnent, là aussi, deux nombres à peu près égaux : 23 enfants masculins pour 21 féminins.

Nos statistiques sur la natalité et la mortalité ne portent que sur trois communautés comprenant au total 38 habitants en 1947, elles sont donc assez imprécises. Pendant les années 1947 à 1950, c'est-à-dire pendant trois ans, nous avons enregistré 6 naissances et 9 décès (6 adultes — 2 hommes et 4 femmes — et 3 enfants en bas âge) c'est-à-dire deux naissances pour 3 décès (150 % de mortalité) ou, pour le total des habitants des trois villages, les pourcentages respectifs de 15,8 % de naissances et de 23,7 % de décès. Les enfants morts en bas âge forment le tiers du total des morts (33,3 %) et la moitié de celui des naissances, ce qui donne, pour ces 38 Yaruro, 50 % de mortalité infantile.

Si l'on se base sur ces statistiques, les Yaruro sont en voie de disparition. Ceci semble être confirmé par les Indiens eux-mêmes qui affirment qu'ils étaient plus nombreux autrefois et que leur nombre s'amenuise chaque année. « Nous mourrons à la première maladie, nous dit notre vieil informateur Pedro Ramon Camacho [1] et c'est pourquoi nous sommes si peu. Nous disparaissons. »

Ces 519 Yaruro vivent sur 400 kilomètres de rivière, ce qui donne par dix kilomètres de rivière une densité moyenne de 13 habitants. Cette moyenne dissimule de sensibles différences d'un point à un autre de cette partie du territoire. Sur les 220 premiers kilomètres du Capanaparo en partant de l'embouchure, c'est-à-dire jusqu'à la dernière ferme vénézuélienne de la rive sud (Madre vieja Basiliero), la densité est de 10 habitants par dix kilomètres. Du kilomètre 220 à l'embouchure du Riecito (près de laquelle est située la dernière ferme vénézuélienne du Capanaparo) la densité double et passe de 20,5, en dix kilomètres ; à 24,5 entre ce dernier point et l'embouchure du rio Caribe. Sur le Riecito la densité redescend à 9 habitants par dix kilomètres de rivière.

La densité des Vénézuéliens sur l'une et l'autre rive, entre l'embouchure du Capanaparo et le Riecito, en comptant une moyenne de huit habitants pour chaque ferme, est de 13,5 habitants par dix kilomètres de rivière jusqu'à la Madre vieja Basiliero et de 16 de la Madre vieja Basiliero au Riecito.

Nous verrons dans un autre article les interprétations qu'il y a lieu de donner à ces chiffres.

Pour le reste de la population yaruro qui est dispersée au Nord et au Sud de cette région et que nous n'avons pas visitée, nous ne pouvons nous baser que sur des évaluations. En ce qui concerne le Cunaviche qui aurait dix communautés, le pasteur Juan Van Kompen [2] nous a cité le chiffre de 300 sans doute au-dessus de la réalité. Les Indiens de leur côté nous ont donné pour cinq communautés situées entre le Capanapago et le Cinaruco, celui de 64 et pour deux autres situées, l'une entre le Capanaparo et le Riecito, et l'autre

1. Chef et sorcier de la communauté 8.

2. Missionnaire évangéliste établi à San Fernando de Apure, État Apure, Venezuela.

5: La Beauregard 8819 Yaruro

sur le Cinaruco, respectivement ceux de 17 et de 11. Ces dernières estimations sont certainement plus justes.

b) *Somatologie et Pathologie.*

Vicenso Petrullo, dans son livre « Yaruros of the Capanaparo river »[1], a consacré un chapitre aux caractères physiques des Yaruro. Nous renvoyons le lecteur à cet ouvrage, nos observations sur ce point ne pouvant rien apporter de très nouveau. Ajoutons seulement que tous les adultes et certains enfants d'un sexe comme de l'autre ont le corps et surtout les extrémités des membres recouverts de plaques blanches indolores appelées *carare*, fait déjà signalé par Petrullo. D'après les Yaruro, à dater d'un certain âge non précisé — peut-être cet âge correspond-il à celui de la puberté, car nous ne l'avons jamais observé chez les nouveau-nés et rarement chez les jeunes enfants — la peau par endroits se dessèche, puis se dépigmente. Toujours d'après les Yaruro, ce phénomène, qu'ils semblent considérer comme une tare (ils nous ont maintes fois demandé s'il existait un remède pour s'en débarrasser), se transmettrait par le sang. Lorsqu'une femme serait atteinte de *carare*, elle l'inoculerait à son époux, afin qu'il ne l'abandonne pas, en lui versant une goutte de son propre sang dans sa boisson.

L'état sanitaire des Yaruro est extrêmement médiocre dans l'ensemble. Les examens de sang sur lames, effectués par le professeur Mayer de l'Institut d'Hygiène de Caracas, sang prélevé sur quelques-uns d'entre eux, ont révélé des signes d'anémie grave et une éosinophilie très forte.

Ces Indiens souffrent tous plus ou moins, et principalement pendant la saison des pluies, de rhumes, de bronchites, de pneumonies, de furonculose, d'accès fébriles grippaux ou paludiques, de maux de tête, de caries et d'abcès dentaires, de douleurs sans doute rhumatismales et d'inflammations glandulaires. Les rhumes, les bronchites, les accès fébriles et surtout les pneumonies ont fréquemment des conséquences mortelles. Nous supposons également que les Yaruro sont atteints d'amibiase et d'ankylostomiase, l'auteur de ces lignes ayant contracté ces maladies en vivant au milieu d'eux. Enfin la variole les atteindrait périodiquement et ferait des ravages. Elle aurait décimé, il y a une vingtaine d'années, tous ceux qui vivaient sur le Cinaruco. En ce qui concerne la tuberculose et la lèpre, nous n'avons rien observé.

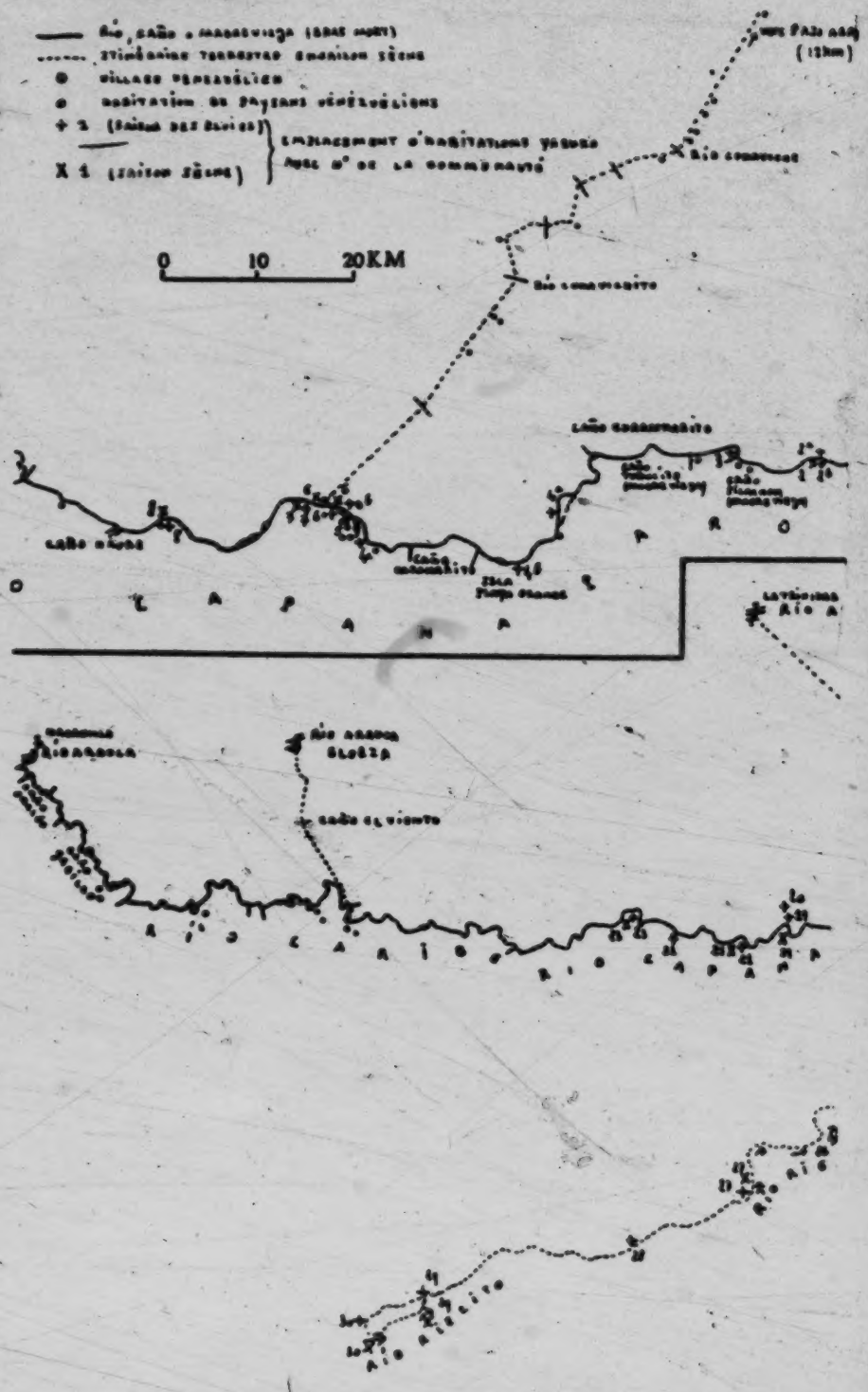
1. In Anthropological papers, n° 11, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 123, pp. 161 à 290.

[P. 132 is blank]

5: Le Besnerais

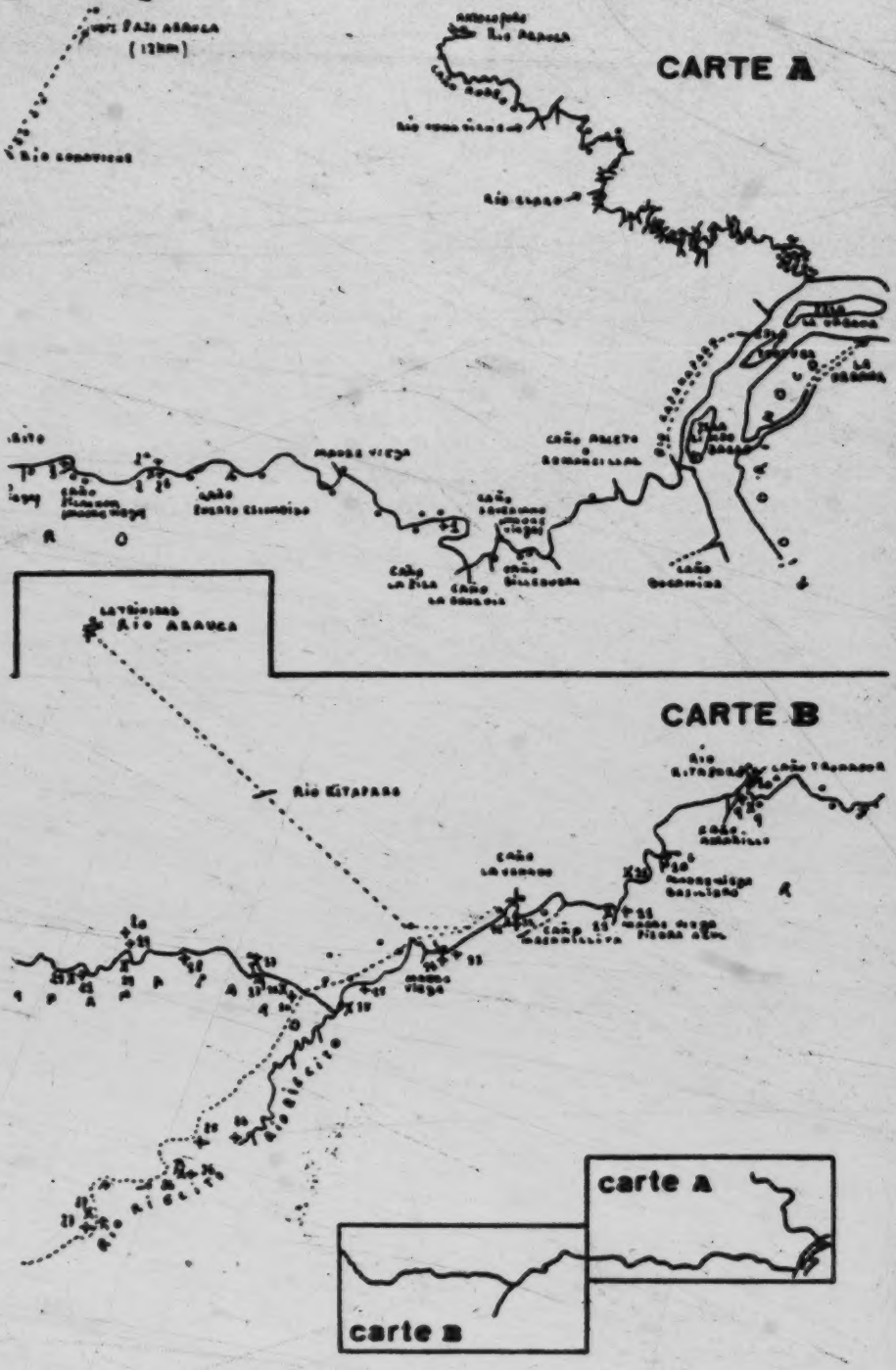
SS19 Yaruro

[P122-A]



CARTE N° 2. — Territoires

[R 122-B]



• 2. — Territoires des Yaruro.

6:Le Besnerais E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Contribution to the Study of the Yaruro and Otomac Indians (Venezuela) - [Contribution à l'Étude des Indiens Yaruro et Otomaco (Venezuela)]

Henry Le Besnerais

Geneva, 1962

Bulletin, Société suisse des Américanistes
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1966

[Title page]

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Contribution to the Study of the Yaruro and Otomac Indians (Venezuela)

continuation II (1)

1. See "infra" IV List...36.

I. Notes on the origins, way of life, and history of the Yaruro.
II. Notes on the Otomaco /Otomac/.
III. Complementary observations on the habitat of the Yaruro.
IV. List of works and diverse documents relating to the study of the Yaruro and the Otomaco.
V. Corrections for the first part of this study /omitted in the translation of this second part, but incorporated in the translation of the first part/ (1).

1. See "infra" IV List...36.

I. Notes on the origins, way of life, and history of the Yaruro.

a) Origins

121 174 We do not yet know all about the origin and the pre-Colombian past of the Yaruro. Have they lived since the most remote times on the territory which they now occupy (1) or,

1. See "infra" IV List ... 36.

on the contrary, did they come to settle there at a less distant period, and in this case, how and why? Were they formerly powerful, numerous, and masters of a vast territory--their present-day descendants let it be understood--and, if so, what vicissitudes have reduced them to the present small group? Are the excesses of their civilized neighbors and the epidemics

/7 cont./

121 carried by the latter the only causes for it, as was the case
174 for numerous tribes after the arrival of the Spaniards, or should one also search for other more distant ones?

/8/ Our investigations have not furnished us with any direct answer to these questions. We should not try to give any as long as there have not been carried out comparative studies of language--up to the present their dialect has not been linked with any of the known large linguistic families of South America --and culture with the other societies of tropical South America--and perhaps also of more distant regions. As for the ties which might have united them formerly with the Otomaco, for the same reasons we cannot say more about them than what they say themselves (see "infra": II Notes on the Otomaco) as a complement to Angel Rosenblat's study on the Otomaco and Taparita (2).

2. Id. 54.

b) Way of life

114 Relying on Vicenzo Petrullo's investigations (3), Alfred
174

3. Id. 52.

Métraux (4) extends to the Yaruro the alternative he poses with

4. Id. 45.

regard to the way of life of certain tribes occupying the drainage basin of the Orinoco and the Amazon, which contrasts by its primitiveness--the absence of agriculture and nomadism--with that of the majority of the tribes of these same regions, who practice agriculture (5). He writes: "Are these Indians

/8 cont./

114
174
[177
241
197]

5. This paragraph had been published when we learned of Anthony Leeds' articles (see "infra" IV List...42 and 43). The latter considers that agriculture, which exists among the Yaruro, as we acknowledge further along, was introduced by missionaries at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

descendants of the first inhabitants, hunters and gatherers who invaded South America at the beginning of the Neolithic Age, as Father Cooper suggests, or are they groups of Indians who after diverse vicissitudes have degenerated and adapted their civilization to a new way of life, as Levi-Strauss insists?"

121 Immigrants or not, hunters, fishers, and gatherers who evolved, or agriculturists who regressed, we shall not make a choice here between these alternatives and shall limit ourselves to presenting two observations which, gone into more deeply, will eventually permit opting in favor of one of the theses before us.

[137
241] 1) The tropical savanna inhabited by the Yaruro, as a consequence of the absence of extensive forests, is hardly propitious for primitive agriculture. The latter could, however, be carried out there on a small scale.

114 The Yaruro, in fact, and contrary to Vicenzo Petrullo's
121 observations, are not only gatherers, fishers, and hunters, but
241 also practice agriculture, in general on land cleared in the forest corridors. Petrullo probably did not observe this aspect of their way of life (6) because he carried out his investigations

6. We made, moreover, the identical error in the course of our first investigations (see "infra" IV List...40).

at the height of the dry season--when the soil /9/ is no longer

/9 cont./

productive and the Yaruro are living mainly on sandy shores, leading the life of fishers and nomadic gatherers--and limited them to the lower Capanaparo. There these Indians do not work the land, or at least very little; apparently for reasons linked with the proximity of Venezuelan peasants, such as: interdiction on the part of the latter who, with or without title, are masters of the land, the risk of being overrun by the free-roaming livestock, or simply work as peons on the farms, which would hardly allow them time to cultivate the land.

In fact, agriculture is only practiced on certain portions of their territory and particularly on those where they do not have contact with the Venezuelan peasants. This statement excludes at first sight the recent acquisition of it from the latter. Such a deduction is moreover corroborated by the accounts of the Jesuits (7) who lived for a while in the region in the eigh-

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

teenth century and who already described them as agriculturists--without specifying whether they had been before their arrival--and by the present Yaruro themselves, who affirm that they all formerly had conucos (8). But these points still do not

8. Kitchen gardens, in Venezuelan.

allow us to assert that they were in possession of the technique in the pre-Hispanic period.

2) The region, on the other hand, is rich in archaeological sites containing objects (pottery remains, figurines of baked clay and lignite, polished stone axes, funeral urns) which are of a completely different make from those made by the present-day Yaruro, who, moreover, do not recognize them as being of their making. Is it a question of remains of objects of forerunners or remains of objects of the Otomaco, who at the time of the Jesuits apparently lived in the present-day territory

/9 cont./
of the Yaruro (7), or even remains of objects of the Yaruro of

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

former times, whose descendants have forgotten the techniques of making them?

c) History

We hardly know much more about their post-Colombian history. Some Jesuit missionaries, as we mentioned above, had contacts with them on the bank of the Orinoco toward the middle of the eighteenth century (7).

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

Did they leave some sort of imprint on their culture? This we do not know. In any case the Yaruro do not seem to have preserved any memory of it, if it isn't the fear of bearded men on the part of the children. They do remember /10/ on the other hand for a more recent period some battles which put in opposition in the course of a civil war on the Capanaparo even the Venezuelans against each other.

The important event of the last years (1920-1940) remains for them the installation of Racionales (9) on the Capanaparo,

9. Venezuelans

an installation the repercussions of which, as much on their way of life and the social, economic, and religious structure of their society as on their sanitary conditions and their demographic situation (illnesses and, at a certain period, repression), have been and continue to be considerable.

/10 cont./

II. Notes on the Otomaco

101 From information gathered principally from Pedro Ramón
186 Camacho (10) it seems that the Otomaco or Tomaco were the

[115] [622] [756]

10. Chief and shaman of community No. 6, our best informant.

object on the part of the Yaruro of a regard completely different from that they had for the other Indians who were their neighbors (11).

101

11. In addition to the neighbors already cited in a previous article (see "infra" IV List...36) names of other Indians, known, it seems, by the Yaruro, were mentioned to us by various informants in the course of our investigations. Some appear to live at present in Colombia; the Mayaredo or Mayarero, "very far to the west of Yaruro territory, there where the savanna ends," which no doubt means at the foot of the Andes; the Saliba and Taparito cya koromę more particularly on the upper Meta; and the Tiapaco, Tiarua, and Mapoyó without fixed localization. The others seem to have disappeared: the Piquero (tabę pumę in Yaruro), who "cultivated conucos and had a game with a ball" and seem to have inhabited the banks of the Orinoco on the Cinaruco side, and the Guamo, Tamanaco, Tamanachi, and Guaruro.

/10 cont./

Y 186 10 These are in fact presented as enemies or inferiors. The Otomaco, on the contrary, appear to have been friends or relatives who were superior to them. This hierarchy is apparently confirmed by the Yaruro myth of the creation of men (12) where

Y 186 773

12. See "infra" IV List...38.

the Otomaco were the first brought out of a hole in the ground by the masculine divinity Iţiai, the Yaruro arriving only in second place, followed by the other Indians and the Racionales who were the last born. Their birth took place, in addition, just after that of Iţiai but before the flood which submerged the world and only after which the Yaruro were born.

O Y 773 776 The Otomaco seem to have the same divinities and religious manifestations as the Yaruro, as comes out from the words of our informant, Pedro Ramón Camacho, reproduced word for word below.

"They knew who the Kuma (13) was and they were loved by

13. Female Yaruro divinity.

O 776 the Gods. Now in the other world whereas the dead of the other Indians inhabit an isolated village located at the edge of the Universe, on the shore of the sea and some leagues from the Kuma's village, the Otomaco live a little lower than the Kuma's village, like from here to the corridor of forest (some 200 meters), in a village perched on the /11/ mountain. They called the Kuma, Iţiai, and Puana (14) by their names.

14. Another masculine Yaruro divinity, Iţiai's brother.

O Y 775 776 They had, like us, tiyo (protecting spirits represented by stones or pottery remains) and when my spirit walks along the

/11 cont./

O Y 775 776 way which leads to the other world it will meet after the village of the tiyo of Iʃiai, at the left, on the same side, the tiyo of the Otomaco. They sang and danced (shamanistic ceremony) during the day when Kuma and Iʃiai were still living on earth. When they ran off into the other world they continued to sing and dance but at night. During their songs they walked, the old men of past times used to say."

Y 533 539 Pedro Ramón Gamacho completed his account with a quatrain of this song which had been repeated to him by a grandfather, but the meaning of which he did not know:

gwačarka hihi gwačarka hihi
gwačarka hihi gwačarka hihí
pideruba pideruba pideruba hihi
pideruba pideruba pideruba hihi

Y 773 825 136 The Otomaco are presented in Yaruro legends as being in the beginning three animals: the mono (15), the araguato (16),

15. Monkey (Cebus nigrivittatus), in Venezuelan.

16. Howling monkey (Alouetta ursina), in Venezuelan.

and the chigüíre (17).

17. Capybara, large amphibious rodent (Hydrochoerus hydrochoeris), in Venezuelan.

Y 773 825 The transformation of the Otomaco into monos and araguatos seems to have occurred at the time of the flood unleashed by Iʃiai to cleanse the world of all the moral disorder which reigned there. Some Otomaco took refuge in the trees

/11 cont./
773 out of reach of the waters, having refused to shelter themselves
825 on an elevated knoll as Ijiai ordered them to do. The latter, to punish them, condemned them and all their family to become "monos and araguatos who will eat henceforth," he told them, "leaves, fruit, chiga (18), etc...."

[137] [252]

18. Chigo grain (Campsiandra comosa), from which the Yaruro apparently extract flour.

The origin of the chigüire is illustrated on its part by the text reproduced next:

1st version (literal translation)

"Once upon a time, when the Kuma still lived on earth, an old Otomaco pume (19). The Kuma had a little gourd

19. In Yaruro: man or Yaruro.

full of mosquitos (20) and plaga (21) and one day the Otomaco

[136]

20. Diurnal wounding gnats (Similium haemapotum Malloch), in Venezuelan.

21. Nocturnal mosquitoes, in Venezuelan.

asked her: "What is this, grandmother?" "No, son," she answered him, "do not try to uncork it because they are Ijiai's sons. If you uncork it, /12/ the little beasts will eat you." The Otomaco, the old pume, was stubborn and in an inattentive moment of the Kuma uncorked the little receptacle near a river. In an instant he was covered with bites and threw himself into the water. Then Ijiai said to him that for

Y /12 cont./
773 having been disobediant he was going to serve as food for the
825 pumę's and be transformed into chigüíre. In the same instant he was transformed into chigüíre."

2nd version (literal translation)

"The Kuma had a little receptacle filled with plaga and all kinds of zancudos (22). A pumę, the chigüíre, the

Y
[136] 22. Anopheles mosquitoes (Cellia argyritarsis), in Venezuelan.

Otomaco asked Kuma what kind of animal was in the receptacle. She answered that they were dangerous zancudos and that he must not open it because that would present danger. The Otomaco said: "I am going to open it." Then he opened the receptacle and thus the plaga came. If he had not opened it there would have been no plaga. When he had opened the receptacle, the mosquitoes began to bite him. The Otomaco threw himself into the water because he could not stand the bites and was transformed into chigüíre because he had disobeyed. Iţiai said to him: "You did not want to obey, you will be transformed into chigüíre which the pumę's will kill to feed upon." The bristles of the chigüíres are the zancudos. The present chigüíres are the sons of those who have disobeyed."

O
101 Otomaco territory seems to have been situated north of
131 that of the Yaruro, around the place where they supposedly were created: Los Caballos, near the Río Cunaviche. "All these dunes," Pedro Ramón Camacho said to us word for word, and at the same time his hand made a one-quarter turn of the horizon toward the north, "were once covered with Otomaco
O 172 villages. The remains of pimpina (23), of plates, of
415
Y
173 23. A pitcher of porous earthenware used as a water-cooler in Venezuelan.

/12 cont./

budare (24), of tinaja (25), etc...which are found there are

24. Dish to cook flat manioc cakes, in Venezuelan.

25. Jar, in Venezuelan.

from the Otomaco women. But they often came this way--sometimes to dance or to buy canoes--to meet with the ancestors of the Yaruro of today. Like the former they were themselves good people. Yaruro and Otomaco each spoke in their dialect, which they mutually understood, which was not difficult. "Today," he added, "not a person remembers it."

Their relations must even have extended further, since they married among themselves without any obstacle /13/ placing itself in the way. Ijiai in fact approved of these unions, as opposed to those with other Indians, the Piquero and Taparito included, Pedro Ramón Camacho specified, or with the Racionales, of which he disapproved.

They fed themselves, it appears, not only on fish, tortoise, deer, and vegetable produce grown in the conucos, but also on guiriguiri duck (26), a bird little in demand among the

26. Venezuelan name of the Dendrocygna automnalis.

present Indians because of the fishy taste of its meat. In addition, like the Yaruro, they appear to have lived in round huts built on the dunes, practiced a ball game, and made their pottery with the same technique and not with the aid of basketwork molds, contrary to what the remains with basketwork impressions which abound in the region where they apparently lived would lead us to suppose.

/13 cont./

Y 186 Let us add, finally, to this dossier on the Otomaco and their relations with the Yaruro, that the latter seem to have considered them, despite their being of another tribe, as pumę--a term also already employed for the Otomaco in the legends about the origin of the mono, araguato, and chigüíre--that is, men like themselves. "They are pumę like ourselves," our old informant, Pedro Ramón Camacho, said to us. On the other hand, the old Yaruro seem to have called them aitti tabę or eitti tabę, or even the short form aitti, which in Yaruro signifies simply that they are of a different tribe, whereas the Otomaco on their part apparently called the Yaruro pumę, or even pumę ra, which, in Yaruro also, means good people.

O 114 361 It was Juan Esteban Bellac (27) and Pedro Ramón Camacho

Y [622] 27. Temporary chief of community No. 2.

who pointed out to us almost simultaneously the existence of a last Otomaco village called Los Caballos, the name of the place where they were supposedly created, and situated on the Río Cunaviche not far from the Venezuelan village of Cunaviche. We went there in October, 1949, but only found some small hills covered with short, green grass and occupied by several trees in the English garden manner, which rose above a river of clear water. The site and the landscape were remarkable, but the Otomaco had abandoned them a long time ago.

O 115 We did find, however, one survivor of Los Caballos, Catalina Galinda, in the village of Cunaviche (in the Jacintero quarter, located a bit upstream), but we could /14/ draw nothing out of her. She no longer had any remembrance of the language or culture of her former tribe, having left Los Caballos very young and at a time when the last Otomaco were already speaking Spanish among themselves.

O [191]

/14 cont./

O 115 361 In 1949 Catalina still had three brothers, Ramón, Pablo, and Nicolas, and a sister, Guadalupe. The first brother was living on the island of Fraile in the Orinoco--his existence had been confirmed for us by a trader of the Orinoco--and the two others in San Fernando in Apure, where they were employed in the firm, Casa Hermanos Vivas. The sister was also living in San Fernando. All four had been born in Los Caballos, whereas Catalina, older than they, had first seen the light of day on the Orinoco at a time when, no doubt, the Otomaco were still living along the river. According to our informant, Pedro Ramón Camacho, in addition to these five survivors, an old Otomaco woman, also Racional like the others, was living at Lucero, a farm situated on the right bank of the Capanaparo, at the time of our investigations. Finally, according to another source, some Otomaco still existed at this same time in Colombia on the banks of the Meta.

Y 128 III. Complementary observations on the habitat of the Yaruro (28)

28. See "infra" IV List...36.

The observations made are reproduced on the two tables which follow. They are summarized for certain communities in the notes below:

Y No. of the community

342 361 2a This community No. 2 is initially located (No. 2a) on a dune of sand and earth swept by wind and relatively little assailed by mosquitoes. It has five habitations of type II 1a. The chief's habitation is to the west; the others are spread out along the same line toward the southeast. The shaman's habitation is the one in the middle. The fourth from that of the chief of the community appears to be reserved, according to the latter, for children and for passing guests.

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6:Le Besnerais--13a E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

I. STATEMENT OF COMPLEMENTARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE COMMUNITIES OF THE YARURO (29)

29. For date of observations, location of communities on the Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, and description of habitation types, see "infra" IV List ...36.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
On the Capanaparo River:									
1	Carlos José Delgado, then, after his death, his wife Severiana.	Santa Ana		8					According to Vicenzo Petrullo's (31) investi- 31. See "infra" IV List...82. gations, the community was called Las Mercedes and was located near the Venezuelan farm of the same name.
2	José Ledema	a) Lagunota abandoned for:		5					Same community as Petrullo's Lagunota (31), 31. See "infra" IV List...82. which was situated beside the Venezuelan farm of Piedra Azul.
	or Juan Esteban Bellac (in the absence of the former)	b) Potrerito	x (32)	x		x			
		32. "x" indicates unenumerated habitations.							
3	Adán Matute	Potrero Grande		4 to 6					The summer encampment located on a shore and not observed is called San Luis.

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6:Le Besnerais--13b F-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
4	Marcelio Castillo	3 sites occupied simultaneously: a) Guscharaca		2					
		b) Agua Linda	2						
		c) Médano Alto		1					At the time of the observations (29), the site 29. /See footnote 29 above./ had only one type II 1 a habitation, temporarily occupied by one ♂, 2 ♀, and 2 children who were to return to Guscharaca.
5	Ramón Beiruín	Médano Alto		5		5			
8	Pedro Ramón Camacho (33)	a) Guamacho abandoned for:		3 to 4				x	
		33. The underlined names are those of higher chiefs (in Spanish: capitán mayor) with greater authority than the other chiefs (in Spanish: capitán menor). This authority generally extends to the neighboring communities sometimes directed by a capitán menor and grouped together on this table by wavy lines.							
	His actual authority over Ramón Beiruín is contested.	b) (Island opposite it)		3 to 4				x	The island was later abandoned for a site farther upstream.

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
7	Ezequiel Padrón	Marecurito		x		x		x	
8	Ramón José Caravajal (named by the Venezuelans) (34)	Magdalena							
	34. "Named by the Venezuelans" means that he was designated or confirmed as chief by a representative of the Venezuelan authorities.								
		or Caravajal	2			x			
9	Antonio Perasa (named by the Venezuelans and not recognized by the Yaruro)	San José and San Luis	3			x			The winter habitations are invisible from the bank. The summer encampment located on a shore is at San Luis.
10	José Carmen Garcillo	2 sites occupied simultaneously							
		a) Santa Rosa			1				
		b) Caño Amarillo	2						

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...30. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
11	Andrés or Juan Pío (subordinate of Bernardino Agustín Lopez, surnamed Venado —see community no. 15)	Puan El Robo (briefly occupied)	x			x			
		then simultaneously Vuelta Mala I and Vuelta Mala II	x			x			
12	Santo Remilio Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Chaparal or (Vuelta Mala) or (Barranca)	2					x	The type I habitations are located 400/800 m. from the bank.
13	Jacinto Lopez father of the preceding (named by the Venezuelans)	El Rosario	1						The community is located near a forest and a spring of clear water coming from the savanna.
14	Jesús Arcaya	Manguito	1						
15	Bernardino Agustín Lopez surnamed Venado; also has authority over Andrés or Juan Pío (see comm. no. 11). (no doubt named by the Ven.)	El Celbose	2				1	1	The summer encampment is located on an island downstream from the mouth of the Riecito.

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...30. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
16	Ramón Dias	El Colbote	3				5	3	The type I habitations are located about 300 m. from the bank.
17	Castillo	La Gaviners	5				x		
18	Simón Pacheco	Merecurito	1						
19	Simón Pacheco	Argentina	3			x			
20	Billegas	Argentina	x						The habitations are located on the savanna far from the bank.
21	Billegas	Garici	1 to 2			x			
22	José Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Matecaballo	3						The habitations are far from the bank.
23	Eloy	Monte Zarpuro (La Patilla)		x		x			

6:Le Beserais--13e E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...30.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
On the Riecito River:									
24	?	?	2						The habitations are located about 200 m. from the bank.
25	Cecilio (Cecilito)	Mangato	6 to 7						The habitations are located 1 km. 500 from the bank. They are surrounded by mango trees.
26	Felipe (Felipito)	?	2			1		1	
27	Jerónimo	?	x					x	The summer encampment is set up under some trees.
28	Gregorio	?	1						
29	José Blanco	?	2			3		1	
30	Luis	?	4	1		5		8	

6:Le Beslerais--13f E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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II. LIST OF YARURO COMMUNITIES NOT OBSERVED BUT MENTIONED BY OUR INFORMANTS (35)

35. For the approximate location of these communities see "infra" IV List...64.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
On the Arauca River:			
A	?	?	Opposite the Venezuelan farm La Trinidad
B	?	El Viento	On the upper Arauca
On the Caño del Agua:			
C	?	La Mata	
On the Caño del Medio:			
D	?	Palmarito	

8:Le Besnerais--13g E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
On the Cunaviche River:			
E	?	El Gavilán	A little upstream from the Venezuelan village Cunaviche. According to the inhabitants of community no. 1, these Indians are not the same as themselves.
F	?	El Burón	El Burón de Petrullo (31) 31. See "infra" IV List...52.
G	?	San Vicente	
H	?	Carolina	Near the Venezuelan village Guaracha
I	?	Fruta de Burro	Upstream from the Venezuelan village Guaracha

6:Le Besnerais--13h E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
J	?	Camaguán	id.
On the Caño San Felipe:			
K	?	?	
On the Isla Lindo Barro and at the Boca del Capanaparo:			
L	?	?	
M	?	?	
N	?	?	
O	?	?	On Fraile Island

6:Le Besnerais--13i E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Between the Capanaparo and Cinaruco Rivers:			
P	?	?	One day downstream from R
Q	Joseito Menor	La Vigía	2 km. downstream from R
R	Olivet	El Gomal	One league (5 km.) from the Cinaruco and one day in summer or 1 1/2 days in winter--because the Casanarito, which is deep, must be crossed with a raft--from community no. 7, the spot on the Capanaparo which is closest to it.
S	?	?	Near R
T	?	?	

6:Le Besnerais--13j E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
U	?	Lagunota	Traversed by Raymond Fiasson (36) in 36. See "infra" IV List...21 and 22. Nov./Dec. 1946. At sources of the Náure.
V	?	?	On the Caño Amarillo
W	Alfonso (reputed a thief)	Ceiba	At sources of the Macanillita
Between the Capanaparo and Riecito Rivers:			
X	Nicolás	?	On the right bank of the Capanaparo between communities No. 22 and 23.

6:Le Besnerais--13k E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Y	Padrón (reputed a thief)	?	At the sources of the Caño Perro de Agua.
Z	?	Moriche	Near a lagoon and not far from community no. 28.
Between the Riecito and Cinaruco Rivers:			
AA	Pablo and José Losa Cardona (other name cited: Leyi)	Reicero	On a dune located at the sources of the Cinarucquito, the Cinaruco, or the Riecito, or near the Cinaruquito and 1/2 day's travel on foot from the right bank of the Riecito or one day by canoe (up to the Paso Reicero) from the Boca del Riecito.
AB	Nicolás	?	

6:Le Besnerais--13L E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
AC	Basilio	?	On the Cinaruquito, to the South of the Venezuelan farm Sol y Sombra.
On the Cinaruco River:			
AD	Pablo Emilio	?	At the Paso Mina
AE	?	Santa Rosa	
AF	Julio	?	South of the Venezuelan farm Sol y Sombra
AG	José Lopez Paez	?	

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
On the Meta River:			
AH	?	?	
AI	?	?	On the upper Meta
On the Tomo River:			
AJ	?	?	

6:Le Besnerais--13o E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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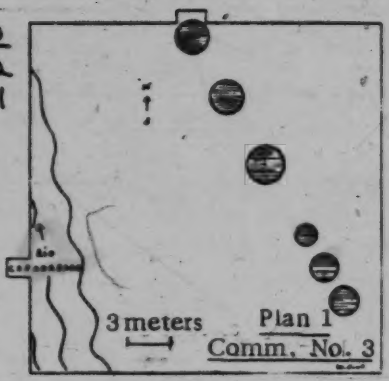

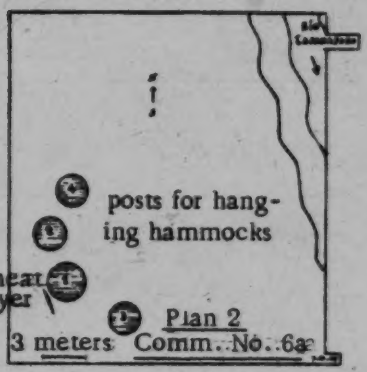

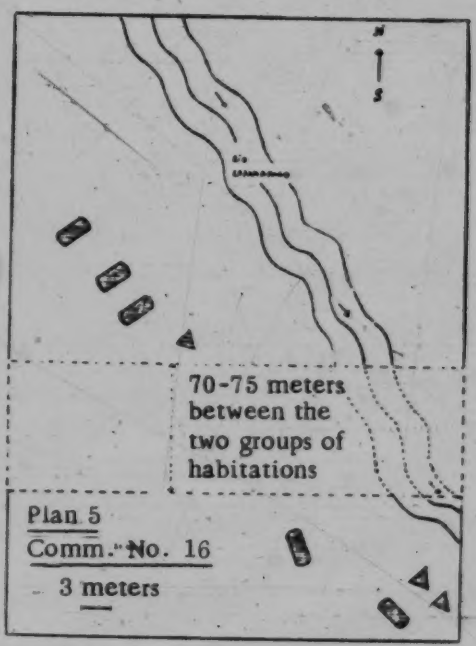

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3 This one has six type II 1a habitations laid out, at the end of our observations, along the bank as plan No. 1 shows.[1] At the beginning of our observations the habitation of the chief -- and at the time shaman -- of the community was located to the side and approximately 100 meters to the east of the other habitations.

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5 Community No. 5 formerly formed one and the same community, No. 7. It was created at the beginning of our observations by Ramón Beltran, who no longer wanted to accept the authority of Pedro Ramón Camacho, capitán mayor.

6a and b In each of its successive sites -- (a): a sand dune on the right bank of the Capanaparo about 30 meters from the water and (b): a sandy shore on the island facing it -- the community has no permanent shape except for three type II 1a habitations (plans No. 2 and 3). The fourth, shown on plan No. 2, was built by the inhabitants of community No. 8 for a temporary stay. Habitation No. I, for the chief and shaman of the community, is larger than the others.

8 This community has two large type I habitations, the base and roofing of which, however, are rectangular at one end and rounded at the other.

9 The three large type I habitations of this community are more comfortable in appearance than the normal, but their deficient height does not allow a man to stand up in it.

11 The chief of the community lives in Vuelta Mala 2.

[1] [see p. 13c. -Analyst]

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12 The community has two large type I houses, the base and roofing of which, however, are rounded at the ends.

13 This community is, from its appearance, less comfortable than the others.

14 In this one also the large type I house has its base and roofing rounded at the ends.

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15 The two type I habitations of the community located on the hard ground of the high, steep river banks are laid out as plan No. 4 indicates.

16 These eight type II 2b and III habitations are laid out as plan No. 5 indicates.

17 The type I habitations are too low to stand up in, even that of the chief of the community, although it is larger than the others.

23 The community has type II 1: and II 2a habitations. This latter type has a rectangular base here and an elevation, cut along its breadth, which is pointed in form.

26, 29, 30 } The type I habitations of these three communities have oval bases.

113 IV. List of works and diverse documents relating to the study of the Yaruro and Otomaco.

This list does not take account of unpublished documents resulting from the author's investigations.

6:Le Besnerais--16 E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

/16 cont./

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2. Aguirre Elorriaga, Manuel, S.J., La compañia de Jesús en Venezuela /The Order of Jesuits in Venezuela/. Caracas, 1941.
3. Antolinez, Gilberto, "Hacia el indio y su mondo /About the Indian and His world." (Pensamientos vivos del hombre americano) /Living Thoughts of American Man/. Caracas, 1946.
4. Antolinez, Gilberto, "Mitología, Cosmología y Organización Social del Yaruro /The Mythology, Cosmology, and Social Organization of the Yaruro/." El Heraldo, Feb. 3, 1946, Caracas.
5. Balbi, Adrian, Abrégé de Géographie /Geographical Summary/. Paris, 1838.
6. Bonpland, A., (cf. 32).
7. Brinton, Daniel G., "Further notes on the Betoya dialects from unpublished sources." Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc., Vol. 30, pp. 45-105. Washington, 1892. /17/
8. Brinton, Daniel G., The american Race: á linguistic classification and ethnographic description of the native tribes of North and South America. New York, 1821. 2nd ed.: Philadelphia, 1901.
9. Bueno, Ramón, Tratado /Treatise/.
10. Chaffanjon, Jean, L'Orénoque et le Caura: relation de voyages exécutés en 1886-1887 /The Orinoco and the Caura: Account of Voyages Carried Out in 1886-1887/. Paris, 1889. (vocabularies.)
11. Chamberlain, Alexander F., "Sur quelques familles linguistiques peu connues ou presque inconnues de l'Amérique du Sud /On Some Little-known or Almost Unknown Linguistic Families of South America/," Journ. Soc. Amer. de Paris, n.s., Vol. VII, 1910, pp. 179-202 (bibliography).

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113 12. Codazzi, Agustín, Resumen de la geografía de Venezuela /Summary of the Geography of Venezuela/. 3 vols. Paris, 1841. Biblioteca venezolana de Cultura. Caracas, 1940.

13. Crevaux, Jules Nicolas, Bibliothèque linguistique américaine. Vol. VIII, 1882 (vocabularies).

14. Crevaux, Jules Nicolas, Voyages dans l'Amérique du Sud /Voyages in South America/. Paris, 1883.

15. Cruxent, José Maria, (Vocabularios chiricoa, guahibo, yaruro, piaroa /Vocabularies of the Chiricoa, Guahibo, Yaruro, and Piaroa/). Unpublished notes. 1947.

16. Dickey, Herbert Spencer, "A été en 1926 avec Miguel Cardona (Instituto de Folklore, Caracas, Venezuela) à la recherche d'un crâne sur le río Tomo en Colombie et aurait rencontré des Yaruro" /sic/.

17. Dreyfus-Roche, Simone (cf. 41).

18. Fabo, Pedro, "Etnografía y lingüística de Casanare, Colombia /Ethnography and linguistics of the Casanare, Colombia/," Anthropos, 1919-1920, p. 21.

19. Fiasson, Jeannine, De l'Orénoque à la Tamise /From the Orinoco to the Tamise/. Algiers, 1946.

20. Fiasson, Jeannine, Llanos, terres brutales /Grande prairie vénézuélienne) /The Llanos, Brutal Lands (The Great Venezuelan Prairie)/. Paris, 1956.

21. Fiasson, Raymond, "Algunos aspectos científicos del Apure /Some Scientific Aspects of the Apure/," El Agricultor Venezolano, year XII, No. 127, November, 1947.

22. Fiasson, Raymond, Des Indiens et des Mouches /On Indians and Flies/. Tournai, 1960.

23. Fiasson, Raymond, (Vocabulaire yaruro /Yaruro Vocabulary/). Unpublished notes.

[114] 24. Forneri, R.P., " 'Epitome' sur la langue yaruro /'Compendium' on the Yaruro Language/," annotated /18/ by Humboldt. (37). Work noted by:

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37. This work has been searched for in:
1) Spain; without success at the National Library and at those of the Athenaeum and the Royal Palace (Madrid). The library of the "Real Academia de Historia" (Madrid) and the "Archivo de Indias" (Seville) have not given a definite answer.
2) France; without success at the Bibliothèque Nationale and at that of the Musée de l'Homme (Paris).
3) Italy (Vatican). Without success at the Jesuits' Library "Borgo S. Spirito" and at that of the "Propaganda Fide." The Vatican Library, which received the estate "Stefano Borgia" from the "Propaganda Fide," where the "Manuscrit sur la langue des Yaruro" (cf. 62) might well be, has not given a definite answer.
4) U.S.A. Without success at the Library of Congress, in the National Union Catalog, which includes the books of some 500 libraries of the country, and at the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution (Washington).
5) Venezuela. Without success in all the public and private libraries of the country.

a/ Hervas y Panduro, Lorenzo, Catálogo de las lenguas...(cf. 29).

b/ Oramas, Luis Ramón, "Contribución al estudio..." (cf. 48). (According to Oramas, Forneri's "'Epitome'..." and the "Manuscrit sur la langue des Yaruro" (cf. 62) may be one and the same work).

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c/ Chamberlain, A.F., "Sur quelques familles linguistiques..." (cf. 11). (Chamberlain writes that "according to Ludewig (?) Forneri's "Epitome"... may be a rather extensive grammar and vocabulary which could well be the material Humboldt had and which he deposited in the Royal Library of Berlin, where it remains still unpublished.")

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26. Gumilla, Joseph, El Orinoco Ilustrado y Defendo. Historia natural, civil y geográfica de este gran río, y de sus caudalosas vertientes /The Orinoco Explained and Justified. The Natural, Civil and Geographic History of This Great River, and of its Rich Flow/. Madrid, 1745; Barcelona, 1791. (Second edition of Manuel Fernandez.)

27. Harcourt, Raoul d', "Pièces archéologiques des Llanos vénézuéliens /Archaeological Fragments from the Venezuelan Llanos/," Miscellanea Paul Rivet Octogenario dicata, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico, Vol. II, pp. 153-158. Mexico, 1958.

28. Hervas y Panduro, Lorenzo, "Arithmetica delle nazioni e division del tempo fra l'Orientali /Arithmetic of the Nations and the Division of Time among the Orientals/," Idea dell'Universo, Vol. XIX.

29. Hervas y Panduro, Lorenzo, Catálogo de las lenguas de los naciones conocidas, y numeración, división, y clases de estas según la diversidad de sus idiomas y dialectos

/18 cont./

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/Catalog of the Languages of the Known Nations, and the Enumeration, Division, and Classification of the Same according to the Diversity of Their Idioms and Dialects/. 6 vols. Madrid, 1800-1805.

30. Hervas y Panduro, Lorenzo, Origine, formazione, meccanismo, ed armonia deg idiomi /The Origin, Formation, Mechanism, and Harmony of Languages/. 1785.

31. Hervas y Panduro, Lorenzo, Vocabulario Poligloto /A Polyglot Vocabulary/. 1787.

32. Humboldt, Alexander von, and Bonpland, A., Viage a/19/ las regiones equinocciales del Nuevo Continente 1799-1804 /Voyage to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent 1799-1804). 5 vols.

33. Jahn, Alfredo, "Las exploraciones etnológicas de Venezuela y sus problemas /Ethnological Explorations of Venezuela and Its Problems/," Boletín de la Sociedad Venezolana de Ciencias Naturales, Caracas, 1934, Vol. II, pp. 204-259, and Cultura Nacional, Vol. I, pp. 89-97.

34. Koch-Grünberg, Theodore, "Abschluss meiner Reise durch Nordbrasilien zum Orinoco, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der von mir besuchten Indianerstämme /sic/ /Conclusion of my Trip through Northern Brazil to the Orinoco, with special note of the Indian Tribes Visited by me/," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin, Vol. XLV, 1913, pp. 448-474.

35. Le Besnerais, Henry, "Chez les Yaruro des Llanos du Bassin de l'Orénoque (Venezuela) /Among the Yaruro of the Llanos of the Orinoco Basin (Venezuela)/," Les Cahiers de St. Martin, new series, No. 4, 1952, pp. 15-19.

36. Le Besnerais, Henry, "Contribution à l'étude des Indiens Yaruro – Venezuela. (Quelques observations sur le territoire, l'habitat, et la population) /Contribution to the Study of the Yaruro Indians -- Venezuela. (Some

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113 observations on the territory, habitat, and population)/." Journ. Soc. Amer. de Paris, new series, Vol. XLIII, 1954, pp. 109-122.

37. Le Besnerais, Henry, Los Indios Yaruro /The Yaruro Indians/. 16 m/m. Kodachrome film, 25 mn.. (views of the natural milieu, physical types, habitations, fishing, preparation of flour from chigo and manioc, pottery, basketwork, and a shamanistic ceremony).
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39. Le Besnerais, Henry, "Un pueblo que se extingue: Los Indios Yaruros /A Dying people: the Yaruro Indians/," El Nacional, April 2, 1950, Caracas.
40. Le Besnerais, Henry, "Unos aspectos del rio Capanaparo y de sus Indios Yaruro /Some aspects of the Capanaparo River and its Yaruro Indians/." Memoria de la Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle, No. 21, 1948, Caracas, pp. 9-19.
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/21 cont./

/Sec. V, pp. 21-23, contains a list of errata for another work by Le Besnerais and has been omitted in the translation. The footnotes on pp. 23-25 have been given in the appropriate places in the text./

6: Le Besnerais S519 Yaruro

B U L L E T I N

Société suisse des Américanistes (SSA)
Schweizerische Amerikanisten-Gesellschaft (SAG)

SEPTEMBRE 1962 XIIIme année No. 24

Nouveaux membres :

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* * *

[title page]

Motifs de la couverture :

Recto : Disque d'or représentant le dieu crocodile à double langue, Coclé (Panama)
Verso : Aigle en métal plaqué d'une feuille d'or épaisse. Pendentif Chiriqui (Panama), coll. du Musée d'Ethnographie de Genève.

CONTRIBUTION A L'ETUDE DES INDIENS YARURO ET OTOMACO (VENEZUELA)

suite II (1)

par Henry LE BESNERAIS.

I - Notes sur les origines, le genre de vie et l'histoire des Yaruro.

II - Notes sur les Otomaco.

III - Observations complémentaires sur l'habitat des Yaruro.

IV - Liste d'ouvrages et de documents divers en relation avec l'étude des Yaruro et des Otomaco.

V - Rectifications concernant la première partie de cette étude. (1).

* * *

I - Notes sur les origines, le genre de vie et l'histoire des Yaruro.

a) Origines

Nous ignorons tout encore de l'origine et du passé pré-colombien des Yaruro. Vivent-ils depuis les temps les plus reculés sur le territoire qu'ils occupent actuellement (1) ou, au contraire, sont-ils venus s'y fixer à une époque moins lointaine, et, dans ce cas, comment et pourquoi ? Ont-ils été autrefois puissants, nombreux et maîtres d'un vaste territoire - leurs descendants d'aujourd'hui le laissent entendre - et, si oui, quelles vicissitudes les ont réduits au petit groupe présent ? Les excès des civilisés et les épidémies véhiculées par ces derniers en sont-ils les seules causes, comme pour de nombreuses tribus après l'arrivée des Espagnols, ou doit-on aussi en rechercher d'autres plus éloignées ?

Nos enquêtes ne nous ont fourni aucune réponse directe à ces questions. Nous ne pourrons pas essayer d'en donner tant que n'auront pas été effectuées des études comparatives de langue - jusqu'à présent leur dialecte n'a été rattaché à aucune des grandes familles linguistiques sud-américaines connues - et de culture avec les autres sociétés de l'Amérique du Sud Tropicale et peut-être, également, de régions plus distantes. Quant aux liens qui les auraient unis jadis aux Otomaco nous ne pouvons pas, pour les mêmes raisons, en dire davantage que ce qu'ils en disent eux-mêmes (voir "infra" ; II Notes sur les Otomaco) en complément de l'étude sur les Otomaco et Taparita d'Ángel Rosenblat (2).

b) Genre de vie

En s'appuyant sur les enquêtes de Vicenzo Petrullo (3), Alfred Métraux (4) étend aux Yaruro l'alternative qu'il pose quant au genre de vie de certaines tribus peuplant le bassin de l'Orénoque et de l'Amazone, qui contraste par son primitivisme - absence d'agriculture et nomadisme - avec celui de la majorité des tribus de ces mêmes régions qui pratiquent l'agriculture (5). Il écrit : "Ces Indiens sont-ils les descendants des premiers occupants, chasseurs et collecteurs qui ont envahi l'Amérique du Sud au début des âges néolitiques, comme le suggère le P. Cooper, ou sont-ils des groupes d'Indiens qui à la suite de diverses vicissitudes ont dégénéré et adapté leur civilisation à un nouveau genre de vie, comme le veut Levi-Strauss ?"

Immigrants ou non, chasseurs, pêcheurs et collecteurs qui ont évolué ou agriculteurs qui ont régressé, nous ne choisirons pas ici entre ces alternatives et nous limiterons à faire état de deux observations qui plus approfondies pourront permettre éventuellement d'opter en faveur de l'une des thèses en présence.

1) La savane tropicale habitée par les Yaruro, par suite de l'absence de forêts étendues, n'est certes guère propice à l'agriculture primitive. Celle-ci,toutefois, peut y être pratiquée sur une petite échelle.

Les Yaruro, en effet, et contrairement aux observations de Vicenzo Petrullo, ne sont pas uniquement des collecteurs, pêcheurs et chasseurs mais pratiquent également l'agriculture, en général sur le sol défriché des galeries forestières. Petrullo n'a pas observé cet aspect de leur genre de vie (6) sans doute parce qu'il effectua ses enquêtes en pleine saison sèche - lorsque la terre

ne produit plus et que les Yaruro vivent surtout sur les plages de sable, menant une vie de pêcheurs et de collecteurs nomades - et qu'il les limita au bas Capanaparo. Là ces Indiens ne travaillent pas la terre, ou tout au moins très peu; apparemment pour des motifs liés à la proximité des paysans vénézuéliens, tels que : interdiction de la part de ces derniers qui, avec ou sans titre, sont maîtres du terrain, risques de saccage par le bétail en liberté ou tout simplement emploi dans les fermes en qualité de péons qui ne donne plus guère le temps de cultiver le sol.

En fait, l'agriculture n'est pratiquée que sur certaines portions de leur territoire et particulièrement sur celles où ils n'ont pas de contact avec les paysans vénézuéliens. Cette constatation exclut à première vue une acquisition récente en provenance de ces derniers. Une telle déduction se trouve d'ailleurs corroborée par les relations des Jésuites (7) qui vécurent un temps dans la région, au 18ème siècle, et qui les décrivent déjà comme agriculteurs - sans préciser s'ils l'étaient avant leur arrivée - et par les Yaruro actuels eux-mêmes qui affirment qu'ils possédaient tous jadis des conucos (8). Mais ces éléments ne permettent pas toutefois d'affirmer qu'ils étaient en possession de la technique à l'époque préhispanique.

2) La région, d'autre part, est riche en sites archéologiques contenant des objets (débris de poterie, figurines en terre cuite et en lignite, haches en pierre polie, urnes funéraires), qui sont d'une tout autre facture que ceux fabriqués par les Yaruro actuels qui, du reste, ne les reconnaissent pas comme étant de leur fabrication. S'agit-il de vestiges d'objets de précurseurs ou de vestiges d'objets d'Otomaco qui à l'époque des Jésuites semblaient vivre sur le territoire actuel des Yaruro (7) ou encore de vestiges d'objets de Yaruro d'autrefois dont les descendants auraient oublié les techniques de fabrication ?

c) Histoire

De leur histoire post-colombienne nous n'en savons guère beaucoup plus. Des missionnaires jésuites, comme nous l'avons mentionné ci-dessus, eurent des contacts avec eux sur le bord de l'Orénoque vers le milieu du 18ème siècle (7).

Ont-ils laissé une empreinte quelconque sur leur culture ? Nous l'ignorons. De toute façon les Yaruro ne semblent en avoir conservé aucun souvenir, si ce n'est la crainte des hommes barbus de la part des enfants. Ils se souviennent par contre

pour une période plus récente des combats qui opposèrent au cours d'une guerre civile sur le Capanaparo même des Vénézuéliens entre eux.

L'événement important des dernières années (1920-1940) reste pour eux l'installation des Racionales (9) sur le Capanaparo, installation dont les répercussions, tant sur leur genre de vie et la structure économique sociale et religieuse de leur société que sur leur état sanitaire et leur état démographique (maladies et, à une certaine époque, répression), ont été et continuent d'être considérables.

* * *

II - Notes sur les Otomaco.

D'informations recueillies principalement auprès de Pedro Ramón Camacho (10), il semble que les Otomaco ou Tomaco aient fait autrefois l'objet de la part des Yaruro d'une considération toute différente de celle dont font l'objet les autres Indiens voisinant avec eux (11).

Ceux-ci sont en effet présentés comme des ennemis ou des inférieurs. Les Otomaco, tout au contraire, auraient été des amis ou des parents qui leur étaient supérieurs. Cette hiérarchie est apparemment confirmée par le mythe yaruro de la création des hommes (12) où les Otomaco furent les premiers sortis d'un trou de la terre par la divinité masculine Iţiai, les Yaruro n'arrivant qu'en seconde position suivis des autres Indiens et des Racionales qui eux naquirent les derniers. Leur naissance se situerait, en outre, juste après celle d'Iţiai mais avant le déluge qui submergea le monde et après lequel, seulement, les Yaruro seraient nés.

Les Otomaco auraient eu les mêmes divinités et manifestations religieuses que les Yaruro comme il ressort des propos de notre informateur Pedro Ramón Camacho, reproduits littéralement ci-dessous.

"Ils savaient qui était la Kuma (13) et ils étaient aimés des Dieux. Maintenant dans l'autre monde tandis que les morts des autres Indiens peuplent un village isolé situé à la limite de l'Univers, sur le rivage de la mer et à des lieues du village de Kuma, les Otomaco vivent un peu plus bas que le village de Kuma, comme d'ici à la galerie forestière (quelque deux cents mètres), dans un village perché sur la mon-

tagne. Ils appelaient la Kuma, Ijiai et Puana (14) par leurs noms. Ils possédaient comme nous des tiyo (génies protecteurs représentés par des pierres ou des débris de poteries) et lorsque mon esprit marche sur le chemin qui mène à l'autre monde il rencontre après le village des tiyo d'Ijiai, à gauche, du même côté, les tiyo des Otomaco. Ils chantaient et dansaient (cérémonie chamanistique) pendant le jour lorsque Kuma et Ijiai vivaient encore sur la terre. Lorsqu'ils s'enfuirent dans l'autre monde ils continuèrent à chanter et à danser mais la nuit. Durant leurs chants, ils marchaient, disaient les vieux d'autrefois."

Pedro Ramón Camacho compléta son récit par un quatrain de ce chant qui lui avait été répété par un aïeul, mais dont il ignorait la signification :

gwačarka hihi gwačarka hihi
gwačarka hihi gwačarka hihi
pideruba pideruba pideruba hihi
pideruba pideruba pideruba hihi

Les Otomaco sont présentés dans les légendes yaruro comme étant à l'origine de trois animaux : le mono (15), l'araguato (16) et le chigüire (17).

La transformation des Otomaco en monos et araguatos serait intervenue au moment du déluge déchaîné par Ijiai pour nettoyer le monde de tout le désordre moral qui y régnait. Des Otomaco s'étaient réfugiés sur les arbres hors d'atteinte des eaux, ayant refusé de se mettre à l'abri sur un monticule élevé comme le leur ordonnait Ijiai. Ce dernier, pour les punir, les condamna avec toute leur famille à devenir "des monos et des araguatos qui mangeront dorénavant, leur dit-il, des feuilles, des fruits, de la chiga (18), etc...".

L'origine du chigüire est illustrée de son côté par le texte reproduit à la suite :

<u>1ère version</u> (traduction littérale)

"Il y avait autrefois, lorsque la Kuma vivait encore sur terre, un vieux pume (19) otomaco. La Kuma possédait une petite calebasse remplie de mosquitos (20) et de plaga (21) et un jour l'Otomaco lui demanda : "Qu'est ceci, grand-mère ?" "Non fils, lui répondit-elle, ne cherche pas à le déboucher car ce sont les fils d'Ijiai. Si tu le débouches

les petites bêtes te mangeront". L'Otomaco, le vieux pumę, était têtu et dans un moment d'inattention de la Kuma débouche le petit récipient près d'une rivière. Il fut en un instant couvert de piqûres et se précipita dans l'eau. Alors Ijiai lui dit que pour avoir été désobéissant il allait servir de nourriture aux pumę et être transformé en chigüíre. Au même instant il fut transformé en chigüíre."

2ème version (traduction littérale)

"La Kuma avait un petit récipient rempli de piaga et de toutes sortes de zancudos (22). Un pumę, le chigüíre, l'Otomaco demanda à Kuma quelle sorte de bête il y avait dans le récipient. Elle lui répondit que c'était de dangereux zancudos et qu'il ne devait pas le déboucher car cela présentait du danger. L'Otomaco dit : "je vais le déboucher". Alors il déboucha le récipient et ainsi vint la piaga. S'il ne l'avait pas débouché il n'y aurait pas eu de piaga. Lorsqu'il eut débouché le récipient, les moustiques se mirent à le piquer. L'Otomaco se jeta à l'eau parce qu'il ne pouvait pas supporter les piqûres et se transforma en chigüíre parce qu'il avait désobéi. Ijiai lui dit : "Tu n'as pas voulu obéir, tu seras transformé en chigüíre que les pumę tueront pour se nourrir." Les soies des chigüíres sont les zancudos. Les chigüíres actuels sont les fils de ceux qui ont désobéi."

*

Le territoire des Otomaco aurait été situé au nord de celui des Yaruro, aux alentours de l'endroit où ils auraient été créés : Los Caballos près du río Cunaviche. "Toutes ces dunes, nous dit littéralement Pedro Ramón Camacho, et en même temps sa main fit un quart de tour d'horizon vers le nord, étaient autrefois couvertes de villages d'Otomaco. Les débris de pimpina (23), d'assiette, de budare (24), de tinaja (25) etc... qu'on y trouve sont de femmes Otomaco. Mais ils venaient souvent par ici - parfois pour danser ou acheter des pirogues - se joindre aux ancêtres des Yaruro actuels. Ils étaient comme ceux-là mêmes de bonnes gens. Yaruro et Otomaco parlaient chacun dans leur dialecte qu'ils comprenaient réciproquement, ce qui n'était pas difficile. De nos jours, ajouta-t-il, plus personne ne s'en souvient."

Leurs relations auraient même été poussées plus loin puisqu'ils se seraient mariés entre eux sans qu'aucun obstacle

ne s'y opposât. Ijiai en effet approuvait ces unions, contrairement à celles avec d'autres Indiens, y compris les Piquero et les Taparito, nous précisa Pedro Ramón Camacho, ou avec les Racionales, qu'il réprouvait.

Ils se nourrissaient, paraît-il, non seulement de poisson, de tortue, de cerf et de produits végétaux cultivés dans des conucos mais également de canard guiriguiri (26), oiseau peu recherché par les Indiens actuels à cause du goût de poisson de sa chair. En outre, comme les Yaruro, ils auraient habité des huttes rondes construites sur des dunes, pratiqué un jeu de balle et fabriqué leurs poteries avec la même technique et non à l'aide de moules en vannerie, contrairement à ce que peut laisser supposer les débris aux empreintes de vannerie qui abondent dans la région où ils auraient vécu.

Ajoutons, en dernier lieu, à ce dossier des Otomaco et de leurs relations avec les Yaruro, que ceux-ci les auraient considérés, bien qu'étant d'une autre tribu, comme des pumę - terme d'ailleurs déjà employé pour les Otomaco dans les légendes sur l'origine des mono, araguato et chigüire - c'est-à-dire des hommes comme eux-mêmes. "Ce sont des pumę comme nous autres" nous disait notre vieil informateur Pedro Ramón Camacho. D'autre part les vieux Yaruro les auraient appelé aitti tabę ou eitti tabę ou encore aitti tout court ce qui en yaruro signifie simplement qu'ils sont d'une autre tribu, tandis que les Otomaco de leur côté auraient appelé les Yaruro pumę ou encore pumę ja qui, en yaruro également, signifie bonnes gens.

*

Ce sont Juan Esteban Bellac (27) et Pedro Ramón Camacho qui nous signalèrent presque simultanément l'existence d'un dernier village otomaco appelé Los Caballos, nom du lieu où ils auraient été créés, et situé sur le río Cunaviche non loin du village vénézuélien de Cunaviche. Nous nous y sommes rendus en octobre 1949 mais n'y avons observé que des petites collines recouvertes d'une herbe courte et verte et peuplées de quelques arbres à la façon des jardins anglais, qui dominaient une rivière aux eaux limpides. Le site et le paysage étaient remarquables mais les Otomaco l'avaient abandonné depuis longtemps.

Nous retrouvâmes toutefois une survivante de Los Caballos, Catalina Galinda, au village de Cunaviche (dans le quartier Jacintero, situé un peu en amont) mais nous ne pûmes rien

tirer d'elle. Elle n'avait plus aucun souvenir de la langue ni de la culture de son ancienne tribu, ayant quitté Los Caballos très jeune et à une époque où les derniers Otomaco parlaient déjà espagnol entre eux.

En 1949 Catalina possédait encore trois frères, Ramón, Pablo et Nicolas et une soeur, Guadalupe. Le premier frère vivait dans l'île du Fraile sur l'Orénoque - son existence nous avait été confirmée par un commerçant de l'Orénoque - et les deux autres à San Fernando de Apure où ils étaient employés dans la maison de commerce Casa Hermanos Vivas. La soeur habitait également San Fernando. Tous les quatre étaient nés à Los Caballos tandis que Catalina plus âgée qu'eux avait vu le jour sur l'Orénoque à une époque où, sans doute, les Otomaco vivaient encore le long du fleuve. Selon notre informateur Pedro Ramón Camacho, en plus de ces cinq survivants, vivait, toujours à l'époque de nos enquêtes, au Lucero, ferme située sur la rive droite du Capanaparo, une vieille femme Otomaco, également racional comme les autres. Enfin, selon une autre source, des Otomaco auraient encore existé à cette même époque en Colombie sur les rives du Meta.

* * *

III - Observations complémentaires sur l'habitat des Yaruro (28)

Les observations effectuées sont reproduites sur les deux tableaux qui font suite. Elles sont précisées, pour certaines communautés, par les notes ci-dessous :

No. de la communauté

2a Cette communauté No. 2 est initialement située (No. 2a) sur une dune de sable et de terre balayée par les vents et relativement peu assaillie par les moustiques. Elle possède cinq habitations du type II 1a. L'habitation du chef est à l'ouest, les autres s'étalent sur une même ligne vers le sud-est. L'habitation du chaman est celle du milieu. La quatrième en partant de celle du chef de la communauté serait réservée, selon ce dernier, aux enfants et aux gens de passage.

I - [illegible]

Le Commandant	Nom du Chef	Nom du site ou la Communauté habite, la saison des pluies (Mois)	Habitations observées dans chaque type d'habitat (26)						Remarques sur les sites
			Type I	Type II 1		Type II 2		Type III	
				a	b	a	b		
Les 10 Communautés :									
1	Carlos José Delgado Pelo, après sa mort, sa fille Dominica.	Santa Ana		2					Lors des recoins de Thomas Privally (31), le commandé n'appelait les Parondos en disant celui-ci de la Pena Colorada/Sabana de Alto Cam.
2	José Ladera ou Juan Antonio Delgado (en cas d'absence du précédent)	a) Laguneta (Regroupé avec 1)		3					Mme commandé par Laguneta en Paraguin (31), un étant situé à côté de la Pena Colorada/Sabana de Puerto Real.
		b) Paraguito	4 (30)	4		4			
3	Adán Peñate	Peñate Grande		4(6)					Le campement d'été situé sur une plage et non éloigné d'Aguita San Luis.
4	Reynaldo Castillo	3 sites compris simultanément : a) Chaparrito		3					
		b) Boca Larga	2						
		c) Rábano Rico		1					Au Rabano, des observations (32), ont aidé à n'y qu'une habitation de type II 1 a, habitée généralement par un G-F, 2 G et 2 enfants qui doivent normalement à Guaniguara.
5	Pedro Bastardo	Chiquo Alto		5		5			
6	Pedro Pablo Ramírez (35) Son successif effectue par Pedro Bastardo est contestée	a) Guayabo (Regroupé avec 7)		350				0	
		b) (Ile en face)		350				0	L'Ile a montré été déplacée pour se site plus au sud.
7	Ramírez Pedro	Ramírez		0		0		0	
8	Pedro Pablo Ramírez (cassé par les Vénézuéliens) (34)	Chaparrito ou Carrizal	2			0			
9	Antonio Ramos (cassé par les Vénézuéliens et non revenu par les Yaruro)	San José ou San Luis	3			0			Les habitations observées sont inhabitées de la date. Le campement d'été situé sur une plage est à San Luis.
10	José Carlos Aguilla	2 sites compris simultanément : a) Punta Seca			1				
		b) Cabo Aguilla	2						

Le Commandant	Nom du Chef	Nom du site ou la Communauté habite, la saison des pluies (Mois)	Habitations observées dans chaque type d'habitat (26)						Remarques sur les sites
			Type I	Type II 1		Type II 2		Type III	
				a	b	a	b		
Les 10 Communautés (suite) :									
11	Ramón ou Juan Pío (décédé en [illegible] Ramírez (cassé par les Vénézuéliens) (Communauté n° 15)	Punta El Palo (Regroupé avec les trois)	0			0			
		puis simultanément Punta Palo I ou Punta Palo 2	0			0			
12	Pedro Pablo Lopez (cassé par les Vénézuéliens)	Chaparrito ou (Punta Palo) ou (Guayabo)	2					0	Les habitations de type I sont situées à 400/500 m de la rive.
13	Antonio Lopez Fils de précédent (cassé par les Vénézuéliens)	El Guayabo	1						Le campement est situé sur une île et non éloigné d'une dizaine mètres de la rive.
14	Ramón Arroyo	Mangalito	1						
15	Sebastiano Leandro Lopez (Communauté n° 14). Leur doyen compté par les Vénézuéliens).	El Cotoche	2				1	1	Le campement d'été est situé sur une île au sud de l'embouchure du Rio Cinaruco.
16	Ramón Díaz	El Cotoche	3				3	3	Les habitations de type I sont situées à 200 m environ de la rive.
17	[illegible]	La Cotoche	5				0		
18	Pedro Pedroza	Manantial	1						
19	Pedro Pedroza	Arguito	3			0			

[illegible]

[p.14 - A]

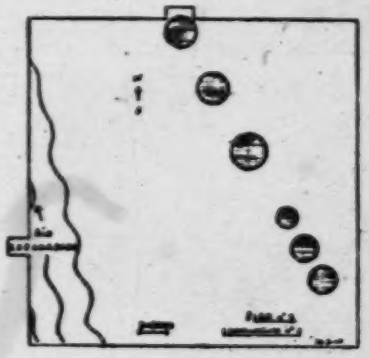
Nom	Nom du Chef	Nom du siège de la Commune(s) assistant les enfants des écoles (divers)	Instructions scolaires dans diverses écoles observé (30) Type I	Type II.1 a	Type II.1 b	Type II.2 a	Type II.2 b	Type III	Remarques sur les écoles
Communes (Anglais) :									
	Hillman	Angouleme	4						Les instructions sont situées dans la cuisine et hors de la cour.
	Hillman	Nantes	1 & 2			4			
	José Lopez (visité par les Nationalistes)	Montmartre	3						Les instructions sont données de la cour.
	Blot	Notre Dame (La Pucelle)	4	4		4			
Divers :									
	?	?	8						Les instructions sont situées à 300 m environ de la cour.
	Gustin (Deceased)	Angoulême	5 & 7						Les instructions sont situées à 1 mètre de la cour. Elles sont entourées de magasins.
	Robin (Décédé)	?	8			1		1	
	Jacques	?	4					4	Le monument d'Old est installé sous une arbre.
	Gaspard	?	1						
	José Pierre	?	2			3		1	
	Jules	?	4	1		5		8	

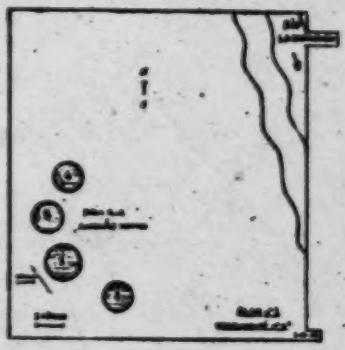
** - [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

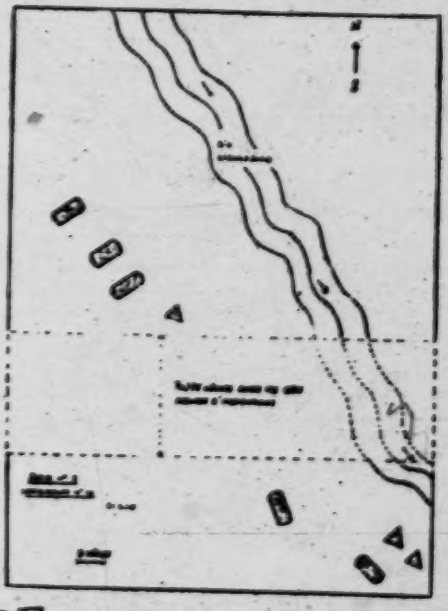
N° de la Commune	Nom du Chef	Nom du siège de la Commune	Remarques sur les sièges
Sur la rive sud-ouest :			
1	?	?	
Sur l'île [illegible] nord et à la rive sud-ouest :			
2	?	?	
Sur la rive nord :			
3	?	?	
4	?	?	
5	?	?	Sur l'île de Feuille
Dans les îles proches et rivages :			
6	?	?	À un jour au sud de 5
7	[illegible]	La Vigie	À 3 jrs au sud de 5
8	[illegible]	Le Gué	À un [illegible] Sud de Chevreux et à un jour au sud de 1 pour 1/6 en hiver – passe [illegible] Gué [illegible] au moyen d'un radeau. La Commune qui est proche – de la catégorie n° 7, selon le Classement qui en est le plus rapproché.
9	?	?	Près de 8
10	?	?	

N° de la Commune	Nom du Chef	Nom du siège de la Commune	Remarques sur les sièges
Dans les îles proches et rivages (Sud) :			
11	?	Lagoona	Soumis par Sultan Pigeon (16) en octobre 1241 – Les environs de Mara.
12	?	?	Sur la côte Ouest-Est
13	Elkaan (aligné valeur)	Caldo	Aux environs de Rouge-Lisse
14	[illegible]	?	Sur la rive droite du Ruisseau entre les communes n° 30 et 31.
15	Tapuh (aligné valeur)	?	Aux environs de Vallée Perte de Sang.
16	?	Corinto	Près d'une bonne et une [illegible] de la commune n° 30
Dans les îles éparses et rivages :			
17	Pablo [illegible] Juan Carlos (valeur non aligné : Lapi)	Balmaro	Sur une [illegible] aux environs de Chevreux, de Chevreux et du Rocher, au point de [illegible] la rivière n° [illegible] 1/6 [illegible] à pied de la rive droite du Rocher, en n'en [illegible] un canot (jusqu'au Pont Rouge) de la Baie de Rocher.
18	[illegible]	?	
19	[illegible]	?	Sur la Chaussée, au sud de la [illegible] [illegible] Est, à Sagra.
Sur la rive nord :			
20	Pablo Bellin	?	Au pont Rue
21	?	[illegible]	

[p.14]







[p.14-D]

3 Celle-ci possède six habitations du type II 1a disposées, en fin de nos observations, le long de la rive comme le montre le plan No. 1. Au début de nos observations l'habitation du chef, et chaman à la fois, de la communauté était située à l'écart et approximativement à cent mètres à l'est des autres habitations.

5 La communauté No. 5 ne formait autrefois qu'une seule et même communauté, la No. 7. Elle a été créée au début de nos observations par Ramón Beltran qui ne veut plus relever de l'autorité de Pedro Ramón Camacho, capitán mayor.

6a et b Dans chacun de ses sites successifs - (a) : une dune de sable de la rive droite du Capanaparo à 30 mètres environ de l'eau et (b) : une plage de sable de l'île d'en face - la communauté ne possède de façon permanente que trois habitations du type II 1a (plans No. 2 et 3). La quatrième, indiquée sur le plan No. 2, a été construite par les habitants de la communauté No. 8, pour un séjour temporaire. L'habitation No. 1 du chef et chaman de la communauté est plus grande que les autres.

8 Cette communauté possède deux grandes habitations du type I mais dont la base et la toiture sont rectangulaires à une extrémité et arrondies de l'autre.

9 Les trois grandes habitations du type I de cette communauté sont d'apparence plus aisée que la normale mais leur faible hauteur ne permet pas de s'y tenir debout.

11 Le chef de la communauté habite à Vuelta Mala 2.

12 La communauté possède deux grandes maisons de type I mais dont la base et la toiture sont arrondies aux extrémités.

13 Cette communauté est d'apparence moins aisée que les autres.

14 Chez celle-ci la grande maison du type I a également sa base et sa toiture arrondies aux extrémités.

15 Les deux habitations du type I de la communauté, situées sur le sol dur des berges hautes de la rive, sont disposées comme l'indique le plan No. 4.

18 Ses huit habitations des types II 2b et III sont disposées comme l'indique le plan No. 5.

17 Les habitations du type I sont trop basses pour s'y tenir debout, même celle du chef de la communauté bien qu'elle soit plus grande que les autres.

23 La communauté possède des habitations des types II 1a et II 2a. Ce dernier type y a une base rectangulaire et une élévation, coupée dans le sens de la largeur, de forme ogivale.

26, 29, 30 Les habitations du type I de ces trois communautés sont à base ovale.

* * *

IV - Liste d'ouvrages et de documents divers en relation avec l'étude des Yaruro et des Otomaco.

Cette liste ne fait pas état des documents inédits résultant des enquêtes de l'auteur.

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17. DREYFUS-ROCHE, Simone (cf 41)

18. FABO, Pedro, Etnografía y lingüística de Casanare, Colombia, Anthropos 1919-1920, p. 21.

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té par Humboldt. (37). Ouvrage signalé par :

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29. HERVAS y PANDURO, Lorenzo, Catálogo de las lenguas de los naciones conocidas, y numeración, división, y clases de estas según la diversidad de sus idiomas y dialectos. 6 vols. Madrid, 1800-05.

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las regiones equinocciales del Nuevo Continente 1799-1804, 5 tomos.

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37. LE BESNERAIS, Henry, Los Indios Yaruro. Film 16 m/m Kodachrome, 25 mn. 1950 (vues sur le milieu naturel, les types physiques, les habitations, la pêche, la préparation des farines de chigo et de manioc, la poterie, la vannerie et une cérémonie chamanistique).

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* * *

V. - Rectifications

Ces rectifications sont à apporter à l'article de : LE BESNERAIS, Henry, Contribution à l'étude des Indiens Yaruro (Venezuela) - Quelques observations sur le territoire, l'habitat et la population, JSAP n. s. to. XLIII, 1954 pp. 109-122.

page 109 : 1ère ligne
Ecrire : puna au lieu de : puna

page 110 : Carte I
Ecrire : Elorsa au lieu de : Elursa
et
La Urbana au lieu de : Laurba

page 113 : TYPES D'HABITATION, II 1a, 3ème ligne
Supprimer : à deux versants.

pages 114 et 115 : TABLEAU II, LES TYPES D'HABITATION PAR COMMUNAUTE ET SELON LES MOIS DE L'ANNEE.

Mettre en grisé tous les signes blancs du tableau et de sa légende.

Communauté No. 1 : Remplacer les signes du type I (étoiles) par des signes du type II 1a (cercles)

Dans la légende : Ecrire : TYPE OBSERVE HABITE (TABLEAU I) au lieu de TYPE OBSERVE (TABLEAU I)

et TYPE PRESUME ... OBSERVE HABITE au lieu de : TYPE PRESUME ... OBSERVE.

page 116 : 4ème alinea, 4ème ligne
Ecrire : soleil; au lieu de : soleil,

dernier alinea, 3ème ligne
Ecrire : ont au lieu de : sont

page 117 5ème alinea, 6ème et 7ème ligne
Ecrire : d'un lieu de chasse, de pêche ... au lieu de : d'un lieu de pêche ...

page 120 : 4ème alinea, 3ème et 4ème ligne
Ecrire : partie de leur territoire au lieu de : partie du territoire.

6ème ligne
Ecrire : Madre Vieja Basiliero au lieu de Madre vieja Basiliero.

8ème et 9ème ligne
Ecrire : à 20,5 par dix kilomètres et à 24,5 ... au lieu de : 20,5 les dix kilomètres; à 24,5 ...

1ère note
Ecrire : chef et chaman de la communauté 6 au lieu de : chef et sorcier de la communauté 6.

Hors texte : CARTE No. 3
Ecrire : Territoire des Yaruro au lieu de Territoires des Yaruro.

CARTE B (première communauté yaruro sur le Capanaparo après embouchure du Riecito)
Ecrire : 16 au lieu de 10.

* * *

Notes :

(1) Voir "infra" IV Liste ... 36
(2) id 54
(3) id 52
(4) id 45
(5) Ce paragraphe était rédigé lorsque nous avons eu connaissance des articles d'Anthony Leeds (voir "infra" IV Liste ... 42 et 43.). Celui-ci estime que l'agriculture, qui existe chez les Yaruro, comme nous le reconnaissons plus loin, y a été introduite par les missionnaires au début du 18ème siècle.
(6) Nous avons d'ailleurs fait une erreur identique lors de nos premières enquêtes (voir "infra" IV Liste ... 40)
(7) Voir "infra" IV Liste ... 2
(8) Potagers, en vénézuélien.
(9) Vénézuéliens.
(10) Chef et chaman de la communauté No. 6, notre meilleur informateur.
(11) En plus des voisins déjà cités dans un précédent article (voir "infra" IV Liste ... 38) des noms d'autres Indiens, connus, semble-t-il, par les Yaruro, nous furent mentionnés par nos divers informateurs au cours de nos enquêtes. Les uns habiteraient actuellement en Colombie; les Mayaredo ou Mayarero, "très loin à l'ouest du territoire yaruro, là où s'achève la savane", ce qui signifie sans doute au pied des Andes; les Saliba et Taparito čya koromę plus particulièrement sur le haut Meta; et les Tiapaco, Tiarua et Mapoyó, sans localisation précise. Les autres auraient disparus : les Piquero (tabę pumę en yaruro) qui "cultivaient des conucos et possédaient un jeu de

halle" et auraient peuplé les bords de l'Orénoque du côté du Cinaruco, et les Guamo, Tamanaco, Tamanachi et Guaruro.

(12) Voir "infra" IV Liste ... 38
(13) Divinité féminine yaruro.
(14) Autre divinité masculine yaruro, frère d'Ijiai.
(15) Singe (Cebus nigrivittatus), en vénézuélien.
(16) Singe hurleur (Alouetta ursina), en vénézuélien.
(17) Cabiai, gros rongeur amphibie (Hydrochoerus hydrochoeris), en vénézuélien.
(18) Graine du chigo (Campsiandra comosa) de laquelle les Yaruro extraient une farine.
(19) En yaruro : homme ou Yaruro.
(20) Moucherons vulnérants diurnes (Similium haemapotum Malloch), en vénézuélien.
(21) Les moustiques nocturnes, en vénézuélien.
(22) Moustiques anophèles (Cellia argyritarsis), en vénézuélien.
(23) Alcarazas, en vénézuélien.
(24) Plat à cuire les galettes de manioc, en vénézuélien.
(25) Jarre, en vénézuélien.
(26) Nom vénézuélien du Dendrocygna automnalis.
(27) Chef intérimaire de la communauté No. 2.
(28) Voir "infra" IV Liste ... 36.
(29) Pour les dates des observations, l'emplacement des communautés des ríos Capanaparo et Riecito et la description des types d'habitation voir "infra" IV Liste ... 36.
(30) Pour les époques d'utilisation de chaque type voir "infra" IV Liste ... 36.
(31) Voir "infra" IV Liste ... 52.
(32) "x" indique des habitations non dénombrées.
(33) Les noms soulignés sont ceux des chefs supérieurs (en espagnol : capitán mayor) d'une autorité plus grande que celle des autres chefs (en espagnol : capitán menor). Cette autorité s'étend généralement à des communautés voisines dirigées parfois par un capitán menor et réunies sur le tableau par une accolade.
(34) "Nommé par les Vénézuéliens" signifie qu'il a été désigné ou confirmé comme chef par un représentant des autorités vénézuéliennes.
(35) Pour la localisation approximative de ces communautés voir "infra" IV Liste ... 64.
(36) Voir "infra" IV Liste ... 21 et 22.
(37) Cet ouvrage a été recherché en :
1) Espagne: Sans succès à la Bibliothèque Nationale et à celles de l'Ateneo et du Palais Royal (Madrid). La Biblio-

thèque de la "Real Academia de Historia" (Madrid) et l' "Archivo de Indias" (Séville) n'ont pas répondu de façon certaine.

2) France: Sans succès à la Bibliothèque Nationale et à celle du Musée de l'Homme (Paris).

3) Italie (Vatican). Sans succès à la Bibliothèque des Jésuites de "Borgo S. Spirito" et à celle de la "Propaganda Fide". La Bibliothèque Vaticane qui a reçu le fonds "Stefano Borgia" de la "Propaganda Fide", où pourrait bien se trouver en particulier, le "Manuscrit sur la langue des Yaruro" (cf. 62), n'a pas répondu de façon certaine.

4) U.S.A. Sans succès à la "Library of Congress", dans le "National Union Catalog", qui comprend les livres de quelque 500 bibliothèques du pays, et au "Bureau of American Ethnology" du "Smithsonian Institution" (Washington).

5) Venezuela. Sans succès dans toutes les bibliothèques publiques et privées du pays.

(38) Voir note (37).

(39) Voir note (37).

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CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL DE AMERICANISTAS

MEXICO, 1962

Actas y Memorias

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MEXICO, 1964

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Some Problems of Yaruro Ethnohistory*

Anthony Leeds

I was first led to consider Yaruro history because the ethnographic phenomena I found differed radically from those described by Petrullo (1939 *a*). Only historical research could resolve these differences. I shall first examine the discrepancies, then turn to the kinds of historical sources relevant to resolving the problems and to some of the material already examined, and, finally, briefly discuss the direction that the results appear to be taking.

I

Petrullo, describes the Yaruro of the Capanaparo River as being hunters of river and llanos animals, fishers of river fish, and gatherers of seeds, roots, and fruits. He denies the presence of horticulture, except among a few "acculturated" groups. As far as the monograph informs us, he visited only Yaruro near the mouth of the Capanaparo and on islands in the Orinoco during the months of the dry season. He did not visit the Arauca, Cunaviche, upper Capanaparo, Riecito, and Sinaruco rivers, on all of which Yaruro are found today, and apparently have been living indefinitely into the past, according to old maps.[1] On the basis of the groups visited, he asserts that the Yaruro were not horticultural. Kirchhoff (1948 *a*: 456) repeats this assertion, adding that Gilij (1780-1784: Vol. 3) mentions the use of green corn — a sign, according to Kirchhoff, of the recent adoption of corn at that time. No basis is given for this statement. Le Besnerais, in several publications (1948; 1950*a;* 1951; and, with Dreyfus-Roche, 1954), repeats that the Yaruro were hunters and gatherers, but, in his most recent work (1950 *b;* 1954; Ms.; Personal communication,

* I wish to thank Juan Friede for a number of bibliographical suggestions. The research is being supported by the American Philosophical Society and the Research Institute for the Study of Man. My thanks and appreciation go to both.

[1] Cf. maps listed in the special section of the bibliography, many of which show the location of the Yaruro, Otomaco, Achagua ("as Chaguas"), Sáliva, Arauca, Caribe, or a number of other tribes at various points in history.

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1959), on the basis of later field research, he completely rejects his previous stand.

In 1949, after his earlier publications, Le Besnerais (cf. 1954) made a census of the entire Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, discovering among other things:

A) That most Yaruro settlements had dry season locations on or near the river, banks or on the sand bars in the river, and wet season locations back from the rivers on higher sand dunes,

B) that there were corresponding house types for each kind of location,

C) that a great many of these settlements appear to have had two divisions mainly in the wet season locations — often at considerable distances from each other, sometimes very close,

D) that near all winter locations and in all settlements along the entire length of the Riecito and Capanaparo rivers gardens existed with standard crops mentioned in my own work (1961 *a*, 1962),

E) and, by implication, that these garden plots are not readily visible from the river nor from dry season locations.

Fiasson (1947), speaking of a trip probably made in 1945, mentions gardens for the Yaruro in the Capanaparo-Meta area. The missionary, Raymond Kook, showed me pictures in 1958 of gardens on the upper Sinaruco. And, in the neighborhood of the mission station, near Guachara and along the Caño del Medio and the Cunaviche River, all the Indians had horticulture. These Indians also reported gardens along the Arauca River. The linguist, Thomas P. Rootes, describes gardens along the Riecito and Sinaruco, and I have myself published in detail on Yaruro horticulture (1961 *a*).

In sum, present sources indicate horticulture for all Yaruro, going back at least to 1945 or 1946 and undoubtedly earlier — a period at maximum no more than twelve years after Petrullo's *dry-season* visit in 1934. It is hard to believe that the horticultural practice was diffused the length and breadth of Yaruro-land and integrated into a well-organized transhumance and even into the world view all in fifteen years. Nevertheless belief is not adequate proof. The only recourse is to try to resolve the problem by earlier evidence.

The second major difference between my findings and those of Petrullo relates to the asserted existence of matrilineal "clans", characterised, in localities, by a sib core of women and their children plus the locally inmarried husbands. Nowhere in Petrullo is proof given for the *unilineality* which is implied by the term clan, though the *matrifocality* seems genuinely confirmed by the genealogies reproduced. Matrifocality is not congruent with matrilineality, and, try as I might, I was not able to establish the latter. I am not ready to assert that matrilineality therefore does not, or did not, exist but I was quite unable to elicit any evidence for it.

A related aspect is, of course, exogamy. Petrullo claims that marriage can only occur reciprocally between the two clans, marriage *within* which would

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constitute incest. I believe one can show from Petrullo's own genealogies that either incest occurred, possibly as a result of the process of depopulation, or that clan exogamy did not exist at all, since there were no clans, and the marriages concerned were not incestuous.

A third important feature that Petrullo asserts existed among the Yaruro is matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. Aside from the fact that, associated with the matriliny Petrullo's matriclans would possess, one would theoretically expect patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, if preferential cross-cousin marriage existed at all, I was unable to confirm unilateral cross-cousin marriage preferences but got statements of preference for bilateral cross-cousin marriage as well as reports of bilateral cross-cousin marriage and bilateral marriages between an ego and a parallel cousin's offspring.[2]

A fourth important feature discussed by Petrullo is totemism. The clans are assertedly connected respectively with the snake god Poanã and the jaguar god, Tió. Not only was I unable to confirm this, but the ethnographic evidence, on the whole, appears to contradict it directly. Totemism, for example, would be quite inconsistent with the social organization of the *ton'be* ceremony, the central socio-religious institution of the Yaruro which I have described elsewhere (1960, 1961 *b;* cf., also, Le Besnerais, 1951, 1950 *b,* and, with Dreyfus-Roche, 1954).

Thus we have not only ethnographic disagreement among three observers, but also the theoretical improbability of the original description which attaches matrilineal clanship to hunting and gathering nomadism, and to matrliateral cross-cousin marriage. Virtually all further published anthropological material on the Yaruro has taken the Petrullo report at face value. Some of these publications include a caveat about the report, but, unfortunately, others have, explicitly or implicitly, assumed its correcteness since they have used it as the starting point for historical, functional, or evolutionary reconstructions.[3]

Specifically the assertion is repeatedly made by Steward, Kirchhoff, and Steward and Faron that the Yaruro are one of a series of marginal tribes left over from an earlier wave of settlement and occupying interstitial areas among more advanced peoples. Steward (1946-1950, in various passages, esp. Vol. 5, pp. 678 *ff.*) tries to justify the marginal classification generally by designating characteristic traits present as well as those that should be absent. The Yaruro possess a large number of the latter, including horticulture, basketry, canoes,

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[2] The theoretical expectation of *patrilateral* cross-cousin marriage with matriliny is discussed in Homans and Schneider (1955, especially pp. 56-57) and elsewhere. The preference for bilateral marriage with cross-cousins or with offspring of parallel cousins is also found among the Jivaro (cf. Steward and Métraux, 1948, especially p. 626). This fact, with a great many similar traits of social organization and world view shared by the two cultures, is of considerable interest to the cultural origin of the groups discussed later in the paper where other parallels are mentioned.

[3] Cf. Kirchhoff, 1948, *a;* Steward, 1946-1950; Vol. 3, pp. 827-899; Vol. 5, pp. 669-679, *et passim;* Steward and Faron, 1959; Layrisse, *et al.,* 1961; Needham, 1960; Murdock, 1957.

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thatched houses, pottery, etc., all of which are, according to Steward, Tropical Forest traits, consistent with that possession of horticulture which Le Besnerais and I both found for the Yaruro. Kirchhoff (1948 *a*: 456) and Steward (1946-1950: Vol. 5, p. 680) try to reinforce this argument by stating that Gilij's Eighteenth Century mention of the Yaruro's practice of eating green corn is proof of their recently having acquired corn-planting.

One can, just as well, argue to the contrary that, had they borrowed corn-use from the Spanish or any tribe long-accustomed to the utilization of corn, they would never have thought of using it green at all but rather yellow in the manner of their cultural creditors. Judging by both historical and present-day reports[4] of raiding, a pattern which appears to have been substantially elaborated in the area, we may argue that the use of green corn was one way of saving the crop from neighboring human predators and possibly from animal ones as well. In other words, eating green corn can well be considered an adaptive use of corn, possibly in an old pattern, given the ecological relationships of the area.

The Layrisse, *et al.*, article (1961) dismisses the horticulture that Le Besnerais and I find as being of recent origin but gives no basis for this judgement except that it makes more consistent their correlation of a population having a low or absent Diego antigen frequency with an older culture layer and with various asserted linguistic connections. Such a procedure is scientifically not valid as proof, however useful it may be to set up hypothe-

II

Clearly the only *final* resolutions to the ethnographic discrepancies are historical ones, however much logic may convince us that the introduction of horticulture to all Yaruro groups and its integration even into their mythology and social life in the fifteen years between Petrullo's and Le Besnerais' visits is unlikely. As for the social organization problem, all possible documentary evidence must be brought to bear.

Three major sources of historical reconstruction are potentially available — archeology, lingustics, and written history — as well as several minor lines of evidence.

First, linguistic reconstruction of genetic relationships would provide us with better hypotheses. If Greenberg's tentative classification (1956; cf., also, Steward and Faron, 1959: 22-23) is correct, the Yaruro are related to the Jívaro, the Cofan, the extinct Esmeralda speakers, and others, all of whom were, or are, actively horticultural peoples though the last named were also

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[4] Cf. both Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*, and the sources he cites; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961; also my own observations.

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significantly hunters and fishers. The distribution of these peoples suggests a geographical radiation from a common location that is implied as well by the relationships among the languages — probably from the west or southwest of present Yaruro country. Work on the centuries of separation, on the degrees of relationship of these languages among themselves and to other groups of the putative Andean-Equatorial family is urgently needed as is archeology in the supposed area of radiation.

Second, archeology would provide most interesting evidence. Petrullo (1939 *b*) collected a series of artifacts, mainly potsherds, which suggest a degree of culture well beyond minimal Tropical Forest level. Le Besnerais (Ms.) mentions not only the variety of potsherds to be found but also polished stone axes and funerary urns (cf., also, Vernau, 1901). I myself saw an immense number of crude, friable, slipped potsherds; many potsherds generally of the Arauquín type; a polished stone celt; a polished stone mano, beautifully made (cf. photo), and so on. None of these objects, except the crude potsherds, have been found in situ, but the Indians assert that they dig them up all the time.

The archeological items would suggest that cultures previously in the area, whether Yaruro or not, were horticultural. Though no archeology of any kind has been done in the South Venezuelan llanos, these meager indications suggest that the Kirchhoff-Steward hypothesis is erroneous since the Yaruro of our times could not be a remnant of aboriginal hunters and gatherers if the area was previously at a much higher cultural level. The general hypotheses of Cruxent and Rouse (1958-1959: 263 *ff.*) — especially that relating to a fusion between a western corn area and an eastern manioc area — would further tend to cast doubts on the whole Handbook scheme since the obvious routes for this fusion to have taken place are the great east-west llanos rivers. Archeological work is desperately needed here, and seems to me of central theoretical importance. It is hard to understand why so many workers have skirted the area.[5]

Before turning to written history I wish to take up some minor lines of evidence which are suggestive for the resolution of the ethnographic discrepancies. One has to do with the content of the ideology. Quite a number of items such as the earth mother, the ancestor cult, the serpent rainbow, the anaconda god, and so on (cf., Antolínez, 1939; Steward and Métraux, 1948, esp. p. 628; etc.), appear to connect the Yaruro with tribes to the west and southwest including the Chibcha and the Jívaro.

[5] No one has done systematic work in the llanos. Only sporadic finds have been made there (e. g., Petrullo, 1939 *b*; Vernau, 1901). The intensive archeological fieldwork has all been in the great circle around the llanos (cf. a great many works by Cruxent cited in Cruxent and Rouse, 1958-1959; Evans and Meggers, n.d.; Howard, 1943; Kidder, 1944; Marcano, 1893; Meggers and Evans, 1955; Osgood, 1943; Osgood and Howard, 1943; Rouse, 1956; Rouse and Cruxent, 1957, and many other Rouse articles listed in Cruxent and Rouse, 1958-1959. Cf., also, unpublished work by P. Gallagher, by M. Sanoja, and by E. Wagner.

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Second is the rate of deculturation. It is quite clear from comparing the material culture items observed by Petrullo with those that I observed, as well as from the present distribution of culture traits, which shows a gradient of trait loss as one goes from less acculturated to more acculturated groups, that the Yaruro once had a more elaborate culture content than at present. Though temporal extrapolations backwards can of course only be securely made by means of the written historical sources, items gleaned here and there from sources so far examined tend to confirm the inference from spatial distributions.[6] The implication of this is that the Yaruro were formerly considerably more complex, at least in their cultural content if not also in their cultural structure, than at the periods of ethnographic observation.

Third, a series of arguments concerning the ecological relations of the Yaruro to the land, and of the various tribes to each other and the food supply, could be presented which would suggest ecological specialization by tribal or subtribal groups among the Yaruro, Sáliva, Guahibo, Kuiva, Achagua, and Otomaco, all in a complex system (cf. Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*).

Fourth, an interesting ecological argument can be made which would resolve the disagreement about horticulture: that Petrullo's statement regarding horticulture might possibly be correct for the small, highly special area he studied and — the Orinoco sand bars and the estuary of the Capanaparo River in which wet-season flooding appears to be exceedingly extensive, hence sharply limiting horticultural possibilities — but that they do not apply to other zones of the llanos which do not have the ecological peculiarities of the river-mouth area.[7] I have discussed some aspects of this in previous publications, especially with regard to the importance of flooding, the area of gallery forest available for horticulture, and the pattern of transhumance (Leeds, 1961 *a*, especially pp. 13-18). An ecological-geographical survey of the entire region between the Orinoco highlands and the Andean spurs to the west is needed.

III

We may now turn to the question of written historical evidences. No published work on the Yaruro or the llanos has made use of much more than a dozen

[6] Cf. Crévaux, 1883: 570; Carriazo, 1910: 39; Acosta Saignes, 1961: 97, etc., as well as the loss of culture traits observable between Petrullo's and my visits.

[7] That this area is rather unique is clearly indicated by many maps which represent it as entirely flooded or as a welter of water-ways (cf. Gumilla, 1791). Acosta Saignes, in a foreword to Carvajal, points out that it was quite simple to mistake one river for another since, at least during the rainy season, they all flowed into each other near the mouth. The flooding makes any ordinary gardening impossible for a large part of the year. The hypothesis tends, however, to be contradicted by Le Besnerais's findings (1954; also, Leeds, 1961 *a*). It may be noted that in the almost absolutely flat Guachara area, between the Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, at the Indian village of Palmarito- much of the llanos floods. The loamy-mud soils are excellent for crops, but crops are only grown in those areas which remain a few inches or a foot or two above highest rainy-season water-level.

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works at best. As of the present I have been able to discover at least 300 works, or more, with some relevance to the llanos area. Not all of these refer to tribal groups, and of those that do, not all refer to specific tribes, much less the Yaruro. However all give some picture of life and conditions on the llanos, much of which is helpful, and some of which is most enlightening.

The published sources may roughly be classified as follows:

A) Travel records such as those of Carvajal (1648, [1956]), Chaffanjon (1889), Crévaux (1883), Humboldt (1799 *ff.* [1941]), Marcano (1893), Vázquez de Espinosa (1628 [1942]), Vela (1889 [1935-1936]).

B) Collections of documents such as those edited by Friede (1957-1960) and Cuervo (1891-1894),

C) Histories of various sorts, especially mission histories,[8]

D) Books and articles on such topics as the climate or the insect and plant life of the llanos which make passing mention of human occupation, e.g. Ramia (1959), Fiasson (1947),

E) Administrative-political documents such as Indian laws, boundary commision reports, etc,[9]

F) Earlier ethnographic and linguistic articles and books, including missionaries' reports such as Gumilla's and Gilij's, but also works from this century by Antolínez (1946), Jahn (1927), Oramas (1940), Acosta Saignes (1961), and so on, some apparently based on direct contact with the groups concerned, others based on documentary and other research.

The unpublished sources are mainly to be found in the Archive of Indies in Seville which was the main depository of documents from the Indies during the entire Colonial period. Millions of documents are deposited there, a great portion of them unexploited. The documents are arranged by the areas from which they came. Documents of all kinds were sent back to Spain: letters from officials reporting on travels and many other affairs, soldier's reports, documents of legal cases, missions reports, and so on.

The archives also include documents *from* Spain regarding the area, such as royal orders to the administrative personnel in the region. Curiously, though we have found many references elsewhere to grammars and vocabularies of Indian languages and similar documents (cf. Viñaza, 1892; Chamberlain, 1910), we have found none of these in the Seville Archive. We have recovered several hundred documents comprising about 4-5 000 microfilm frames.

A second great archival source is the Colombian National Archive in Bogotá. Bogotá was, during most of the Colonial period, the regional center for

[8] Cf., among mission histories, Aguirre, 1941; Cassani, 1741; Lodares, 1736; Navarro, 1940; Rio Negro, 1929; Rivero, 1736. General histories are legion. Cf. Acosta, 1848; Aguado, 1580; Aguado, 1918; Ballisteros, 1936; Baralt and Díaz, 1887; Caulin, 1779; Herrera, 1334; Ojer, 1960; Oviedo, 1852; Simon, 1882, Zamora, 1930, etc.

[9] Cf. Aguirre and Montalbán, 1846; Calcaño, 1891; Great Britain, 1898; Ramos Perez, 1961; Recopilación, 1681; Maps to Accompany . . ., 1896.

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an area which included what is now Venezuela. There was a constant flow of documents to Bogotá many of which stayed there, instead of being sent to the higher level administrative center in Seville. The collections are particularly rich in legal cases concerning Indians or land rights of Spaniards where Indians were involved. I have recovered some 5 000 microfilm frames here without beginning to exhaust the resources. Further document search is needed there.

A third important source is the Vatican Library which contains materials concerning missions and their activities. This source has not as yet been explored.

It is reported that the Archivo del Cauca in Popoyán, Colombia, is also of great importance since it was the administrative center for the llanos area. This also remains to be explored.

Aside from these, there is a series of minor sources of documents. The Brinton collection in Philadelphia has a number of documents, particularly on linguistics, relevant to the llanos area. Yale University has some documents. The Library of Congress appears to be relatively poor in llanos materials. I was able to discover only a copy of the Lord's prayer in Yaruro, but little else.

In Spain, the Biblioteca del Palacio has a number of documents of interest but is not a source comparable to that of the major archives. Preliminary searches have been made here, and considerable material has been received. The Biblioteca Nacional may also have documents. Formely the Berlin Royal Library had some important documents, especially a grammar and vocabulary by Forneri (n.d.). Several colleagues in Germany have kindly attempted to trace this document, but the Royal Library has been so dispersed by two wars that no one knows where the material is. It is hoped to be able to track these down too.

Venezuelan archives appear to be rather thin, also, since most of the material was sent to Popayán, Bogotá, or Seville. Some material, however, appears to be available there and has been explored by Father Canedo of the Academy of American Franciscan History in Washington. With Father Canedo abroad, it has, as yet, been impossible to investigate the material. I understand he has collected, mostly in Caracas, 50 000 frames on Venezuelan history, focussing primarily on the Spanish aspects, rather than on Indian. There may also be small deposits of documents in the diocesan centers of the llanos area.

IV

A short description of the data handling will be of interest. Each tribal group will have its own file of 5" × 8" cards which will be arranged chronologically according to the date of contact with the Indians, and then grouped in equivalent periods for easy comparison. On each card, special attention to the following categories of information will be given: season of observation, conditions of observation, observer, location at the time, subsistence reported,

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social features reported, ideological features reported, and relations with other tribes mentioned. The card sets will be arranged by geographical location of the tribe so that for any given time period one may pull out all the sets and arrange the tribes in their spatial order. Thus for any time period a picture of the trait distributions, cultural-ecological conditions, inter-tribal socio-ecological relations, and acculturational-social contacts and events should be obtainable.

V

Though, to date, I have been concerned mainly with collecting bibliography and documentary materials rather than with their analysis, I should like to hazard several very tentative conclusions, or perhaps guesses, with respect to the ethnohistory of the llanos, and particularly of the Yaruro, based on the geographic, ethnographic, archeological, linguistic, and historical data known to me now. Some, however, are presented more as hypotheses for proof or disproof through continued research.

First, Petrullo's description is erroneous at least as respects the subsistence economy. Late Nineteenth Century travellers like Crévaux and Vela and several persons in this century mention horticulture. Still earlier reports go back to the earlier Eighteenth Century when missionaries speak of horticulture. Their reports apply to the Yaruro, Otomaco, Guahibo, and other groups. It has not yet been possible to decide whether they introduced or found horticulture among these peoples. Petrullo's error appears to have several explanations:

A) That he was incapacitated for several weeks by sore feet and was unable to travel about the land away from the rivers. In my experience, a careful criss-crossing of the land on foot is an absolute necessity if one is to know how these peoples carry on their subsistence activities. I have paced off with a pedometer the entire area used by the group I worked with. In the course of so doing I discovered all kinds of gardens, houses, and other evidences of their land use. These would not otherwise have been discovered by an observer nor mentioned by the Yaruro, since mainly what is physically present is, to them, worthy of mention.[10] I should say a great portion of my most important data came from such accidental discoveries made while walking about.

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[10] I would stand at a certain spot in a garden and ask "Whose garden is this?" "Juan's." Then I might walk perhaps ten feet and say, "Juan keeps his garden well." "But this is not Juan's garden." "You just said that this was Juan's garden." "That was over there on the other side of that row of corn." This happened a number of times. I also asked once, "Is there female shamanism here?" "No." Several days later, a group from an neighboring village came to visit. After an all-night session of the *tou'be*, several women performed shamanistic rites. I said, "I thought you said there is no female shamanism here?" "There isn't anyone here [i. e. in our locality] who practices — these women are from upstream." The same cleaving to locus was observed with respect to time. I was told that Miguel was a shaman ("musico"). I said "Miguel, are you not a musico?" "I am not a musico. I cannot sing." A few weeks later, he was singing. I said,

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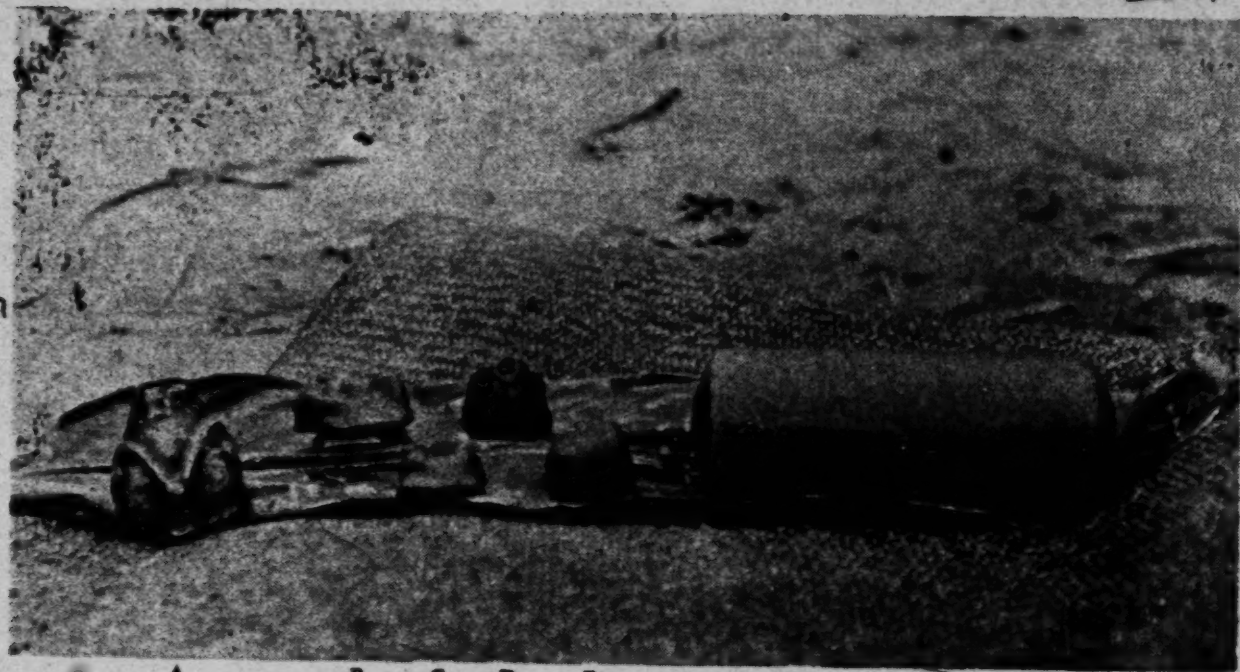
[101]
[131]



A B C D E F

Among the objects in the possesion of the El Gomal Yaruro (ca. 6° 42' N.; 67° 43' W.), about 70 miles west of the Orinoco River, Informants claimed to have dug them up during house-building. No objects of these kinds are made by the Yaruro today. *A*) Hollow ceramic bird-head object, open and broken at the top. *B*) Solid ceramic object, unidentified. *C*) Polished stone object, unidentified. *D*) Solid ceramic object with punctate design, apparently a conventionalized animal (frog or snake?) head. *E*) Highly polished black stone, unidentified, about 1.25 inches long, apparently broken at one end. *F*) Highly polished tan stone object (mano?), about 6 inches long. No stones of these kinds are to be found in the area.

[facing p. 166]

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B) Petrullo restricted his visits to the sand banks along and in the river, and, after his first arrival, most of his travelling was done on the streams. Gardens are never to be found on the sand banks and bars, but rather, usually, on the affluent creeks which are just above flood level of the rivers in the rainy season. Therefore he was not in a position to see the gardens which Le Besnerais later saw in the same area when he explored back from the river.

C) Petrullo was in the llanos in the dry season when the Yaruro move nearer the rivers both to secure a water supply as the water table lowers and to avail themselves of the much more plentiful and accessible river fauna[11] at a time when vegetable harvests are reduced because of drought. He was therefore observing dry-season subsistence — and perhaps only a part of it.

D) The probability that he observed only a part of the dry-season subsistence pattern in his area is reinforced by two considerations:

1) He reports the fact that 150 Yaruro had been massacred by Venezuelans a month before his arrival (p. 181). Their response under such circumstances is, as fast as possible, to get off the land that the Venezuelans want and to move to the rivers. I myself had occasion to observe such a diaspora, occurring in response to a smaller massacre. In view of this sort of response, it is likely, therefore, that Petrullo's group was living off river resources and away from their gardens at the time of his visit.

2) Maps indicate that in the lower part of the Capanaparo River, the flooding is greater and the number and size of side creeks suitable for horticulture is smaller than upstream on any of the large rivers. In other words, the available area for garden plots is much smaller, and riverine subsistence proportionately more important. Upriver, and more especially on the Sinaruco and on the middle and upper Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, there is much more tillable ground.

"I thought you said you could not sing and were not a musico?" "Yes, that was true last week when I had the grippe, but now my grippe is better I can be a musico again." And many similar examples of the extreme caution one needed to exercise regarding negative responses in order to be sure they were not merely descriptive of the place and moment. If Petrullo asked "Do you raise crops?", his informants would most likely have said, "No, we have no crops here", under the circumstances in which he found them.

[11] The river fauna is more plentiful and accessible in dry season because, first, it is more concentrated, and, second, it is more visible. During the wet, flooding season, fish, and other animals spread even into smaller streams and out upon the watery llanos — we caught a small piranha on the grassy, watercovered plain itself. On the plains, the fish are lost among the grasses and are virtually impossible to spear or shoot with bow and arrow. The river turbulence of the rainy season, meanwhile, has brought so much mud from further upstream that many of the rivers are opaque, especially in those parts of the llanos constructed of mud rather than sandy soils. Fish and the water reptiles and mammals are well-cloaked by the murky stream. The waters and the plains clear in the dry season so that the fish are concentrated in the limpid, grassless waters of the rivers, while land animals and riparian fauna are all crowded together near the banks in their search for food and water.

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Guahibo SC14

Y
Petrullo's own linguistic data includes the words for corn, *(pwe)*, manioc 174
(pae), and other planted foods. The words for corn and manioc are certainly 142
not word borrowings from Spanish. This tends to confirm the hypothesis of 241
an aboriginal presence at least of these crops.

A second point is that Yaruro and Guahibo subsistence is transhumant, G
consisting of a wet-season gardening predominance and a dry-season hunting Y
and/or fishing predominance. Guahibo, both presently and in various historical 174
sources,[12] are described as being horticulturalists as well as hunters. It is of 12
first importance to note which season is being discussed when the tribal sub- 241
sistence is being described. With this sort of transhumance, one would expect the decriptions in the literature to disagree; as they do, according to the season of description. Similarly there is much local ecological variation, which appears to determine variations in the predominance of horticulture or hunting or fishing or collecting.

Third, the various tribes — Yaruro, Guahibo, Kuiva, Síliva, Achagua, and G
possibly the Otomaco, as well as more distant groups - - maintained a complex 721
ecological relationship to llanos and extra-llanos resources by means of three 433
major institutions, trade, war, and raiding. For example Kuiva, described by my Yaruro informants and others as being "muy brabos",[13] even today raid both Guahibo and Yaruro villages, but apparently only when these are well supplied, *after* harvesting (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961). That is, they drain off a certain amount of the harvest surplus (cf. Leeds 1961 *a*: 23) from the horticultural groups. With this food, they are able to maintain a larger population in the hunting areas away from the rivers, which they regularly inhabit. Presumably it also compels or encourages the groups concerned to produce more as a hedge against such depredations, thus contributing to overall population maximinization. The raiding pattern may also account for the use of green corn as remarked before.

At the same time, the Guahibo raid Yaruro gardens as the corn and manioc- G
ripen, but are limited from so doing by the frequent presence of Yaruro in 174
their gardens during the harvest period and by the distance of the gardens 721
from the Guahibo villages. The Guahibo were also reported as formerly having carried on extensive warfare, which, it is my guess, had a subsistence foundation (cf. Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*). The peaceable Yaruro, on the other hand, have ap- Y
parently always done a considerable amount of trading up and down river in [439]
their canoes. Trade is also reflected archeologically in the stone artifacts mentioned above, since the kinds of stones used are not found in the llanos and must come from extra-llanos sources.

In short, the entire llanos area appears to me a complex ecological system Y
involving hunting, gathering, fishing, and horticulture, with trade, raiding, 174
182

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[12] Cf. Crévaux, 1883; Marcano, 1883; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1944; Vela, 1889; Wilbert, 1957.

[13] Cf. Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961. He described the generally harsh behavior of the men, the raiding pattern, and the rough manhandling he received from the women.

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and warfare as supra-tribal distribution mechanisms. It is interesting to note that the cultural characteristics ascribed to each of the peoples — "warlike," "peaceable," "brabo" — are ecologically funcional, in that they mirror value orientations which tend to drive people to maximize the food resources in ways appropriate to their socio-ecological environments.

Fourth, the evidence seems to me at present to point to the existence throughout the area, of pre-hispanic horticulture, enjoyed by at least some groups within each tribe, if not by all groups in part of every year. The evidence comes from the reports of travellers, missionaries, and from the archeological remnants, such as they at present are. The main Spanish and Venezuelan acculturational effects with respect to subsistence appear to have been the introduction of iron tools; seeds and plants not of native origin, such as sugar cane and bananas; and, here and there, cattle, pigs, or chickens.

Fifth, the evidence suggests a steady deculturation in an area capable of maintaining a more elaborate level of culture. One may hypothesize either that groups like the Yaruro came into the area with a level of culture reflected by the Arauquín-style remants and then gradually deculturated both pre-hispanically and in post-conquest times, to their present level, or that they intruded into such a culture at a time when they themselves were at a more elaborate level, and then deculturated largely under Spanish influence. It will probably be possible to shed light on this question with the historical data.

In summary, if these hypotheses are correct, the entire interpretation of the llanos area between the Andes and the Orinoco highlands, as well as of other nearby areas assertedly inhabited by so-called marginal tribes, is quite different from that presented by the *Handbook of South American Indians*. The marginals of northern South America seem to evanesce, and a picture of a highly complex ecological system in which horticulture is of central importance, even if not quantitatively predominant in this ecologically restricted area, appears. This picture seems to conform better to the recent archeological hypotheses of Cruxent and Rouse (1958-1959), to the historical mentions of horticulture, to the presently scanty archeological and linguistic materials, and to more recent ethnological data.

I have not, as yet, been able to make any determination whatever with respect to clanship, totemism, or matricross-cousin marriage. I hope that with a study of the word lists discovered and with possible older ethnographic data that this problem may be resolved. My own field data suggests an organization into demes with bilateral marriages between cross-cousins or between an ego and his parallel cousin's offspring. This interpretation incidentally tallies with, or at least does not contradict, the data, such as the genealogies, kin terminology, and locality features described by Petrullo in all pasages where inferences and assertions as to the existence of these institutions do not occur.

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Abbreviations

B	Bulletin
BAE	Bureau of American Ethnology
BG-VB	British Guiana-Venezuela Boundary (*Cf. Maps to Accompany Documents...* 1896)
HSAI	Handbook of South American Indians
J	Journal
JSAP	Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris
LC	Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
R	Revista, Revue
SJA	Southwestern Journal of Anthropology
U	University, Universidad
US	United States
USGPO	United States Government Printing Office
YUPA	Yale University Publications in Anthropology

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* *Note:* The maps are arranged in chronological order for convenience in tracing the development of the populations and because such collections as that of the Library of Congress are arranged chronologically.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

THE YARUROS OF THE CAPANAPARO RIVER, VENEZUELA

By Vincenzo Petrullo

Introduction

121 The American primitive aborigines are rapidly becoming extinct. Some groups are dying out, and others are being assimilated in the lowest laboring classes of the various nations. In any case, the American aborigines, as first found by the sixteenth century explorers, are rarely met today. Only in a few spots, difficult of access or geographically undesirable to the Euro-American, can one find a few primitive peoples still eking out an existence as did their ancestors of four centuries ago. Some of these groups have had intermittent contact with European culture; others do not even know of it at first hand. It is these tribes which can furnish the key to many problems of American anthropology and to some extent to world anthropology, but there is need for haste in studying them, for they may not survive this generation.

511 A simple hunting and fishing culture is the most primitive economic existence. When such a culture has not been able to lift itself above the wood, shell, and bone stage, it should be ranked among the primary. The presence of the bow and pottery may lift a culture slightly above the Australian, but not very much so. The Yaruro culture described in the following pages can be classified as being on that level. Certainly it is as primitive as the Fuegian. The Yaruros, like most tribes of the South American tropical lowlands, have been handicapped by lack of stone in the country. Wood, shell, and bone were [177] substituted until they came in contact with iron. Today they obtain scraps of iron, which they have learned to fashion into arrow points, from the cattle ranchers, but they would have done just as well without this new material.

511 361 A people like the Yaruros are forced to economize in every aspect of their material culture. Literally they may have only that which they are able to transport with them. All the worldly possessions of each family must be crowded into one small dugout canoe. The

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

511 superfluous needs to be dispensed with every time camp is moved,
361 which occurs every few days. Only in thoughts and feelings can they be as rich as any other people; but this requires a particular kind of temperament possessed by only a few individuals in the tribe.

182 Their economic life, social organization, mythology, and religion form a well-knit pattern of existence. There are no loose ends, but a knot here and there appears in the form of vagueness or contradiction. But I think that the fault lies with us who would introduce our type of organization into their knowledge. We expect more from a primitive group than we ourselves could offer. Besides, it is doubtful whether we ever present the picture of their culture as they see it; if we did we might not understand or we might even be surprised at its orderliness.

177 Although the Yaruros have been in touch with Euro-American cul-
121 ture for several centuries they have borrowed remarkably little. What culture they possessed several centuries ago we do not know. There is practically no information about them in the literature. There is justification, therefore, in publishing this record, in spite of many apparent deficiencies. Since plans for another visit to fill in the gaps in my field notes have not materialized and the Yaruros may be gone before another ethnologist can live with them it seems advisable to make this material available.

121 Anthropology, among other things, is concerned with the interrelationships of groups of men and with the functions of social structures as developed by man and his environment. I have tried to keep in mind that in presenting a first account of an unknown people it may not be at all out of place to draw a general but intimate picture of the daily life of the Yaruros, their emotional, cognitive and conative responses to the world about them, and even their attitude toward the ethnologist who appeared among them with only the objective of hold-
123 ing friendly conversations about themselves. At first they were suspicious, but they soon caught the point and enjoyed the experience as much as I did. An attempt has been made to give these pictures, and to explain the series of events which made possible with these nomads the intimate association that followed the first few days of unfriendliness.

124 No attempt has been made to reconcile differences in the information
128 obtained from various informants, not even if there is a contradiction. It was the first time that the Yaruros had been asked to organize their knowledge of their own culture; contradictions and vagueness were to be expected. My informants were exclusively men, even for those
123 phases of culture which admittedly belong to the female world. A cultural obstacle which I respected prevented any direct social intercourse with the women. The women's domain is respected by the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

It is well to note that the llanos form a sort of cul-de-sac from which there is only one escape, and that is by way of the Orinoco River. It is quite likely that the llanos have been the camping grounds and the highway for a number of tribes migrating northward, southward, or eastward. For peoples practicing agriculture, Guiana and the lower Orinoco region would be more suitable than the plains of Apure, where, on account of the strong winds and the sandy soil, it is difficult to carry on any cultivation of the soil. The mountainous regions to the north and west are also fit for agriculture. Therefore it was only the culturally poorer tribes that would remain in the llanos.

We have, therefore, in the following pages, a people who are primitive hunters, whose history is unknown, who do not seem to be linguistically related to any other group, and whose appearance is strongly mongoloid—who have been in contact not only with foreign indigenous culture but with some European culture, and who are facing physical and cultural extinction. Perhaps this last fact should be allowed to dominate this study, because it can throw into relief much of Yaruro culture and will remind us that anthropology is not so much signs of things as the signs of man, and that his problems and the way he solves them is as important, if not more important, than purely historical problems and theories. The opportunity of studying religion, social organization, and general spiritual culture of a South American tribe was so strong that during my stay with the Yaruros I concentrated with these phases of their culture rather than on the material phases or linguistic problems.

My Journey To and Life With the Yaruros

Contact with the Yaruros is not easy. No one ever knows near what water hole or at what point on the river these nomads may be found. Several centuries of maltreatment have made them shy and suspicious of strangers and particularly of all "Racionales." Primitive and loosely organized, they could not and cannot today offer any effective resistance to civilized groups which may want to exploit them. At the time of my visit everyone along our route was indignant over the treatment that about 150 Yaruros had received at the hands of unknown local "jefes civiles" about a month before. They were seized and matcheted to death, reducing the total population of this tribe (excluding bands that may be hidden along the Sinaruco River) to one-half. My presence in their midst naturally aroused fears that some fresh calamity was about to befall them.

In the rainy season there is only one way of penetrating the llanos of Apure, and that is by boat. From the Orinoco one can sail or

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

At night each family group lay on the sands
521 talking a little, laughing a little. I made it a custom of visiting every night, and usually the men gathered around. The women, keeping in the background, made all sorts of inquiries concerning my country and people, but always through the men.

831 One cannot live on intimate terms with a group of people a week
123 without learning something of their sexual attitudes. Only too often is this factor dangled in front of him, so that if he were to base his report on recurrent experiences and situations it would be largely made up of sex and sex problems. However, the sexual element is strongly present, but it is in normal cases a simple matter.

● 121 A simple matter but of exceeding importance if we are to believe the psychologists. Basic to life, and to social organization, the attitude toward it has its effect on the life of the individual and on the culture, but equal the make-up of the indidivual and the culture produces the sexual attitude.

836 To begin with, this writer does not know anything about the sexual development of Yaruro boy or girl. He does not know what secret sexual play the children may indulge in, nor does he know whether the unmarried girl has any sexual relations. He thinks that the un-
838 married do. He also thinks that there is some kind of homosexuality among the boys, and even the men. The following is based on what he observed, heard, and saw without any undue prying about.

857 The sexes are kept apart from infancy. A baby girl is launched
855 into her future career as a woman almost from birth. She is the
593 special care of the mother and women folk. When she is able to play she plays alone, with other girls, or with the women. She never plays with the boys. When she is able to work she helps her mother, never her father nor her elder brothers. She may be helped in her work by her brother.

593 It is impossible to claim that the attachment is stronger between the mother and children than between the father and daughter. It would be necessary to investigate the problem from the psychological point of view. But such is the case socially and economically.

The maternal uncle does to a certain degree substitute for the father, but this substitution is formal and social.

867 From babyhood the child learns his relationship to those about
602 him. One woman is its mother. She it is who gives suck, holds, etc. Later he learns that he must call other women mother also. These are the sisters of his true mother. One man he learns to call father. This man is the one who is most with his mother, in whose canoe
602 they travel, etc. Other men he calls father also, the brothers of his true father. Thus relationships are defined sexually, familiarly, and formally. In respect to girls of his own age he learns that some he calls sisters and others by terms whose equivalent may be rendered

YARURO INCIPIENT TROPICAL FOREST HORTICULTURE

Possibilities and Limits

Anthony LEEDS

The immediate concern of the papers in this symposium is the interaction between human populations and their habitats through the agency of horticulture insofar as factors in this interaction result in the evolution of culture. The present paper discusses an Incipient Tropical Forest Slash-and-Burn Horticultural group, the Yaruro of the south-central Venezuelan llanos, in order to show what kinds of upper limits were set upon its development by its technology and habitat, or both, and what sorts of factors within the relatively limiting conditions of incipient tropical forest horticulture might have provided a foundation for evolution to a more developed state. For any of the cultures which are examples of this class of horticulturalists, slash-and-burn horticulture plays a considerable, but usually not, by itself, a dominating role in the total food procurement process. The Yaruro fall between the Incipient and Intermediate Tropical Forest types discussed in the introduction, whereas the Siriono, for example, represent a culture near the lower limits of cultures of the type. Despite their somewhat more advanced condition, what pertains to the Yaruro, in a general way applies to the rest of the type.

We shall consider first the habitat conditions in which the Yaruro find themselves and then describe the major dimensions of their swidden horticultural technology. With these aspects of the total ecology before us we shall show how its characteristics provide us a model for our incipient tropical forest stage and at the same time demonstrate how its special ecological conditions inhibited its further evolution into the more advanced stages of horticulture.

The Venezuelan llanos stretch as a low inland plain from the Orinoco delta, W by WSW, 750-800 miles inland, to the edges of the Andes in the far west of Apure State and into Eastern Colombia. The Yaruro are found between 450 and 600 miles from the mouth of the Orinoco, but still inside Venezuelan frontiers. They are found on all the rivers from the Arauca to the Cinaruco, inclusive, a distance of about 90 miles from north to south.

[probably should read: which--Analyst]

311 In short, the habitat conditions are as follows, given that the Cinaruco
22 Yaruro have a technology including hunting, gathering, fishing, and animal husbandry, and horticulture. All resources are found within a narrow band of about 4-5 miles between the Cinaruco river and the high sand dunes occurring in the interfluve to the north, in which only an occasional deer is found. Within this space there are three major resource areas distinguishable: 1) the open savanas for hunting and gathering, the former involving much greater dispersion of resources than the latter and consequently quite different techno-social conditions. Both activities change location markedly with the seasons. 2) The rivers and *caños* are used for water-animal hunting and for fishing. Fishing also displays a seasonal shift between river and *caño*, whereas river hunting for alligator and turtle becomes totally impracticable in the wet season. 3) The wooded areas, themselves dispersed, include the gallery forests of smaller streams where flooding is limited but water
[241] and soil abundant and the *montes* occurring here and there in mid-savana. These areas provide the Yaruro with garden sites. Away from the streams, there are also occasional tiny patches of suitable soil not close enough to the water table for dry season use, but which get enough rain to be used for planting of seasonal crops in the wet season. Schematically, the situation is shown on Table II_{A}^{1} a list of foods entering into Yaruro economy and their relative seasonal occurrences, and on Maps I and II_{A}^{2} of the seasonal locations of these resources.

182 The particular relationship between a peculiar habitat, such as the one we have just described, and the technology operating within it, here preponderantly a swidden technology, sets upper limits to territorial, socio-economic, or cultural expansion, and limits to changes in socio-cultural forms. With regard to the habitat dimension of the relationship, we may
● [121] say in Harris's words, "Limitations imposed by the manner in which plants and animals convert solar energy into comestible material in combination with the availability of land and water resources, the rate of reproduction of the natural biota, and the total ecological balance, furnish conditions unalterable by individual or collective whim", $^{1}_{A}$ at least with the given level of technological development possessed by the Yaruro. The Yaruro are in no position to change the total ecological balance, to increase the carrying capacity of the land or water for plant or animal species. For
182 example, under the llanos conditions, the use of slash-and-burn horticulture exhausts arable land at a rate greater than it recovers. The proportion of
241 land held in reserve for future cultivation must be several times greater
311 than that under cultivation at any given moment, the proportion varying with such factors as the rate of fertility recovery, the type of weed and grass invasion, the rate of growth of the secondary forest, the rate of mechanical reconstruction of the soil, and so on. Thus of the total amount of land potentially available in a given expanse of territory, only a part can be horticulturally exploited at any one time. Where the total potentially arable land in a given expanse is itself only a small proportion of the total area, the amount of land available for cultivation at any one moment is, of course, minute. This ecological balance in turn limits the human population

1[1] [See pp. 31-39, category 116 -- Analyst]
1[2] [See pp. 40-41, category 102 -- Analyst]
1[3] [For footnote, see p. 42, category 116 -- Analyst]

50% of the diet or a little less. The ideal figures would again be reduced, on the other hand, by allowing for the predations on gardens of animals, especially the pigs, which eat manioc and corn, the Guahibo Indians who allegedly steal sugar cane, and insect losses. Our figures, then, will be modified only a few units by the additional sources of foods. We may thus revise our population figure to between 100 and 105 (or, if a 15-year fallow period is assumed, the figure would be 75-80), figures which correspond to the Yaruro's own ideal of what a proper population for this area should be. If the population increased beyond this number of people, the Yaruro would have to exploit their gardens at a rate greater than the rate of land reconstitution, and also expand hunting, fishing, and gathering beyond the average long-term carrying capacity of the savanas and the rivers, thus reducing their potential productivity. Adding together the maximum populations supportable by these food resources, as well as by the recently introduced pigs, a figure approximating 125-150 persons might be reasonable for this particular territory. This gives a density of 2 persons per sq. mile, a characteristic figure for tropical forest tribes.[13]

If the population rose beyond this maximum capacity of the land-technology relationship, groups would either have to fission off, go on the warpath, regulate population by any of a number of internal institutions such as infanticide, or die either from extreme famines or from steady nutritional deficiency. Under present population conditions none of these is necessary, yet both fissioning and population regulation by contraception occur. Fissioning appears to be fostered by the search for settlement locations requiring minimum labor for maximum return and also to establish community authority under the person leading the fissioning group independent of that excercised by the community from which fissioning took place. Contraception appears to be a matter of choice revolving about maintaining a certain freedom from the cares of motherhood until such time as the marriage partners are reasonably convinced that the marriage is permanent. Indirectly, this contributes to the distribution of more effective female producers among the more effective male producers in the most productive areas, since a second marriage often involves shifting to a generally more effective husband whereas a shift to a less effective husband is scarcely to be found. Both fissioning and contraception, however, give evidence of techniques which were developed to handle man-food balance in happier days.

A number of formal characteristics of any ecology may permit us to deduce the form of society which would be expected on the basis of such characteristics. In so far as the ecological forms were to remain essentially unchanged over great periods of time, no changes in the forms of the social order attached to the ecological conditions would be expected. An internal equilibrium is maintained until such time as a dynamic imbalance occurs because of changes from internal or external sources. It is essential to examine to what extent the internal equilibrium prevents or fosters the occurence of dynamic imbalances in any particular ecological setting. We shall return to this question after the following itemization of Yaruro ecological forms.

[15] [For footnote see p. 43, category 116.--Analyst]

mother's and sister's households, nevertheless hunted and harvested for himself, and often cooked for himself meals of the type ordinarily cooked only by women. 462 463

The forms and characteristics of surpluses, as defined by Harris, [16]shed further light on the structure of the ecology. The technological surplus, defined as the difference between total calories annually produced by any definable group and the calories used to produce them, or as the ratio between these two figures, may be estimated at about 8 or 9 to 1 as compared with Harris's estimated figures of 2:1 for the Siriono or 33:1 for the Pencuyut Maya. [17] Since as Harris remarks, the degree of social stratification in a large number of cases correlates with the size of the technological surplus, we would scarcely expect to find social stratification among the Yaruro, nor even any significant ranking. Where the technological surplus is low, the producer's surplus, defined as the difference between total calories produced by any given group and the total calories used by the producers for all purposes must also be low. Therefore the number of persons other than producers who can be supported by the producers is also limited. The producers' surplus may provide an index of the degrees of specialization which might be expected. In the case of the Yaruro one would expect no, or very low, specialization. Again, with a low producers' surplus, one would expect to find a greater proportion of the group involved in production than where such surpluses are high, for otherwise there would be insufficient calories to support more than a few people other than the producers. With a low producers' surplus, one would expect, in general, to find a greater proportion of both sexes engaged in the food quest. This is, of course, born out in the case of the Yaruro. Finally, Harris's harvest surplus is defined as the difference between the amount produced at any given moment, especially at seasonal maxima, and the amount consumed at that time. The actual amount consumable is governed by the seasonal *minima*, since the population cannot rise higher than the food supply at minimum periods permits unless special technological features such as storage, are present. Where the harvest surpluses are of non-storable goods, the population level is in equilibrium with the absolute minima of the harvests. The greater the degree of storability through a nonproductive season, or the less marked a crop is by seasonality, the higher the level to which the minimum population can be raised as compared with the number of people supportable at levels of production comparable to those at the time of harvest. Storability, however, is only one dimension of the harvest surplus. Absolute size of the peak surpluses, their regularity over the years, their distribution in space and time in the annual cycle, their utility in raw form, and the proportion of labor needed to harvest them relative to the time allotted for the harvest are all important dimensions of the harvest surplus. Thus, manioc, the Yauro's chief food resource has no clear peak, is regular over the years (the Yaruro disclaim any famines), is storable both in raw form and in prepared forms, is, in the case of the Yaruro, so located as not to permit of a concentration of labor at any one time and needs no massive labor for harvesting because of short harvest periods. Thus, in general, the very nature of manioc as a crop, and the labor requisites for

121 ● 433 182 [56] [463] [462] [262] [251] [241]

16, 17 [For footnotes see p. 43, category 116--Analyst]

harvesting it, require no centralized authority and render it possible and even probable that the management of production or distribution be carried on without it. The same may be said, on the whole, for all the hunting, fishing, and gathering harvests, a notable and probably permanent feature of Yaruro ecology. Perhaps the only crop which has a marked seasonality is corn, but its absolute size in the total production, its geographical distribution in production, and its position relative to all other harvests renders it insignificant as an effective promoter of managerial functions and formal arrangements of social stratification. It is unlikely, given Yaruro ecology that the forms of surplus would change; consequently their concomitants in social structure would remain constant.

On the basis of the formal characteristics of the ecology and of the surpluses one may deduce an essentially egalitarian social organization, with minimal ranking and leadership and with dispersion of the acts of economic distribution among a number of adult males or females any one of whom may produce a small harvest surplus at any time. With a relatively steady and reasonably comfortable total subsistence base, and with ecological arrangements which are spatially repeated in identical form up and down river, no necessity exists for stringent rules of local exogamy as an institution to regulate the labor force by redistributing its members. One would expect frequent marrying in the village according to the convenience of the contractants, and out-marriages to occur either as economic opportunity offered elsewhere or lack of women at home urged one out. The combined biological and productive role of women, with their particularly important technical roles in gathering and in food preparation, suggest sedentary communities and a matrifocal emphasis in the rules of residence. However, the importance and location of the men's economic contribution might be expected to balance this to a degree so that one might deduce male uxorimatrilocal residence but with other, subsidiary patterns. This in fact occurs, occasional male matrilocality or patrilocality [18] comprising the subsidiary residence rules. Political authority would be vested in the community, mainly among its elders, since little or no ranking or stratification is to be expected. In fact, Yaruro socio-political forms, in general, conform to all of these deduced conditions. They represent a model for any society based on the kinds of ecological conditions or form of ecology we have described. Where the ecology is even more restricted the deduced characteristics should be matched even more closely by the observed data. In this respect, the Sirionó, for example, tend to confirm the hypothesis, in that their partial sedentariness which revolves about horticulture is associated with matrifocal social organization: matrilocality and matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. They also possess autonomous local communities. [19] The Apinayé also tend to confirm the hypothesis. [20]

Where our analysis permits us to predict about the course of the ecological conditions, we should also be able to extend this prediction to the social structure. Since, under the given ecology, we can establish a maximum population for each Yaruro socio-cultural unit, and under the given technology we would expect no significant change in the ecology, no significant

[18,19,20 For footnotes see pp. 43-44 category 116 --Analyst]

3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Ecological Determinants of Chieftainship among the Yaruro Indians of Venezuela

Anthony Leeds

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I

Father John Cooper is said to have remarked once that when South American Tropical Forest tribal chiefs order their people to do something, the people immediately do as they choose. Certainly, as a general pattern of chieftainship, this is true among many groups,[1] and the Yaruro Indians of the south-central Venezuelan llanos are no exception. Among them, as with others, the very word chieftainship seems inappropriate. We shall use the term here, but it should only be understood as a convenience for designating our subject matter. Whether, in general, the functions of chieftainship in South America vary in importance as ecological conditions require differing chiefly activities, or whether chieftaincies were created or reinforced through the structure of statuses engendered in acculturation situations, as seems to have occurred in parts of Venezuela, or whether the varieties of chieftainship represent different evolutionary phases of development responding to the general conditions of the culture in which they occurred, is not yet clear. Presumably some consistent set of factors may be found, perhaps along the techno-ecological lines suggested by Sahlins or Harris[2] or the socio-economic conditions such as warfare suggested by Carneiro[3], which will serve as principles in the explanation of the tropical South American and other chieftainships of similar characteristics, such as some of those found in Melanesia. It is hoped that the following interpretation, largely dealing with the ecological foundations of chieftainship, will contribute towards this formulation of principles.

II

Briefly, Yaruro chieftainship is characterized by its ineffectiveness. The *capitan*, as he is called in Spanish, or *o'te-ta'ra* (elder head) in Yaruro, rarely commands. When he does, the commands most often are directed at children and young people, especially males, women, on the whole, being consulted not commanded. Most direct

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[1] E. g. Akawaio, Barama River Carib and other Carib groups, Canella, Carajá, Cayapó, Kiukuru, Shereste, Tauliping, Waika, etc. Cf. Lowie, 1949, especially pages 341—350.

[2] Harris, 1958; Sahlins, 1958.

[3] Carneiro, 1961.

represent his people to the outside world without consultation and to make arbitrary decisions for them inside the community — mainly in his own interest — was, with the consent of the community, assassinated by one of the members, now in excellent standing in that community as a respected shaman. The chief in question had stepped beyond the bounds designated for his status. In sum, the position of chief, even though formally recognized by Yaruro society and reinforced by formal recognition and appointment by Venezuelan authorities, is feeble as an institution and as a status.[6] It is our hypothesis that ecological conditions of Yaruro life determine the form of the chieftainship in such a way that its stronger institutionalization would be impossible, and we turn to this question now.

III

Yaruro subsistence activities[7] comprise swiddening, gathering, pig herding, hunting and fishing, mentioned in the order of their importance as contributors to the total food supply as measured in calories.[8] Horticulture probably provides 60—70% of the total annual food supply. The horticulture practiced is characteristic of tropical forest slash-and-burn gardens, with a slow rotation of plots in order to permit soil renewal and weed control. Trees are cut, at present with steel axes and formerly, apparently, with axes of bone or shell, and then burnt. Occasional fences are roughly made of the logs to keep out pigs. Bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*),[9] in several varieties, is the main crop, though sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*), also in several varieties, is planted too, as are corn, bananas, sugar cane — each in several varieties — and a number of lesser crops such as melons, squashes, pumpkins, pineapples, sweet potatoes, and yautia or ocumo (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*). Crops are planted with a digging stick which may also be used in harvesting. Gardens are weeded, once only, early in the growth of the crops. Other than clearing, the only soil preparation is the construction of hills for planting bananas. This is done by burning hills made by a certain species of ants (*huachaquero*). The hills, which are quite wide and low, are filled with organic matter enriching the soil.[10] Harvesting is aided with baskets for carrying the crops. Baskets contain about half a bushel or less. No fertilization, no terracing, no drainage, no irrigation, no extensive turning of the soil is done.

The gathered resources include a number of roots, particularly changuango, changuanito, and guapo (*Marante arundinacea*);[11] varied fruits, especially that of

[6] Professor Benjamin N. Nelson informs me that in medieval Spain, village communities had an official, also called *capitan*, whose function was to treat with state functionaries representing the world beyond the village community's frontier. It is possible that the Yaruro capitan, and many others in Venezuela, are an acculturative transfer of this office to tribal groups. In the case of the Yaruro, this would have happened some 250—300 years ago.

[7] The use, here, of the terms 'activity', 'tasks', 'techniques', 'tools', 'resources', and 'habitat' corresponds to the definitions given in Leeds, 1960 b.

[8] Cf. Leeds, 1961, which gives thir data in detail and describes the habitat and horticulture *in extenso*.

[9] Native terms for these crops are given *ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, note 9, contains data on soil values.

[11] Identifications are from Pittier, 1926.

and then shooting into the still side pools of a stream into which he has driven a post with bait attached. He may also stand in a canoe to shoot. It is reported, though I have not myself seen it, that barbasco (*Jacquinia revoluta* or *mucronulata*) poison is used by some Yaruro.[12] No nets, weirs, traps, sweeps, or artificial fish pools are used.

Given the techniques and tools of the Yaruro, all the subsistence activities described can conveniently be done by one person. Some *must* be done by one person only, since the tools and techniques themselves do not permit two or more persons to operate jointly. As it were, the logic of the tools and techniques concerned demands utilization by single persons.[13] Some of the tools and techniques might conveniently involve two or more persons, e. g. lashing tree trunks together to make a fence or cornering a capybara, but do not definitively *require* more than one person. Activities of all sorts may be done by aggregates of persons, each utilizing his own tools and techniques individually but neither the activity, the tools nor the techniques entail the aggregation of individuals. Thus, from the point of view of human organization, the technology, by itself, entails no managerial functions, no coordination of tasks which must be overseen by someone occupying an appropriately defined status.[14] That is, there are no technologically determined positions of leadership in Yaruro society. Further, the technology as such entails no significant cooperation in work organization, even when this is convenient, and correspondingly, no standard work groups or management functions, as represented in some defined status, for facilitating cooperation are to be expected or to be found. In fact, Yaruro technology and resource distribution are such as to elicit considerable dispersion of activities and actors at any given time of work, and to inhibit the development of rank and the personal acquisition of superordinating prestige.

IV

We may now examine the habitat aspect of the ecological relationship. A clearly marked annual cycle occurs in the Yaruro habitat.[15] However, despite a sharp seasonal change from heavy rains up to 60 inches in one half of the year to almost

[12] Personal communication from Mr. Thomas Rootes who has studied Yaruro linguistics for a number of months, having visited several groups.

[13] Different kinds of tools require different kinds of organization. A simple hand saw can be used by only one person at a time. A logging saw, though it can awkwardly be used by one person, is surely best used by two persons. Certain other saws, e. g. jig saws, make up one of a series of machine processes on a single part of a product, the entire series being the unit of operation which requires a still more complex level of organization. Cf. Leeds, 1960 b.

[14] For the structure of argument which is involved here, see Leeds, 1960 b.

[15] 'Habitat' here refers to all physical objects and conditions of the environment which are relevant to the existence or production of resources as defined by the culture. For the most part, then, 'habitat' refers to those environmental conditions such as humidity, temperature, insolation, rainfall, etc., which affect the food supply, as well as the food and water available for animals and plants and other culturally relevant physical objects. By extension, it refers to daily, seasonal, annual, and long-term variations and cycles in the various relevant factors of the environment, whether climatic, geologic, or biotic, which affect any of these supplies.

3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

distance of the gardens is too far from the village for effective or efficient exploitation. At this point a village or part of a village must move. Moving the villages involves decision-making with respect to time, new location, and so on. Plainly, moving a village involves a community decision. A community institution for handling the decision-making is necessary. Technologically speaking, the moving itself is not a community task and does not involve supervision and direction. Therefore, one would not expect the institution of decision-making to be a directive one, but a consultative one. Again this corresponds to the observed modes of action of the Yaruro chiefs. The chiefs' function is to facilitate the formation of the decisions of the community by funnelling and interpreting individuals' feelings and expressions to the rest of the members of the community.

In sum, I have presented a model of a form of ecology which, hypothetically, determines the limits within which any sort of chiefly functions may operate. This model, again hypothetically, is applicable to all cultures having the kind of technological and habitat characteristics and forms of surplus here described. I think the model applies particularly to cultures which grow root-crops such as manioc, which utilize no labor-concentrative techniques, such as irrigation, and for whose food resources notable seasonality is absent. Such cultures have been noted widely in tropical South America and also in Melanesia. In both areas, chiefly functions are notably limited as contrasted, say, with Circum-Caribbean corn-raising cultures with some irrigation and other intensive techniques[24] and with Polynesian high cultures with elaborate irrigation and other public works.[25] It should be noted, first, that the Yaruro were not far from these Circum-Caribbean chiefdoms and even show a number of trait similarities, and, second, that the Yaruro have been under Spanish acculturation, which has involved encouragement of chiefly functions, for probably 250 years. Yet, despite the pressures of both diffusion and acculturation to produce a more developed chieftaincy, the attenuated form described persists. The explanation of this persistence seems to me to be ecological. I suggest that the model of explanation presented here is based on a set of analytic dimensions — the characteristics of the technology, those of the habitat, those of the harvest surplus, and the interrelationships of these — which may be used for all cultures, but whose formal, systemic relations vary from culture to culture, or class of cultures to class of cultures, thus giving different models for different cultures or classes of cultures. By using such dimensions, one can account for cultural differences by means of a standard set of principles, thus facilitating genuine comparisons and generalizations.

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[24] Cf. Sturtevant, 1961; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961.
[25] Cf. Sahlins, 1958.

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[P. 1]

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THE IDEOLOGY OF THE YARURO INDIANS IN RELATION TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Anthony LEEDS

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It is the purpose of this paper to show the correspondence between the principles of socio-economic organization of the Yaruro Indians and their ideology and to isolate some dimensions of ideology which may be used for comparative purposes. It is hoped that by further isolation of such categories it will eventually become possible to compare the structure and content of widely different ideologies, as we today are able to compare kinship systems, so that we may be able to recognize synchronic regularities of a functional order and diachronic regularities of an evolutionary sort. Yaruro religious and philosophical beliefs are reduced to a series of postulates or axioms about the nature of the universe and man in an analysis somewhat like Kluckhohn's study of Navaho philosophy and Opler's of Apache themes. (1). No Yaruro would be able to express the axioms nor see them in the logical series as presented here, yet each would recognize them, when couched in the phrasings of his own language, as referring to his particular *Weltanschauung*. The postulates are derived from direct statements by informants about the cosmos or about human living, from other verbal materials such as discussions of disease and social organization, and, more occasionally, from observed behavior. The generalized titles introducing each of the summarized postulates appearing at the end of the paper comprise the dimensions, here inductively arrived at, which may serve for cross-cultural analysis.

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The Yaruro Indians have been living in the savannas or llanos of Southern Venezuela for an unknown number of centuaries. They have developed a socio-economic life well-articulated to the geographical conditions of life.

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The gross geographical characteristics of the alternately desert-like and flood-covered llanos cause all the best economic resources to be concentrated

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(1) Kluckhohn (1949); Opler (1945).

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Contribution to the Study of the Yaruro and Otomac Indians (Venezuela)

continuation II (1)

1. See "infra" IV List...36.

I. Notes on the origins, way of life, and history of the Yaruro.
II. Notes on the Otomaco /Otomac/.
III. Complementary observations on the habitat of the Yaruro.
IV. List of works and diverse documents relating to the study of the Yaruro and the Otomaco.
V. Corrections for the first part of this study /omitted in the translation of this second part, but incorporated in the translation of the first part/ (1).

1. See "infra" IV List...36.

I. Notes on the origins, way of life, and history of the Yaruro.

a) Origins

121 174 We do not yet know all about the origin and the pre-Colombian past of the Yaruro. Have they lived since the most remote times on the territory which they now occupy (1) or,

1. See "infra" IV List ... 36.

on the contrary, did they come to settle there at a less distant period, and in this case, how and why? Were they formerly powerful, numerous, and masters of a vast territory--their present-day descendants let it be understood--and, if so, what vicissitudes have reduced them to the present small group? Are the excesses of their civilized neighbors and the epidemics

/7 cont./

121 carried by the latter the only causes for it, as was the case
174 for numerous tribes after the arrival of the Spaniards, or should one also search for other more distant ones?

/8/ Our investigations have not furnished us with any direct answer to these questions. We should not try to give any as long as there have not been carried out comparative studies of language--up to the present their dialect has not been linked with any of the known large linguistic families of South America --and culture with the other societies of tropical South America--and perhaps also of more distant regions. As for the ties which might have united them formerly with the Otomaco, for the same reasons we cannot say more about them than what they say themselves (see "infra": II Notes on the Otomaco) as a complement to Angel Rosenblat's study on the Otomaco and Taparita (2).

2. Id. 54.

b) Way of life

114 Relying on Vicenzo Petrullo's investigations (3), Alfred
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3. Id. 52.

Métraux (4) extends to the Yaruro the alternative he poses with

4. Id. 45.

regard to the way of life of certain tribes occupying the drainage basin of the Orinoco and the Amazon, which contrasts by its primitiveness--the absence of agriculture and nomadism--with that of the majority of the tribes of these same regions, who practice agriculture (5). He writes: "Are these Indians

/8 cont./

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5. This paragraph had been published when we learned of Anthony Leeds' articles (see "infra" IV List...42 and 43). The latter considers that agriculture, which exists among the Yaruro, as we acknowledge further along, was introduced by missionaries at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

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descendants of the first inhabitants, hunters and gatherers who invaded South America at the beginning of the Neolithic Age, as Father Cooper suggests, or are they groups of Indians who after diverse vicissitudes have degenerated and adapted their civilization to a new way of life, as Levi-Strauss insists?"

121 Immigrants or not, hunters, fishers, and gatherers who evolved, or agriculturists who regressed, we shall not make a choice here between these alternatives and shall limit ourselves to presenting two observations which, gone into more deeply, will eventually permit opting in favor of one of the theses before us.

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241 1) The tropical savanna inhabited by the Yaruro, as a consequence of the absence of extensive forests, is hardly propitious for primitive agriculture. The latter could, however, be carried out there on a small scale.

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241 The Yaruro, in fact, and contrary to Vicenzo Petrullo's observations, are not only gatherers, fishers, and hunters, but also practice agriculture, in general on land cleared in the forest corridors. Petrullo probably did not observe this aspect of their way of life (6) because he carried out his investigations

6. We made, moreover, the identical error in the course of our first investigations (see "infra" IV List...40).

at the height of the dry season--when the soil /9/ is no longer

/9 cont./

114 productive and the Yaruro are living mainly on sandy shores,
121 leading the life of fishers and nomadic gatherers--and limited
241 them to the lower Capanaparo. There these Indians do not
[64] work the land, or at least very little; apparently for reasons
[464] linked with the proximity of Venezuelan peasants, such as: interdiction on the part of the latter who, with or without title, are masters of the land, the risk of being overrun by the free-roaming livestock, or simply work as peons on the farms, which would hardly allow them time to cultivate the land.

241 In fact, agriculture is only practiced on certain portions of their territory and particularly on those where they do not have contact with the Venezuelan peasants. This statement excludes at first sight the recent acquisition of it from the latter. Such a deduction is moreover corroborated by the accounts of the Jesuits (7) who lived for a while in the region in the eigh-

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

teenth century and who already described them as agriculturists--without specifying whether they had been before their arrival--and by the present Yaruro themselves, who affirm that they all formerly had conucos (8). But these points still do not

8. Kitchen gardens, in Venezuelan.

allow us to assert that they were in possession of the technique in the pre-Hispanic period.

172 2) The region, on the other hand, is rich in archaeological sites containing objects (pottery remains, figurines of baked clay and lignite, polished stone axes, funeral urns) which are of a completely different make from those made by the present-day Yaruro, who, moreover, do not recognize them as being of their making. Is it a question of remains of objects of forerunners or remains of objects of the Otomaco, who at the time of the Jesuits apparently lived in the present-day territory

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Some Problems of Yaruro Ethnohistory*

Anthony Leeds

I was first led to consider Yaruro history because the ethnographic phenomena I found differed radically from those described by Petrullo (1939 *a*). Only historical research could resolve these differences. I shall first examine the discrepancies, then turn to the kinds of historical sources relevant to resolving the problems and to some of the material already examined, and, finally, briefly discuss the direction that the results appear to be taking.

I

Petrullo, describes the Yaruro of the Capanaparo River as being hunters of river and llanos animals, fishers of river fish, and gatherers of seeds, roots, and fruits. He denies the presence of horticulture, except among a few "acculturated" groups. As far as the monograph informs us, he visited only Yaruro near the mouth of the Capanaparo and on islands in the Orinoco during the months of the dry season. He did not visit the Arauca, Cunaviche, upper Capanaparo, Riccito, and Sinaruco rivers, on all of which Yaruro are found today, and apparently have been living indefinitely into the past, according to old maps.[1] On the basis of the groups visited, he asserts that the Yaruro were not horticultural. Kirchhoff (1948 *a*: 456) repeats this assertion, adding that Gilij (1780-1784: Vol. 3) mentions the use of green corn — a sign, according to Kirchhoff, of the recent adoption of corn at that time. No basis is given for this statement. Le Besnerais, in several publications (1948; 1950 *a;* 1951; and, with Dreyfus-Roche, 1954), repeats that the Yaruro were hunters and gatherers, but, in his most recent work (1950 *b;* 1954; Ms.; Personal communication,

* I wish to thank Juan Friede for a number of bibliographical suggestions. The research is being supported by the American Philosophical Society and the Research Institute for the Study of Man. My thanks and appreciation go to both.

1 Cf. maps listed in the special section of the bibliography, many of which show the location of the Yaruro, Otomaco, Achagua ("as Chaguas"), Sáliva, Aruaca, Caribe, or a number of other tribes at various points in history.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Preface

122 The material for this report was gathered by the second Venezuelan Expedition of the University Museum, of the University of Pennsylvania, 1933–34. The field trip to the Yaruros lasted three months. Mr. Arthur P. Rossi and Señor Carlos Defendini of Caracas participated in the work of the expedition for short periods of time. My thanks go to both.

010 It is impossible to list all of those friends who helped the expedition in its work, for to do everyone justice I should have to include many whose names I never learned or whom I knew only by their first names. The Caraqueños were most kind and generous but the Llaneros no less; and later when I came in contact with the Andinos I found them no different. I thank, therefore, the whole Venezuelan people for their wholehearted hospitality and the facilities which their Government put at the expedition's disposal.

I am especially indebted to Dr. Alfredo Jahn, who not only put his library at my disposal but gave me an insight into Venezuelan anthropology. He compiled the bibliography on the Yaruro language. My thanks go also to Dr. Gumersindo Torres for many introductions and much friendship; to Mr. Rudolph Dolge, whose vast library was always at my disposal; to Señor Don Manoel Sanchez for hospitality at his ranch and permission to excavate an archeological site on his property; to the Phelps family.

The expedition is further indebted to the United Fruit Co. for transportation to Baranquilla; to the Venezuelan Oil Co. for information about the llanos.

The Department of State and the Pan American Union introduced the expedition to the Venezuelan Government and scientific bodies. I am especially indebted to the Honorable Sumner Welles, Undersecretary of State; to the Honorable George T. Summerlin, at that time American Minister to Venezuela; to the late Mr. George Orr, Consul General to Caracas, who took more than an official interest in the work of the expedition; to Dr. L. S. Rowe, Director of the Pan American Union; and to Dr. E. Gil Borges, formerly Assistant Director of the Pan American Union. I thank also the Academia de Ciencias Matematicas, Fisicas y Naturales, whose members, in addi-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

It is well to note that the llanos form a sort of cul-de-sac from which there is only one escape, and that is by way of the Orinoco River. It is quite likely that the llanos have been the camping grounds and the highway for a number of tribes migrating northward, southward, or eastward. For peoples practicing agriculture, Guiana and the lower Orinoco region would be more suitable than the plains of Apure, where, on account of the strong winds and the sandy soil, it is difficult to carry on any cultivation of the soil. The mountainous regions to the north and west are also fit for agriculture. Therefore it was only the culturally poorer tribes that would remain in the llanos.

We have, therefore, in the following pages, a people who are primitive hunters, whose history is unknown, who do not seem to be linguistically related to any other group, and whose appearance is strongly mongoloid—who have been in contact not only with foreign indigenous culture but with some European culture, and who are facing physical and cultural extinction. Perhaps this last fact should be allowed to dominate this study, because it can throw into relief much of Yaruro culture and will remind us that anthropology is not so much signs of things as the signs of man, and that his problems and the way he solves them is as important, if not more important, than purely historical problems and theories. The opportunity of studying religion, social organization, and general spiritual culture of a South American tribe was so strong that during my stay with the Yaruros I concentrated with these phases of their culture rather than on the material phases or linguistic problems.

My Journey To and Life With the Yaruros

Contact with the Yaruros is not easy. No one ever knows near what water hole or at what point on the river these nomads may be found. Several centuries of maltreatment have made them shy and suspicious of strangers and particularly of all "Racionales." Primitive and loosely organized, they could not and cannot today offer any effective resistance to civilized groups which may want to exploit them. At the time of my visit everyone along our route was indignant over the treatment that about 150 Yaruros had received at the hands of unknown local "jefes civiles" about a month before. They were seized and matcheted to death, reducing the total population of this tribe (excluding bands that may be hidden along the Sinaruco River) to one-half. My presence in their midst naturally aroused fears that some fresh calamity was about to befall them.

In the rainy season there is only one way of penetrating the llanos of Apure, and that is by boat. From the Orinoco one can sail or

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

122 paddle up the five rivers: the Apure, Arauca, Capanaparo, Sinaruco, and the Meta. In the dry season it is possible to make one's way southward from Caracas by way of Ortiz, Calabozo, San Fernando de Apure, to San Juan de Payara by automobile, and then on horseback to Cunaviche and beyond. Beginning our journey from Caracas at the end of January, we followed the latter route.

San Juan de Payara and Cunaviche are ancient colonial mission villages and the farthest outposts of civilization in the llanos. There are no missions there now. Their populations are typically llanero; that is, civilized mixed bloods. We rode southward across the dry and sandy plains, over which roam herds of wild cattle and horses. Mirages, which amazed the widely traveled Humboldt, were frequent. In the treeless plains forests were suspended in the sky, horses ran through the air, and great clear lakes stretched out before us. But water was scarce, and had we not been guided by men who knew every square inch of the ground we should have suffered for lack of it. We picked up our guides in relays on the way, a merry, capable lot, with much Indian blood in their veins, conscious of being free men of the llanos whom no dictator nor army has been able to tame. At night, if we stopped at a ranch, we listened to cowboy songs accompanied by the harp and rattle, music which reflected Indian, Spanish, and Negro influences. Our meager baggage was carried by an unwilling bull. Using a common cowboy expedient, we tied its nose to the guide's horse's tail and the bull was literally dragged all the way to El Buron.[2]

123 We made our first contact with the Yaruros at El Buron, a ranch owned by Don Manuel Hurtado. Don Manuel, like most of the native llaneros, is sympathetic to the Yaruros, and keeps on friendly terms with them. With his help and that of his household, particularly a young woman called Maria, we attempted to establish friendly relations with the Yaruros. In the llanos human beings are not plentiful, and consequently, it doesn't occur to them to erect social barriers that would tend to keep various groups apart.

361 511 There was not much about the camp of the Yaruros to interest the casual glance. There were present about a dozen women, eight men, and some children. The extreme poverty and simplicity of the camp were its outstanding features. There were no houses, nor shelters of any sort; only a few old baskets, a few sticks, a few rags, calabashes and water jars, and a few seminaked human beings lying half buried in the sand under the shade of thinly leafed branches thrust into the ground. Several fires were burning, and over them there were pots

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[2] In working cattle the llanero ties one end of his lariat to his horse's tail instead of to the saddle, which often he may be lacking. The horses are trained to keep the rope taut after the animal is roped.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

the universe, his understanding of life and death, of the history of his people and their future, of morality, and of justice. Likewise he was anxious to hear what message I had to bring from my people in respect to these things. So, sitting under the shelter of some branches, we talked. As we talked we both worked. Pablo Reyes kept his hands occupied making string, fixing bows and arrows, and I, when not busy writing, pretended to carve little figures out of wood. The children played about us and Pablo's three wives kept shyly in the background, though listening carefully to what we said and often throwing inquisitive glances in our direction.

Profiting by our proximity to Guiana, I decided to visit Urbana where I could buy some goods for my friends and at the same time gather information about archeology. The wind blew so hard it proved necessary to drag the canoe along the shore of the island until we found the best place for a crossing. The sand was raised in clouds and our bodies were peppered with it so that we were forced to cover up closely. It finally proved impossible to continue and we were forced to stop and camp in the open with our backs to the wind and no shelter except what we could get from our hammocks. But holding them up was as much a hardship as to be bombarded by sand. We made one attempt to cross the Orinoco in the afternoon but we were forced to give it up. Finally, late in the afternoon, putting our trust in "God and the Virgin," as the Venezuelan canoemen say, we launched the canoe and reached La Urbana about midnight. Our stay there was necessarily short and we hastened back to Linda Bara the following day, but I gathered enough from the examination of collections at the Salesian Mission to determine that the archeology on that side of the Orinoco is quite different from that of the llanos.

At sunset as we were approaching the island we saw an army of bats in flight. The bats were coming as a cloud out of a Guiana hill in the far distance, and flew directly over us, and across to the other shore of the river, disappearing into the forest. We watched this vast army for about 15 minutes and then continued on our way, not because we had seen the last of the bats, but because time was short. I was told by my guide that this daily flight of the bats from the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco generally lasts two hours. How many thousands of them live in this cave and fly daily to forage for food in the forest is a matter of conjecture. The bat, so plentiful in this region, seems to have inspired the ancient potters of the llanos to use the head as a motif of decoration.

When we reached Pablo Reyes the next day we found there several other Yaruro families, relatives of Pablo, encamped with him. We talked some more, then departed several days later in order to return to Landaeta, who proved to be my best informant.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. Llanero horseman. Note the toe stirrup and lack of bridle. 2. Author's party traveling across Apure. Note the rope tied to the horse's tail and the bull's nose. 3. Sand dunes in the Llanos of Apure.

End Plate 0

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

along the west-to-east flowing rivers in ribbons some kilometers wide. Most significant fauna and flora of economic use occur in these ribbons. This ecological distribution of resources governs subsistence activities whether they be mainly hunting, fishing, collecting, or horticulture.

Yaruro subsistence comprises all these activities. (2). Horticulture in the rainy season appears considerably to outweigh all other sources of food together, but in the dry season, hunting, fishing, and collecting perhaps equal or outstrip horticulture. In any case, slash and burn gardening of manioc, corn, plantains, and a number of lesser crops is by far the single most important economic activity. The technology is exceedingly simple in all aspects of production, the main tools being the machete and digging stick. The most elaborate technology occurs in the conversion of food into edibles and in the manufacture of hammocks, pottery, objects of wood such as canoes, and woven containers of all types.

The economic organization displays a sharp division of labor between men's and women's work. Men do all hunting and fishing, make all objects of wood, haul lumber and householding materials, make hammocks, and carry out the heavy labor of gardening. Women do most of the collecting of roots, seeds, and fruits. Since collecting contributes a substantial portion of the food supply in summer, woman's contribution, here, is of considerable communal importance. Women's work, a continuous activity from dawn to dusk, is, first, the conversion of raw foodstuffs into edibles. Second, women make all pottery, mats and baskets, the manioc squeezers, and much of the cord used to make hammocks. Another important contribution of women is their help in harvesting in the gardens. Men sometimes help the women with the cookery.

Men may work alone, in groups of 2 or 3, or in larger groups on rare occasions. No occasion exists for all men to work at a single task since there is no technological need for it. Women's work groups for collecting or householding are of similar size. Work group alignments are often based on choice or accident but in other instances coresidence and kinship are determinants. The household, however, constitutes the only really necessary cooperative group for production. The man is a funnel for produce which the woman converts to

(2) The present description applies to the Cinaruco River Yaruro where the major part of the writer's field work, supported by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, was done. The Capanaparo River Yaruro were reported by Petrullo (1939) and Le Besnerais (1948) as being hunters and gatherers, although Le Besnerais observed small horticultural patches which he claimed were diffusions from Venezuelan farmers which had occurred recently. Le Besnerais in 1954 states directly that they were horticulturalists, omitting any mention of possible diffusions from Venezuelans. The passing mention of horticulture by Fiasson (1947) confirms the present writer in his opinion that, although horticulture may be more restricted on the Capanaparo than on the Cinaruco and Cunaviche-Arauca (where the writer also spent several weeks) which are not discussed at all by Petrullo or Le Besnerais, nevertheless, the absence of horticulture is probably not aboriginal with the Yaruro as has been suggested by Kirchhoff (1948, p. 456). Rather the restricted gardening is a result of ecological conditions on the Capanaparo which are less favorable to horticulture than on the neighboring rivers, combined with extremely violent acculturation, including large-scale massacres of natives. The only other possibility, in my opinion, is that horticulture was introduced by the missionaries in the early part of the Eighteenth Century, which is certainly the period when the Yaruro first became acquainted with iron tools (cf Lodares, 1922).

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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I

Petrullo, describes the Yaruro of the Capanaparo River as being hunters of river and llanos animals, fishers of river fish, and gatherers of seeds, roots, and fruits. He denies the presence of horticulture, except among a few "acculturated" groups. As far as the monograph informs us, he visited only Yaruro near the mouth of the Capanaparo and on islands in the Orinoco during the months of the dry season. He did not visit the Arauca, Cunaviche, upper Capanaparo, Riecito, and Sinaruco rivers, on all of which Yaruro are found today, and apparently have been living indefinitely into the past, according to old maps.[1] On the basis of the groups visited, he asserts that the Yaruro were not horticultural. Kirchhoff (1948 *a*: 456) repeats this assertion, adding that Gilij (1780-1784: Vol. 3) mentions the use of green corn — a sign, according to Kirchhoff, of the recent adoption of corn at that time. No basis is given for this statement. Le Besnerais, in several publications (1948; 1950*a;* 1951; and, with Dreyfus-Roche, 1954), repeats that the Yaruro were hunters and gatherers, but, in his most recent work (1950 *b;* 1954; Ms.; Personal communication,

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

511 superfluous needs to be dispensed with every time camp is moved,
361 which occurs every few days. Only in thoughts and feelings can they be as rich as any other people; but this requires a particular kind of temperament possessed by only a few individuals in the tribe.

182 Their economic life, social organization, mythology, and religion form a well-knit pattern of existence. There are no loose ends, but a knot here and there appears in the form of vagueness or contradiction. But I think that the fault lies with us who would introduce our type of organization into their knowledge. We expect more from a primitive group than we ourselves could offer. Besides, it is doubtful whether we ever present the picture of their culture as they see it; if we did we might not understand or we might even be surprised at its orderliness.

177 Although the Yaruros have been in touch with Euro-American cul-
121 ture for several centuries they have borrowed remarkably little. What culture they possessed several centuries ago we do not know. There is practically no information about them in the literature. There is justification, therefore, in publishing this record, in spite of many apparent deficiencies. Since plans for another visit to fill in the gaps in my field notes have not materialized and the Yaruros may be gone before another ethnologist can live with them it seems advisable to make this material available.

121 Anthropology, among other things, is concerned with the interrelationships of groups of men and with the functions of social structures as developed by man and his environment. I have tried to keep in mind that in presenting a first account of an unknown people it may not be at all out of place to draw a general but intimate picture of the daily life of the Yaruros, their emotional, cognitive and conative responses to the world about them, and even their attitude toward the ethnologist who appeared among them with only the objective of hold-
● 123 ing friendly conversations about themselves. At first they were suspicious, but they soon caught the point and enjoyed the experience as much as I did. An attempt has been made to give these pictures, and to explain the series of events which made possible with these nomads the intimate association that followed the first few days of unfriendliness.

124 No attempt has been made to reconcile differences in the information
128 obtained from various informants, not even if there is a contradiction. It was the first time that the Yaruros had been asked to organize their knowledge of their own culture; contradictions and vagueness were to be expected. My informants were exclusively men, even for those
123 phases of culture which admittedly belong to the female world. A cultural obstacle which I respected prevented any direct social intercourse with the women. The women's domain is respected by the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

123 men. A female ethnologist might get an interesting, and perhaps different, picture of Yaruro culture. I do know that there were many things, especially in the field of shamanism, from which I was shut off. The Yaruros saw this and the women relayed a pressing request that on my next visit to them I bring my "wife" (I have none!), with whom they could lie on the sands at night and tell things about their world similar to what their men told me.

My visit took place in the months of February, March, and April of 1934. Several species of intestinal parasites acquired in Brazil not only precluded my roaming about the countryside, but forced the Yaruros to attend me day and night for many weeks, giving ample opportunity—once it lasted for thirty-four consecutive hours—to talk. A sedentary life is so foreign to a nomadic people that this chance to corner them for "talk" was too good to miss. In fact, after a while it was becoming too much for them, and besides, hunting in the area became impractical. Everything considered, we reached a saturation point and I started on my way back. Many of these friends may be dead by now.

The Yaruros and Their Country

YARURO DAILY LIFE

101 131 181 Peaceful and mystical, the Yaruros, or Pumeh as they call themselves, wander up and down the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers (fig. 15) gathering their daily dinner and thinking about the life awaiting them in the Land of Kuma when they leave this world.

361 133 As dawn breaks over the hills of Guiana we may discover a Yaruro camp on one of the sandy beaches of the Capanaparo River about a day's journey by canoe from where it flows into the Orinoco. It appears as a dark blotch on the wind-packed white sands at a distance of some 50 yards from the water's edge and more than that from the wall of vegetation which marks the bank of the river during the rainy season and hides the open savanna country beyond. The camp gives no sign of life until the sun shows clearly in the sky. Then we see that it consists of some leafy branches and 3-foot sticks bare of bark thrust in the sands, casting long shadows in the early morning to where the vultures are fighting among themselves at the refuse heap located to the west of the camp; or the white vulture, the "king," may be seen feasting alone while his black brethren await disconsolately on the side.

361 As the light becomes stronger we make out under the branches piles of debris, recumbent human forms, and mangy dogs tied to the sticks. The debris consists of baskets and pots, with here and there small

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

paddle up the five rivers: the Apure, Arauca, Capanaparo, Sinaruco, and the Meta. In the dry season it is possible to make one's way southward from Caracas by way of Ortiz, Calabozo, San Fernando de Apure, to San Juan de Payara by automobile, and then on horseback to Cunaviche and beyond. Beginning our journey from Caracas at the end of January, we followed the latter route.

San Juan de Payara and Cunaviche are ancient colonial mission villages and the farthest outposts of civilization in the llanos. There are no missions there now. Their populations are typically llanero; that is, civilized mixed bloods. We rode southward across the dry and sandy plains, over which roam herds of wild cattle and horses. Mirages, which amazed the widely traveled Humboldt, were frequent. In the treeless plains forests were suspended in the sky, horses ran through the air, and great clear lakes stretched out before us. But water was scarce, and had we not been guided by men who knew every square inch of the ground we should have suffered for lack of it. We picked up our guides in relays on the way, a merry, capable lot, with much Indian blood in their veins, conscious of being free men of the llanos whom no dictator nor army has been able to tame. At night, if we stopped at a ranch, we listened to cowboy songs accompanied by the harp and rattle, music which reflected Indian, Spanish, and Negro influences. Our meager baggage was carried by an unwilling bull. Using a common cowboy expedient, we tied its nose to the guide's horse's tail and the bull was literally dragged all the way to El Buron.[2]

We made our first contact with the Yaruros at El Buron, a ranch owned by Don Manuel Hurtado. Don Manuel, like most of the native llaneros, is sympathetic to the Yaruros, and keeps on friendly terms with them. With his help and that of his household, particularly a young woman called Maria, we attempted to establish friendly relations with the Yaruros. In the llanos human beings are not plentiful, and consequently, it doesn't occur to them to erect social barriers that would tend to keep various groups apart.

There was not much about the camp of the Yaruros to interest the casual glance. There were present about a dozen women, eight men, and some children. The extreme poverty and simplicity of the camp were its outstanding features. There were no houses, nor shelters of any sort; only a few old baskets, a few sticks, a few rags, calabashes and water jars, and a few seminaked human beings lying half buried in the sand under the shade of thinly leafed branches thrust into the ground. Several fires were burning, and over them there were pots

[2] In working cattle the llanero ties one end of his lariat to his horse's tail instead of to the saddle, which often he may be lacking. The horses are trained to keep the rope taut after the animal is roped.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

252 Several fires were burning, and over them there were pots containing turtle eggs. Several large turtles and small crocodiles were broiling over a fire. The shells of the turtles and the hides of the crocodiles had not been removed, and for a moment we thought that they were being cooked alive, but soon discovered that they had been killed before being placed over the fire. There was little else to be seen. It was easy to understand the reaction of the casual traveler who, upon coming in contact with a primitive group, stops, looks, and goes away quickly with the impression that there is nothing there more than the glance takes in.

123 609 On approaching the camp, Pedro, the guide, shouted words of greeting in Yaruro, "keramai" (brother-in-law). He patted some of them on the back, asked after their health in Spanish, called everyone brother or sister-in-law, and tried to make himself generally agreeable. Maria busied herself with the women. The Yaruros' only response to their demonstrations of friendship was to extend their arms half-heartedly, in a llanero gesture of greeting, and to answer their questions monosyllabically.

In spite of our friendly overtures they would not accept me as friend or guest. They remained reserved and aloof. The young man pointed out as the headman resisted my attempt to draw him into conversation. The Yaruros watched us closely, taking in our least movement, and only averted their gazes when we looked directly at them. If one has never come in contact with South American primitives before, such a reception is decidedly disheartening.

123 522 An accident relieved some of the tension. I picked up a bow. Choosing the remnants of an old basket about 50 feet away for a target, I took careful aim and shot the arrow. I missed by more than 10 feet. The eyes watching me lighted with amusement and contempt, for it was inconceivable to them that anyone could exist in this world without knowing how to shoot a bow better than that. I shot again and this time I came within 6 inches of hitting my mark, a feat which aroused some interest. I placed another arrow on the bow, raised it, pulled back the string, as far back as my ear, and then, with a loud snap, the bow broke. Laughter greeted this exploit, not so much directed at me as at the owner of the bow who had spent several days fashioning it. He was adequately compensated but that did not remove his feeling of resentment.

123 That evening we again visited the camp. The camp fires were low, so we were scarcely able to see our way about. Pedro and Maria sang out cheery greetings, while we picked our way between scarcely distinguishable groups of humanity and piles of debris. A few grunts and a few indifferent gestures of greeting were the only acknowledgments of our presence. Even the distribution of several yards of tobacco failed to melt their reserve. They did, however, put up a

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

hammock for me. They preferred to lie half buried in the sand, both for warmth and for protection from the mosquitoes.

Some of the bolder young men asked for rum. I had none with me. All along the road I had been told that rum was the only means of inducing the Indians to dance, but an ethnologist's work cannot be based on such an approach.

Through the diplomatic efforts of Maria, the Yaruros consented to sing and dance a little. I was able to arouse their interest in my flashlight, and to arouse their modesty and bewilderment when I flashed it upon them. My compass also drew an excited jabbering circle about me. But I was not able to engage them in conversation, and finally left them about midnight with the satisfaction that at least there had been no friction.

On the following day I sent them a pig, and later in the day again visited them. They were still shy and suspicious of me, but permitted me to go about the camp examining their artifacts.

There was not much to be done in this camp. The group was in a wretched state, still in mourning for their dead, living in fear of some fresh calamity, and although they were suffering hunger, too miserable to try to go back to the river where, at least, they would find food. Tribal customs prevented my engaging the old women in conversation and the men were too young and much too affected by llanero culture to tell me about their own people. Their advice, which I took, was to go farther south where we would find other Yaruro bands among whom I could find old men who could answer any questions.

I prevailed upon the leader of the band, Estaban, to accompany me. He was reluctant to go, not wanting to be separated from his young wife, and perhaps was afraid to trust himself alone with me. However, his desire for cloth and a mosquito netting was stronger than his fear. Estaban proved a loyal and faithful companion.

We found the next band encamped on a beach by the Capanaparo River. Here they were temporarily in the employ of a llanero engaged in building a house. For several days I had no more success with them than I had had with the other band, so during that time we studied whatever was on the surface. However, I was not doing all the studying. The Yaruros were watching me closely and weighing my statements carefully. During this time Estaban was busy building up my reputation. What impressed them most was that I did not ask for their women, and that all I wanted to do was to talk with them about themselves.

One night their attitude suddenly changed. I had been sitting for hours on the sands in the midst of these people, waiting for them to give me a sign of friendliness, but they were silent and apparently

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

123 resentful of my presence. Acting on a sudden impulse, I asked one of the men sitting near me for a gourd rattle. There followed a discussion among the men, and finally they decided to give me one. Without much heart, and no will, I began to sing a song of the Bororos of Brazil, accompanying myself with the rattle. It was the song of another tribe, and I sang it badly; but my unwilling hosts were listening, recognizing the musical pattern as being akin to theirs. I sang another when I had finished the first, and then still another, not failing to notice at the same time that they were listening carefully, and passing comments to one another. When my repertoire was exhausted, I placed the rattle on the sands and smoked in silence. Nothing was said for some time. Then a hand reached for the rattle and a voice said in Spanish:

"Ahora canto yo." (Now I will sing.)

533 The speaker sat on the sands, facing east. He began a song, the melody of which sounded as wild as the medley brought to us by the wind. His people joined us and, sitting behind him in a semicircle, took up the chorus at the end of every stanza. The song was first a murmur and then a shout, but maintained its steady rhythm. When the moon brightened the tropical night with its colorless light, sharpening the many shadows and turning the waving palm leaves into quivering ribbons of silver, the Yaruros forgot all about the stranger
535 in their midst. As though on a prearranged signal, they arose and began to dance, as they sang, around a pole. Women danced as well as men, and the children joined in too. They danced all night, and it was not until the sun rose above the hills of Guiana that they stopped to seek an hour or two of sleep before setting off on the daily task of hunting their dinner.

123 During the day I noticed that their fear of me had disappeared, but
791 it was not until that evening that I discovered the reason for the change. I gathered a confused tale that the one who had led the singing was a shaman. My singing and gourd rattling had indicated to him that I was a shaman also, since only the shamans use the rattle among the Yaruros. Furthermore, he had asked the Yaruro gods who I was, and the gods, as well as the spirits of the dead Yaruros living with the mother goddess Kuma, had instructed him to tell these primitive hunters that I was different from the "Racionales" (name applied to the "civilized" llaneros) and, as evidenced by my singing, that I intended no harm to them; in short, that I was a Pumeh, one of Kuma's people, and lived very close to her land.

772 From the recital of the night's performance I gathered that the Yaruro's universe is presided over by a female being called Kuma, who lives in the west and who waits for the living Yaruros to return to her land; that in some fashion the water snake and the jaguar are

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

considered to be their ancestorial relatives; that once upon a time the Yaruros were very many and now very few; that the Yaruros had been visited with great calamities the preceding year, and many of their people had died through sickness and other destructive forces.

Also, I learned that, though I could gather inklings of a rich spiritual culture and a good cross section of the material phases from this band, I had to go farther down river to meet the spiritual leaders of the remnants of this race if I wanted to reach the heart of the Yaruros' religion, cosmology, mythology, and ethics.

In all of the primitive groups with which I have come in contact, certain individuals are recognized as the leaders and authorities, especially on such matters as religion and social organization. The younger people hesitate and often refuse to discuss such matters altogether, but age alone is not enough to qualify an individual as the mouthpiece of the group. The Yaruros were no exception. As soon as they grasped that I wanted to know a great deal about their history and culture they urged me to talk to "Landaeta", their leader and great "musico" or shaman. He, with his family, was hunting on the lower Capanaparo. They offered to guide me to him. Accordingly, we journeyed downstream by moonlight to avoid the heat of the day, and as I subsequently discovered, to avoid meeting with crocodile hunters.

About noon the next day we sighted several empty canoes drawn up on the bank, and knew that there must be more Yaruros nearby. We landed on the sandy beach and awaited their return. They came early in the afternoon, the men carrying turtles and crocodiles slung on poles, the women with baskets filled with changuango, leaning forward as they walked, looking not unlike grotesque apes under their heavy loads; and also, little children carrying their share of food, straggling behind. Upon seeing me they were frightened, but did not run away.

My Yaruro paddlers acted the part of mediators perfectly, for soon afterwards we were all embarked and moving downstream to join the main body of Landaeta's band which, I was told, was encamped several miles downstream. Their good humor almost amounted to gaiety. The three canoes moved steadily down the river, the men paddling hard, and the women sitting quietly and casting shy inquisitive glances in my direction.

We found Landaeta and his people on a large exposed wind-swept beach. There was the white sand, the strong wind blowing from the east raising it into dust clouds, and the intense glare from river and sand; a few water jars, a few baskets, several refuse heaps with buzzards feeding at them, canoes drawn up on the beach, and some

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

captive turtles; and a few human beings were sitting or lying in the midst of all this, and exposed to all of the elements.

Among primitive people news travels rapidly. Landaeta, in this case, received me with the air of one who was expecting a visitor and it turned out that my reputation had preceded me. Not only did he know that I was in the country, but also why I was there. He was expecting me in order to teach me his ways and the ways of his people, and to learn my ways and the ways of my people. To him I was a shaman, no different than himself, who knew their mother goddess intimately and who was perhaps related to the gods themselves. He asked me for pictures of Kuma and Kuma's land. I soon discovered that he was under the illusion that in some way I was on intimate terms with the Yaruro's god.

A little to one side a branch was planted in the sand, and lying in its thin shade a girl was waiting to die. She was burning with fever and delirious. Her people were hovering over her, without being able to alleviate her sufferings or to help her to the end of life. Her malady was a new one to them, passed on by the newcomers to their world, and therefore they had no remedy for it.

The sick girl was Landaeta's daughter and as one physician to another, he came to me requesting that I save his daughter from death. Being neither physician, magician, nor priest, I responded to his plea the best way I could. Lest I be drawn into a situation of attempting to cure a sick person without adequate knowledge of the sickness or its remedy, I moved off the same day to seek other Yaruros; but only after Landaeta had promised that he would commence his journey in the cool of the evening and rejoin me several days later.

It has often been said that to accept the promise of a primitive Indian is to abandon all thought of its being remembered. Perhaps it would seem that I put too much faith and trust in my friends in sitting down to wait for them to join me. But a promise made and accepted without coercion is to the Indian one that has to be kept; and, as in many other cases of my experience with primitive people, this one was kept.

That the feeling of suspicion had not disappeared completely was proven by the attitude of another hunting group which I visited. I went alone among them, and unarmed. On my arrival in a canoe, carrying no equipment, they sullenly warned me to keep away from them and their camp. However, good will is never unproductive, and when they saw that I merely squatted on the sands, shared my tobacco with them, said nothing, and then cheerfully paddled away, their hearts must have melted, for several days later they too had joined my band of friends, later becoming among those most deeply attached to me.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

We camped on a large wind-swept beach on the Capanaparo and waited there for Landaeta. While waiting I made visits about the country, seeking out Yaruros wherever I could find them. In one nearby group I noticed that unlike most of the Yaruros, these had built permanent shelters, constructed similarly to the houses of the ranchers. However, there was one significant difference. With true Indian logic, they had left the walls open at the bottom, so that the wind could sweep through the house and keep it cool and free from insects.

One morning we embarked to visit a group led by Pablo Reyes, being on an island in the Orinoco, at the mouth of the Capanaparo. Pablo Reyes had been described to us as a very old and very wise man. Borrowing a small dugout, we set out to visit him, traveling mostly by night. On our way we saw and heard a great deal of animal and bird life, for the lower part of the river was less hunted by the Yaruros than the upper part. On the banks we saw numerous tracks of the cats, we saw many capibaros or "chiguires" and we were often serenaded by the roar of the howlers.

Our entrance into the Orinoco was dramatic. We were catapulted out of the swift waters of the mouth of the Capanaparo and staggered about among the powerful cross currents and eddies at the confluence of the two rivers. The east wind made travel no easier, as it was blowing a gale. On the far side of the Orinoco were the hills of Guiana, rough and jagged, with gnarled vegetation, and dark patches of jungle growth. There were several islands of odd shape, and one of them, about halfway across the Orinoco, was the Linda Bara, to which we made our way.

Encamped on this island we found Pablo Reyes' band and a number of "Racionales," that is, "civilized," Venezuelans of the llanos, who during the dry season take to living like the Indians, except that they clutter their shelters with civilized equipment. The result is that their houses are infested with parasites of all kinds. However, they too live upon crocodiles, turtles, and the eggs of the latter.

This portion of the Orinoco is, in late March and early April, the gathering ground of both Indians and Racionales. The region teems with turtles. By common agreement, stretches of the beaches where the turtles are known to gather in large numbers are not hunted until April, at which time the people dig up thousands and thousands of newly laid eggs out of which they make an oil for export. The center for this commerce is the little settlement of La Urbana, originally a Capuchin mission established about 1750.

Like Landaeta, Pablo Reyes had also learned of my coming, and was ready for me. He too is a shaman, and delights in speaking to a sympathetic listener about religious themes, of his conception of

Ir:Petrullo E-8 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Without the aid of the Yaruros the crossing of the Orinoco would have been impossible. They are expert canoeists and safely ferried our baggage to the other side. Believing that I could handle a canoe, for by this time according to the Yaruros there wasn't anything that I could not do, since their gods had told them that I was one of them, I was asked to cross in an empty canoe, with the help of a 12-year-old boy. The canoe had several gaping holes in stern and bow about 10 inches in diameter. With serious misgivings, I embarked with the youngster paddling in the bow. Cross-currents, winds, and whirlpools made the half hour a very exciting one. Several times I gave up hope of crossing safely or of returning to our starting point, only to be encouraged by the laughter of my young companion who, when we were in extreme danger, would turn and grin happily at me. However, we crossed safely and soon afterwards we hoisted sail, which consisted of my mosquito net tied to an improvised mast, and with the east wind behind us and with gunwales even with the water, we went flying up the Capanaparo. Our sailing was far from being monotonous, for every few minutes it was necessary to use strength and skill to keep the canoe upright. Three days later we reached Landaeta's camp.

The trip to Urbana had been exciting and interesting, but I brought back with me ulcers on my feet which incapacitated me for the rest of my stay with the Yaruros. My feet, swollen to immense proportions and with open sores, refused to support my body, and I was forced to forego any further trips, short or long. My life consisted from now on, for about six weeks, of lying on the sand or in a hammock, surrounded by my affectionate friends, talking about the universe, the Yaruros, and their ideas.

In order to make it possible for Landaeta and his people to stay with me on this particular beach rather than move about in search of food, I turned over all of my food stock to them, which was consumed in two days, and thereafter they shared equally with me the products of the hunt. From that day on, I was completely in their care and Landaeta never left me. The burden of hunting fell on the younger men who went out every morning in search of crocodiles and turtles, of honey, palm nuts, roots, and fish. My illness was of great concern to the Yaruros. They did what they could to make me comfortable and they went to special trouble to bring titbits, such as honey and nuts. Landaeta and a woman shaman sang over me often. This illness was a fortunate event in a way, for it permitted an uninterrupted intimacy between us.

There is a sharp contrast between the simple primitive material culture of the Yaruros and the wealth and poetic intensity of the spiritual. The casual visitor would see merely a naked people plying

R: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

181 up and down the rivers in their canoes, or lying on the sand, feasting on crocodile or turtle. He would see stolid fixed faces, uncommunicative, affrighted. But if this traveler were to stay he would discover that from sundown to sunrise the Yaruro lives in an intensive romantic world which he cannot and rarely would care to share with anyone else.

576 787 821 We returned from the trip to La Urbana at sundown when bars of yellow, blue, and white light streaked the western sky. The Yaruros were sitting on the sands watching this phenomenon with a certain rapture. They sat quietly and in silence facing the west until the lights had faded and merged into a subdued golden glow. Then Landaeta came and greeted me affectionately. He spoke of what we had just seen in the western sky, explaining that it represented a greeting from the mother goddess Kuma, to her children the Yaruros and to me. The other men came also, and the women too put their arms about me, but the latter kept their faces averted as is proper in Yaruro culture. We settled ourselves on the sands. Small fires were burning with remnants of turtles and crocodiles broiling over them. The sands glistened in the moonlight that soon came upon us. Araguato monkeys roared in the distance. An occasional bird sang. Insects hummed. Toninos frolicking in the water came up to blow lustily. And Landaeta explained that these animals were also children of Kuma and that everyone in Kuma's world was glad that I had returned.

553 123 We smoked and Landaeta talked, recounting what his gods had told him about me; that now I was one of their family, and he affectionately called me "adjimai oteh" (elder brother), which became the standard form of address by all of his people. In return I was asked to call them little brother and little sister.

796 791 533 At a point Landaeta rose and walked away into the darkness. His son and nephew followed him soon afterwards. He returned after an absence of half and hour, wearing his shaman's ceremonial cap and breechclout. He went to sit on the clean white sands to the east of the camp, where he remained still and quiet for a long time. His wife went to him with a lighted cigarette. He smoked this in silence and alone. Finally he made a sign and his son and nephew rose immediately to plant a pole a few feet in front of him, and then retired again into the darkness. After some time Landaeta rose, and facing the east in front of the pole, continued to smoke in silence. It seemed a long time before he began to sing, softly and hesitantly, which time was measured by the rising of the stars. After he had finished two songs his wife approached him again, thrusting into the ground, close to the pole, a stick from which hung a small basket. Landaeta continued standing, facing the east and singing, pausing briefly between

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where they believe their gods live. It was only when the sun began to burn our bodies that they approached me to chat. They expressed their concern over my illness and soon busied themselves to make me as comfortable as possible. While I distributed among them a few presents bought for them in Urbana, and turned all of the food over to Landaeta, the younger men were busy building a sun shelter, an arbor of the sweet-smelling guava bush, though for themselves they had only branches thrust into the sands, giving only a thin shade. From now on, I was completely in their care, and they were careful nurses and tender friends. The best of the hunt was mine, and even the women delighted in taking care of my clothing, and in bringing me delicacies.

They were glad to see me, and the women shamans soon began their chants while the men surrounded me and told me in their own language and in broken Spanish what had occurred the previous night. Men are prohibited from singing during the day, but the women sit in swinging hammocks and chant their songs. I learned, too, that Landaeta's daughter had not died, for there she was, grateful and shyly looking at me, completely well. They attributed her cure to me, though I was not at all responsible for it. During the night, they told me, the gods had come among us, and told them that I, too, was one of Kuma's children, and again they insisted that I was related to them.

I learned that Puaná and Itciai are cocreators with Kuma, the mother goddess, and they are directly responsible for the actual creation of the world. Hatchawa, in the form of a litttle boy, is another god who has given mankind fire, the bow and arrow, and many other blessings. Now, when the shaman sings at night his soul leaves his body and travels to the land of Kuma, leaving his body behind. The gods may come then, enter his body in the form of songs, and transmit their messages to the Yaruros. They had come the night before to greet me and to reassure my friends of my goodness and my own powers of shamanism.

We sat, smoked, and talked all day. In the afternoon we feasted on crocodile, turtle eggs, wild roots, palm nuts, and honey. Finishing our dinner, we sat quietly facing the west, watching the skies. As the sun set low again, rays of gold, blue, and white shot into the sky from the horizon, and my friends rejoiced at this certain greeting of Kuma to us.

Darkness came upon us, and in anticipation of a long night of singing and dancing—I could sing but could not dance, since I could not stand up—I lay on the sands to rest before the beginning of the ceremonies, but the skies interested the Yaruros and they came to tell me what they read there. The brightness of the stars and the changing

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

781 Puaná stayed with us for about an hour and a half, talking most of the time about me.

And finally at about 5 o'clock Kuma herself came to visit me and, 787 like Hatchawa, urged me to drink of the shaman's drink. I had to 791 drink a gourd full of it, since it was held to my lips until I finished it. She gave me messages similar to the others. Finally other Yaruros came, and the shaman eventually returned, being greeted with affection by all. We stopped when the sun rose and began another day of primitive life. We had danced and sung almost continuously for 36 hours.

This was my reception among the Yaruros after my return from La Urbana. We talked day and night about religion, and about 606 the world in which we lived. I learned that a mother-in-law and 582 son-in-law must never look upon each other and never talk to each 604 other, though they must be careful to do each other service; that a man must marry his first cousin, and that socially he is under obligation to his maternal uncle who later becomes his father-in-law. Under Landaeta's tutelage the material in this report was compiled. In a sense, therefore, this is his report.

124 One day I announced to Landaeta that I would have to leave in the 123 near future, giving as a reason that my wife and child needed me at home. Actually, there were other considerations; my physical condition was becoming worse, though the sores on my feet were a little better; and for the time being I had quietly exhausted the possibilities of obtaining fresh material from my friends. After all, we had been in contact with each other for six weeks, the major portion of it living communely and conversing with the shaman continuously day after day, sometimes even from sunrise to sunrise. My daily schedule consisted of rising at sunrise, drinking a little coffee sometimes brought to me by Landaeta, and immediately plunging into discussions of religious themes. This would last up to about 10 o'clock when Landaeta would withdraw and busy himself making string or carving gourds for several hours. During this period I would seek clarification of some points from whomsoever was present, or work on social organization, or on genealogy. In the early afternoon Landaeta would be back with new material, new ideas, having thought over what he had said, what I had said, and what still needed to be said. This would continue until sundown.

521 Then there was a short intermission for dinner, but soon afterwards I was hurried over to the eastern edge of the camp, where Landaeta and his people sat after dinner, and there we would sit while the women made cigars for us, talking about mythology, religion and general philosophical concepts. These discussions would last until 10 or 11 o'clock, and often much later, and not rarely shamanistic

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19 sia RC

521 performances would be given which would last until sunrise. Therefore there was an intense exchange of ideas for relatively long times with no rest.

361 The time came when Landaeta became a little restless. He was not accustomed to camping on one spot for more than two or three days at a time and he himself had done no hunting since I had joined them. Besides, the men and women had to forage farther and farther away for food. If my physical condition had permitted, it would have been well to continue living with them, moving from place to place, as is normal.

123 152 However, I knew I had to return to civilization quickly. The effect of my announcement on my hosts was interesting, and touching. It will be recalled that I had appeared in their midst as a stranger and a potential enemy and it was through a fortuitous event that I was accepted by them, not only as a friend but as a relative who worshipped the same gods. Since then I had actually been given an affectionate place in their emotional lives and they were sorry to see me go. They understood the reasons that were making it urgent for me to leave, especially understandable was the fact that my "wife and child" who had not seen me for many months were waiting for me to return. Nevertheless, they expressed sorrow, a certain amount of listlessness began to appear and they would come to me and sit by my side, telling me that they would be a rather lonesome people after I had gone; that they liked to talk about religious matters, and that when I would no longer be there with them they would have no one to talk things over with. This attitude affected the men and women in a very curious way. We had very little food in the camp, but still they would not go out and gather fresh quantities. And when I urged them to do so they answered that the knowledge of my coming departure made them very sad, and consequently they did not have the proper spirit to gather food, or even to eat.

609 511 These people have very little in the way of excess goods. Each family has a few baskets, perhaps a water jar, a mat or two, scraps of clothing and their tools, nothing more. And these generally were in very poor condition from long use. Knowing that I wanted to take back with me some of these things, they became busy weaving hammocks, making basketry and even pottery, so that I would take back to my "wife and child" objects new and well-made. This reaction on their part was spontaneous and they all expressed the idea that I should take back with me only new, well-made articles to remember them by; so for about a week before my departure there was intense activity around camp.

The day of my departure finally arrived and I said good-bye. There was no ceremonial wailing as had attended my departure from the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

841 piece of cloth. (Among the peoples of the Xingu in Brazil she is made to wear her hair over her face, and she is kept from the sight of men.) Whether during this period special initiatory rites are performed I was not able to find out. This part of Yaruro culture is considered to be in the women's domain, and, being a man, I was kept from delving into it.

123 841

MARRIAGE

527 The Yaruros are poor in social ceremonies. Anciently they may have practiced a great many of them but today social life is comparatively simple.

885 791 584 When a boy is ready to marry he may approach his father, or as a matter of fact, the father may approach the son. In any case he is sent to the shaman, who informs him that now he should be ready to assume the duties of a man, and proceeds to instruct him in the nature of those duties. He is told that he must love and cherish his wife; supply her plentifully with food, clothing, ornaments, and children; that he must never use harsh words toward her and that he must take care of her when she is sick; that he must never quarrel with her family, with whom he is expected to live; and of particular importance, that he must remember to take care of his father-in-law and mother-in-law. All of this is ordained by Kuma.

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584 585 791 The shaman will then approach the boy's uncle who has a marriageable daughter. No special ceremony seems to take place. The boy simply goes to live with the wife's family and assumes his duties of taking care of her as well as of his parents-in-law.

SICKNESS AND DEATH

751 757 Not much material was available on sickness. It must be remembered that the Yaruros have been in contact with European ideas for several centuries and that they understand the use of medicine for the cure of a specific illness.

753 756 Nevertheless, Kiberoh, the evil night spirit, is in some fashion associated with illness. If Kiberoh enters the body of a person, the latter will become ill. In such cases the only cure is the intercession of Kuma, who can be called upon to help by the shaman or musico, a term adapted from the Spanish to describe the singing shaman.

755 The sick person is laid on the ground with his head pointing to the east. At sundown the shaman will stand to the north of the sick person and will proceed to sing, accompanying himself with the rattle. The rest of the people, with the exception of any woman in her menstrual period, line up behind the shaman and sing and dance as they generally do during any of the shamanistic performances. If they indulge in any dancing, however, they do not go around a

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

At night each family group lay on the sands
521 talking a little, laughing a little. I made it a custom of visiting every night, and usually the men gathered around. The women, keeping in the background, made all sorts of inquiries concerning my country and people, but always through the men.

831 One cannot live on intimate terms with a group of people a week
123 without learning something of their sexual attitudes. Only too often is this factor dangled in front of him, so that if he were to base his report on recurrent experiences and situations it would be largely made up of sex and sex problems. However, the sexual element is strongly present, but it is in normal cases a simple matter.

121 A simple matter but of exceeding importance if we are to believe the psychologists. Basic to life, and to social organization, the attitude toward it has its effect on the life of the individual and on the culture, but equal the make-up of the indidivual and the culture produces the sexual attitude.

836 To begin with, this writer does not know anything about the sexual development of Yaruro boy or girl. He does not know what secret sexual play the children may indulge in, nor does he know whether the unmarried girl has any sexual relations. He thinks that the un-
838 married do. He also thinks that there is some kind of homosexuality among the boys, and even the men. The following is based on what he observed, heard, and saw without any undue prying about.

857 The sexes are kept apart from infancy. A baby girl is launched
855 into her future career as a woman almost from birth. She is the
593 special care of the mother and women folk. When she is able to play she plays alone, with other girls, or with the women. She never plays with the boys. When she is able to work she helps her mother, never her father nor her elder brothers. She may be helped in her work by her brother.

593 It is impossible to claim that the attachment is stronger between the mother and children than between the father and daughter. It would be necessary to investigate the problem from the psychological point of view. But such is the case socially and economically.

The maternal uncle does to a certain degree substitute for the father, but this substitution is formal and social.

867 From babyhood the child learns his relationship to those about
602 him. One woman is its mother. She it is who gives suck, holds, etc. Later he learns that he must call other women mother also. These are the sisters of his true mother. One man he learns to call father. This man is the one who is most with his mother, in whose canoe
602 they travel, etc. Other men he calls father also, the brothers of his true father. Thus relationships are defined sexually, familiarly, and formally. In respect to girls of his own age he learns that some he calls sisters and others by terms whose equivalent may be rendered

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 791 with the stamping of the right foot on the off-beat, but whenever the shaman is giving a really good performance his whole body responds to the dance and he may shake as violently as the rattle in his hand. His people may also throw themselves into a dance, making a series of jerky movements, bending from the waist downward and up again.

533 539 One of the typical songs of Kuma was a greeting to me. She said:

Greetings, man, greetings. Your wife is waiting. She is not dead, nor is she sick, but she is thinking that her husband has been away so long that perhaps he is dead. She is good and loves her husband who is sick, which is good. But it is good that he is with me (Kuma speaking) and with my people. He is a good man. He gives me a cigar. I shall give him a horse when he is born again in my (Kuma) land. I shall give him much silver when he is born again in Kuma Land. I love him, the good man, and I shall love him in my land. In the other land, my land, he gave me drink like you my people. Like you my people, everyone will come to my land, the Yaruro land.

FEMALE SHAMANISM

791 787 554 776 It proved impossible to learn much about those things in which the women are chiefly or exclusively interested. The shamans seem to be as influential among both sexes as the men are, and they seem to acquire their power and prestige through dreams or revelations in the same way as the male shamans do. In the case of the women it seems that India Rosa must appear in a dream rather than Kuma. In the legends it is India Rosa who taught the women the various arts and crafts, so in shamanism she is the chief spiritual power. During the day, both Kuma and India Rosa are pictured as resting in their hammocks. Because of that the women shamans sing sitting in their hammocks, swaying back and forth, during the day. Apparently it is believed that by imitating the picture of Kuma and India Rosa they can reach the two spiritual forces more easily. These shamans never perform at night, although they will sing with the male shaman when the latter is giving a performance.

535 791 534 The gourd rattle seems to be an instrument which only the shamans can use with immunity and as a means of conversing with Kuma. The women do not have these rattles. Their singing is done unaccompanied by any musical instrument or by any dancing. Dancing is performed only at night, when it is led by the male shaman.

609 123 The nature of the visions experienced by the female shamans remained unknown to me. As has been mentioned before, social intercourse between man and woman, unless closely related by blood or marriage, is prohibited. It is a social taboo which apparently is never violated and which no amount of bribery could break down. It seemed best to respect this custom, even though it were at the expense of remaining ignorant of many phases of Yaruro culture practiced by the women. So, in the case of shamanism, although the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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women sang to me and for me, I was not able to learn anything about their conceptions of the universe nor any other matter.

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On one occasion Landaeta, the shaman, invited Juan Bario's band to participate in a performance. The women prepared for it by painting the face with stamped designs—stamps smeared with oily stuff, stamped on the face, then the entire face, from eyebrows down, was covered with a thick coat of red ocher. It stuck where the grease was. The hair was worn in one braid down the back. They wore their best dresses.

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In anticipation of a long night, I lay down on the sands to rest, if possible. However, the skies interested the Yaruros. Landaeta and his people lay beside me to talk about the heavens. From that we passed to a discussion of Hatchawa, who, according to Landaeta, had said that I was well known to him and a good friend. In order to test the shaman I told him that I was anxious about my family whom I had left so long ago, and I asked him to find out about my wife, son, and general family from Hatchawa, which he promised to do. The conversation went back to the stars, and as the big dipper began to rise over the northern horizon Landaeta disappeared in the darkness. Soft conversation continued, and then came Juan Bario and his family to join us.

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A few words of warm friendship with Juan Bario and we went to joint Landaeta, who was sitting ready to begin. Landaeta had withdrawn to the west of the camp, and put on his shamanistic breechclout and head-cloth, which consisted of a sort of headkerchief. His son Brigido sat behind him; to the right of Landaeta sat Brigida, his wife, and next to her, her sister. Juan Bario and I sat back a little.

Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily, without reproof, under the very nose of the shaman, some of the men jested and laughed, others conversed more quietly, etc. In other words, the imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions, and no restraints were placed on the normal and natural behavior.

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Landaeta began to sing and he was accompanied by a few of the attendants. In the meanwhile small fires had appeared here and there, and at these were lighted the long green leaf-covered cigars. None smoked an entire cigar, following the general custom of sharing with the other fellow. The songs at first were accompanied with faint rattling of the macaua, but this became stronger and stronger as the shaman approached the Land of Kuma. Finally at midnight—almost on the stroke—the shaman announced in his song that he had reached the desired land. The singing became more intense, faster, and everyone seemed to take more interest.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

511 superfluous needs to be dispensed with every time camp is moved,
361 which occurs every few days. Only in thoughts and feelings can they be as rich as any other people; but this requires a particular kind of temperament possessed by only a few individuals in the tribe.

182 Their economic life, social organization, mythology, and religion form a well-knit pattern of existence. There are no loose ends, but a knot here and there appears in the form of vagueness or contradiction. But I think that the fault lies with us who would introduce our type of organization into their knowledge. We expect more from a primitive group than we ourselves could offer. Besides, it is doubtful whether we ever present the picture of their culture as they see it; if we did we might not understand or we might even be surprised at its orderliness.

177 Although the Yaruros have been in touch with Euro-American cul-
121 ture for several centuries they have borrowed remarkably little. What culture they possessed several centuries ago we do not know. There is practically no information about them in the literature. There is justification, therefore, in publishing this record, in spite of many apparent deficiencies. Since plans for another visit to fill in the gaps in my field notes have not materialized and the Yaruros may be gone before another ethnologist can live with them it seems advisable to make this material available.

121 Anthropology, among other things, is concerned with the interrelationships of groups of men and with the functions of social structures as developed by man and his environment. I have tried to keep in mind that in presenting a first account of an unknown people it may not be at all out of place to draw a general but intimate picture of the daily life of the Yaruros, their emotional, cognitive and conative responses to the world about them, and even their attitude toward the ethnologist who appeared among them with only the objective of hold-
123 ing friendly conversations about themselves. At first they were suspicious, but they soon caught the point and enjoyed the experience as much as I did. An attempt has been made to give these pictures, and to explain the series of events which made possible with these nomads the intimate association that followed the first few days of unfriendliness.

● 124 No attempt has been made to reconcile differences in the information
128 obtained from various informants, not even if there is a contradiction. It was the first time that the Yaruros had been asked to organize their knowledge of their own culture; contradictions and vagueness were to be expected. My informants were exclusively men, even for those
123 phases of culture which admittedly belong to the female world. A cultural obstacle which I respected prevented any direct social intercourse with the women. The women's domain is respected by the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

791 the universe, his understanding of life and death, of the history of his people and their future, of morality, and of justice. Likewise he was anxious to hear what message I had to bring from my people in respect to these things. So, sitting under the shelter of some 124 592 branches, we talked. As we talked we both worked. Pablo Reyes kept his hands occupied making string, fixing bows and arrows, and I, when not busy writing, pretended to carve little figures out of wood. The children played about us and Pablo's three wives kept shyly in the background, though listening carefully to what we said and often throwing inquisitive glances in our direction.

122 172 Profiting by our proximity to Guiana, I decided to visit Urbana where I could buy some goods for my friends and at the same time gather information about archeology. The wind blew so hard it proved necessary to drag the canoe along the shore of the island until we found the best place for a crossing. The sand was raised in clouds and our bodies were peppered with it so that we were forced to cover up closely. It finally proved impossible to continue and we were forced to stop and camp in the open with our backs to the wind and no shelter except what we could get from our hammocks. But holding them up was as much a hardship as to be bombarded by sand. We made one attempt to cross the Orinoco in the afternoon but we were forced to give it up. Finally, late in the afternoon, putting our trust in "God and the Virgin," as the Venezuelan canoemen say, we launched the canoe and reached La Urbana about midnight. Our stay there was necessarily short and we hastened back to Linda Bara the following day, but I gathered enough from the examination of collections at the Salesian Mission to determine that the archeology on that side of the Orinoco is quite different from that of the llanos.

136 At sunset as we were approaching the island we saw an army of bats in flight. The bats were coming as a cloud out of a Guiana hill in the far distance, and flew directly over us, and across to the other shore of the river, disappearing into the forest. We watched this vast army for about 15 minutes and then continued on our way, not because we had seen the last of the bats, but because time was short. I was told by my guide that this daily flight of the bats from the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco generally lasts two hours. How many thousands of them live in this cave and fly daily to forage for food in the forest is a matter of conjecture. The bat, so plentiful [172] in this region, seems to have inspired the ancient potters of the llanos to use the head as a motif of decoration.

124 When we reached Pablo Reyes the next day we found there several other Yaruro families, relatives of Pablo, encamped with him. We talked some more, then departed several days later in order to return to Landaeta, who proved to be my best informant.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

781 Puaná stayed with us for about an hour and a half, talking most of the time about me.

And finally at about 5 o'clock Kuma herself came to visit me and, like Hatchawa, urged me to drink of the shaman's drink. I had to drink a gourd full of it, since it was held to my lips until I finished it. She gave me messages similar to the others. Finally other Yaruros came, and the shaman eventually returned, being greeted with affection by all. We stopped when the sun rose and began another day of primitive life. We had danced and sung almost continuously for 36 hours.

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This was my reception among the Yaruros after my return from La Urbana. We talked day and night about religion, and about the world in which we lived. I learned that a mother-in-law and son-in-law must never look upon each other and never talk to each other, though they must be careful to do each other service; that a man must marry his first cousin, and that socially he is under obligation to his maternal uncle who later becomes his father-in-law. Under Landaeta's tutelage the material in this report was compiled. In a sense, therefore, this is his report.

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One day I announced to Landaeta that I would have to leave in the near future, giving as a reason that my wife and child needed me at home. Actually, there were other considerations; my physical condition was becoming worse, though the sores on my feet were a little better; and for the time being I had quietly exhausted the possibilities of obtaining fresh material from my friends. After all, we had been in contact with each other for six weeks, the major portion of it living communely and conversing with the shaman continuously day after day, sometimes even from sunrise to sunrise. My daily schedule consisted of rising at sunrise, drinking a little coffee sometimes brought to me by Landaeta, and immediately plunging into discussions of religious themes. This would last up to about 10 o'clock when Landaeta would withdraw and busy himself making string or carving gourds for several hours. During this period I would seek clarification of some points from whomsoever was present, or work on social organization, or on genealogy. In the early afternoon Landaeta would be back with new material, new ideas, having thought over what he had said, what I had said, and what still needed to be said. This would continue until sundown.

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521 Then there was a short intermission for dinner, but soon afterwards I was hurried over to the eastern edge of the camp, where Landaeta and his people sat after dinner, and there we would sit while the women made cigars for us, talking about mythology, religion and general philosophical concepts. These discussions would last until 10 or 11 o'clock, and often much later, and not rarely shamanistic

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INHERITANCE OF WIVES

583 Monogamy is the usual rule, but occasionally both polygyny and polyandry exist. If no women are available, a man may share his young wife with his brother or parallel cousin whom he calls brother also. I saw two such cases. In a tribe whose total membership may not exceed 150 such situations may easily arise.

587 589 The more common situation is the inheritance of wives. If a man dies, his wife may be taken care of by her father, but more often by her former husband's brother. She takes her place as wife number two, especially if he is a good hunter. Other women whom a man may inherit as wives are his aunts on his father's side and even his paternal grandmother. I saw one case in which a man had inherited his daughter's child. Whether these cases represent the results of [616] deculturation of the Yaruros in recent years, or pure necessity, it is impossible to say. It is worth noting that the taboo on marrying a member of one's moiety is strictly observed.

512 605 Another relationship common among South American Indians which is present among the Yaruros is the hunting friendship between two men. Seldom does one meet a young Yaruro who does not have a hunting companion. Upon marriage this relationship may be weakened, though often the companionship persists. Generally the men are two parallel cousins. They show much affection toward each other, even in camp. For instance, such a pair standing with arms around each other's necks is a common sight. I have no reason to suspect any abnormal sexual relations between such couples.

124 582 [165] An attempt was made to collect genealogies, but no satisfactory results were obtained, due to the confusion that exists among the Yaruros. So many have suffered premature death, especially men, that the genealogies show a tremendous complexity. This complexity exists, of course, only for us. The Yaruro has his system, which is to guard against incest as he defines it. So long as members of the same moiety do not marry, everything else is permissible. One's cross cousin of the same, or nearly the same, age is the preferential choice, but the Yaruros cannot control birth and death, so that the preference is purely theoretical. I saw young boys married to old women and young girls married to old men. The answer was that there weren't any others to marry.

However, enough was gathered from the genealogies to verify the system as described: Members of the same moiety do not marry. Every one else can, except father and daughter, and, of course, father's brothers and daughter, whom she addresses as father anyway.

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social features reported, ideological features reported, and relations with other tribes mentioned. The card sets will be arranged by geographical location of the tribe so that for any given time period one may pull out all the sets and arrange the tribes in their spatial order. Thus for any time period a picture of the trait distributions, cultural-ecological conditions, inter-tribal socio-ecological relations, and acculturational-social contacts and events should be obtainable.

V

Though, to date, I have been concerned mainly with collecting bibliography and documentary materials rather than with their analysis, I should like to hazard several very tentative conclusions, or perhaps guesses, with respect to the ethnohistory of the llanos, and particularly of the Yaruro, based on the geographic, ethnographic, archeological, linguistic, and historical data known to me now. Some, however, are presented more as hypotheses for proof or disproof through continued research.

First, Petrullo's description is erroneous at least as respects the subsistence economy. Late Nineteenth Century travellers like Crévaux and Vela and several persons in this century mention horticulture. Still earlier reports go back to the earlier Eighteenth Century when missionaries speak of horticulture. Their reports apply to the Yaruro, Otomaco, Guahibo, and other groups. It has not yet been possible to decide whether they introduced or found horticulture among these peoples. Petrullo's error appears to have several explanations:

A) That he was incapacitated for several weeks by sore feet and was unable to travel about the land away from the rivers. In my experience, a careful criss-crossing of the land on foot is an absolute necessity if one is to know how these peoples carry on their subsistence activities. I have paced off with a pedometer the entire area used by the group I worked with. In the course of so doing I discovered all kinds of gardens, houses, and other evidences of their land use. These would not otherwise have been discovered by an observer nor mentioned by the Yaruro, since mainly what is physically present is, to them, worthy of mention.[10] I should say a great portion of my most important data came from such accidental discoveries made while walking about.

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[10] I would stand at a certain spot in a garden and ask "Whose garden is this?" "Juan's." Then I might walk perhaps ten feet and say, "Juan keeps his garden well." "But this is not Juan's garden." "You just said that this was Juan's garden." "That was over there on the other side of that row of corn." This happened a number of times. I also asked once, "Is there female shamanism here?" "No." Several days later, a group from an neighboring village came to visit. After an all-night session of the *tow'be*, several women performed shamanistic rites. I said, "I thought you said there is no female shamanism here?" "There isn't anyone here [i. e. in our locality] who practices — these women are from upstream." The same cleaving to locus was observed with respect to time. I was told that Miguel was a shaman ("musico"). I said "Miguel, are you not a musico?" "I am not a musico. I cannot sing." A few weeks later, he was singing. I said,

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B) Petrullo restricted his visits to the sand banks along and in the river, and, after his first arrival, most of his travelling was done on the streams. Gardens are never to be found on the sand banks and bars, but rather, usually, on the affluent creeks which are just above flood level of the rivers in the rainy season. Therefore he was not in a position to see the gardens which Le Besnerais later saw in the same area when he explored back from the river.

C) Petrullo was in the llanos in the dry season when the Yaruro move nearer the rivers both to secure a water supply as the water table lowers and to avail themselves of the much more plentiful and accessible river fauna[11] at a time when vegetable harvests are reduced because of drought. He was therefore observing dry-season subsistence — and perhaps only a part of it.

D) The probability that he observed only a part of the dry-season subsistence pattern in his area is reinforced by two considerations:

1) He reports the fact that 150 Yaruro had been massacred by Venezuelans a month before his arrival (p. 181). Their response under such circumstances is, as fast as possible, to get off the land that the Venezuelans want and to move to the rivers. I myself had occasion to observe such a diaspora, occurring in response to a smaller massacre. In view of this sort of response, it is likely, therefore, that Petrullo's group was living off river resources and away from their gardens at the time of his visit.

2) Maps indicate that in the lower part of the Capanaparo River, the flooding is greater and the number and size of side creeks suitable for horticulture is smaller than upstream on any of the large rivers. In other words, the available area for garden plots is much smaller, and riverine subsistence proportionately more important. Upriver, and more especially on the Sinaruco and on the middle and upper Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, there is much more tillable ground.

"I thought you said you could not sing and were not a musico?" "Yes, that was true last week when I had the grippe, but now my grippe is better I can be a musico again." And many similar examples of the extreme caution one needed to exercise regarding negative responses in order to be sure they were not merely descriptive of the place and moment. If Petrullo asked "Do you raise crops?", his informants would most likely have said, "No, we have no crops here", under the circumstances in which he found them.

[11] The river fauna is more plentiful and accessible in dry season because, first, it is more concentrated, and, second, it is more visible. During the wet, flooding season, fish, and other animals spread even into smaller streams and out upon the watery llanos — we caught a small piranha on the grassy, watercovered plain itself. On the plains, the fish are lost among the grasses and are virtually impossible to spear or shoot with bow and arrow. The river turbulence of the rainy season, meanwhile, has brought so much mud from further upstream that many of the rivers are opaque, especially in those parts of the llanos constructed of mud rather than sandy soils. Fish and the water reptiles and mammals are well-cloaked by the murky stream. The waters and the plains clear in the dry season so that the fish are concentrated in the limpid, grassless waters of the rivers, while land animals and riparian fauna are all crowded together near the banks in their search for food and water.

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2) Maps indicate that in the lower part of the Capanaparo River, the flooding is greater and the number and size of side creeks suitable for horticulture is smaller than upstream on any of the large rivers. In other words, the available area for garden plots is much smaller, and riverine subsistence proportionately more important. Upriver, and more especially on the Sinaruco and on the middle and upper Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, there is much more tillable ground.

"I thought you said you could not sing and were not a musico?" "Yes, that was true last week when I had the grippe, but now my grippe is better I can be a musico again." And many similar examples of the extreme caution one needed to exercise regarding negative responses in order to be sure they were not merely descriptive of the place and moment. If Petrullo asked "Do you raise crops?", his informants would most likely have said, "No, we have no crops here", under the circumstances in which he found them.

[11] The river fauna is more plentiful and accessible in dry season because, first, it is more concentrated, and, second, it is more visible. During the wet, flooding season, fish, and other animals spread even into smaller streams and out upon the watery llanos — we caught a small piranha on the grassy, watercovered plain itself. On the plains, the fish are lost among the grasses and are virtually impossible to spear or shoot with bow and arrow. The river turbulence of the rainy season, meanwhile, has brought so much mud from further upstream that many of the rivers are opaque, especially in those parts of the llanos constructed of mud rather than sandy soils. Fish and the water reptiles and mammals are well-cloaked by the murky stream. The waters and the plains clear in the dry season so that the fish are concentrated in the limpid, grassless waters of the rivers, while land animals and riparian fauna are all crowded together near the banks in their search for food and water.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

511 superfluous needs to be dispensed with every time camp is moved,
361 which occurs every few days. Only in thoughts and feelings can they be as rich as any other people; but this requires a particular kind of temperament possessed by only a few individuals in the tribe.

182 Their economic life, social organization, mythology, and religion form a well-knit pattern of existence. There are no loose ends, but a knot here and there appears in the form of vagueness or contradiction. But I think that the fault lies with us who would introduce our type of organization into their knowledge. We expect more from a primitive group than we ourselves could offer. Besides, it is doubtful whether we ever present the picture of their culture as they see it; if we did we might not understand or we might even be surprised at its orderliness.

177 Although the Yaruros have been in touch with Euro-American cul-
121 ture for several centuries they have borrowed remarkably little. What culture they possessed several centuries ago we do not know. There is practically no information about them in the literature. There is justification, therefore, in publishing this record, in spite of many apparent deficiencies. Since plans for another visit to fill in the gaps in my field notes have not materialized and the Yaruros may be gone before another ethnologist can live with them it seems advisable to make this material available.

121 Anthropology, among other things, is concerned with the interrelationships of groups of men and with the functions of social structures as developed by man and his environment. I have tried to keep in mind that in presenting a first account of an unknown people it may not be at all out of place to draw a general but intimate picture of the daily life of the Yaruros, their emotional, cognitive and conative responses to the world about them, and even their attitude toward the ethnologist who appeared among them with only the objective of hold-
123 ing friendly conversations about themselves. At first they were suspicious, but they soon caught the point and enjoyed the experience as much as I did. An attempt has been made to give these pictures, and to explain the series of events which made possible with these nomads the intimate association that followed the first few days of unfriendliness.

124 No attempt has been made to reconcile differences in the information
● 128 obtained from various informants, not even if there is a contradiction. It was the first time that the Yaruros had been asked to organize their knowledge of their own culture; contradictions and vagueness were to be expected. My informants were exclusively men, even for those
123 phases of culture which admittedly belong to the female world. A cultural obstacle which I respected prevented any direct social intercourse with the women. The women's domain is respected by the

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

YARURO INCIPIENT TROPICAL FOREST HORTICULTURE

Possibilities and Limits

Anthony LEEDS

The immediate concern of the papers in this symposium is the interaction between human populations and their habitats through the agency of horticulture insofar as factors in this interaction result in the evolution of culture. The present paper discusses an Incipient Tropical Forest Slash-and-Burn Horticultural group, the Yaruro of the south-central Venezuelan llanos, in order to show what kinds of upper limits were set upon its development by its technology and habitat, or both, and what sorts of factors within the relatively limiting conditions of incipient tropical forest horticulture might have provided a foundation for evolution to a more developed state. For any of the cultures which are examples of this class of horticulturalists, slash-and-burn horticulture plays a considerable, but usually not, by itself, a dominating role in the total food procurement process. The Yaruro fall between the Incipient and Intermediate Tropical Forest types discussed in the introduction, whereas the Sirionó, for example, represent a culture near the lower limits of cultures of the type. Despite their somewhat more advanced condition, what pertains to the Yaruro, in a general way applies to the rest of the type.

We shall consider first the habitat conditions in which the Yaruro find themselves and then describe the major dimensions of their swidden horticultural technology. With these aspects of the total ecology before us we shall show how its characteristics provide us a model for our incipient tropical forest stage and at the same time demonstrate how its special ecological conditions inhibited its further evolution into the more advanced stages of horticulture.

The Venezuelan llanos stretch as a low inland plain from the Orinoco delta, W by WSW, 750-800 miles inland, to the edges of the Andes in the far west of Apure State and into Eastern Colombia. The Yaruro are found between 450 and 600 miles from the mouth of the Orinoco, but still inside Venezuelan frontiers. They are found on all the rivers from the Arauca to the Cinaruco, inclusive, a distance of about 90 miles from north to south.

1 [probably should read: which--Analyst]

within these 800 acres, much is occupied by the streams, calculated at their flood maxima which define non-gardenable areas, while other parts are inadequate in soils or water for use as gardens. Consequently, the actually tillable areas comprise a maximum of about 200 acres or about 0.5% of the land surface. It should be noted, of course, that all these 200 acres are not usable for crops since those in the *mesites* cannot be used for cane and bananas, while the wet areas nearest the streams cannot be used for corn or manioc. Thus the maximum area for the staple crops, manioc, corn, and bananas, is about 145 acres (see Table I).[1] [11]

Using Carneiro's equations, [12] we may estimate the maximum population which would be in equilibrium with this acreage, estimating .5 acres as an approximate amount of land required to provide the average person with the food he ordinarily derives from cultivated plants per year. [13] The calculation gives us 92 persons (see Figure 1). [14] We may also estimate the number of years (L) the group may stay in the present locality with its present population of 24 before wearing out the available tillable land so that they would have to move (see Figure 2). This would be 50 years. Since the entire fallow and planting cycle of any piece of land is only 13 years, under present circumstances, the Totûdoro Yaruro will not have to move from their present territory at all, in view of their small and decreasing population.

[128]

Figure 1

$$P = \frac{\frac{T}{(R+Y)} \times Y}{A}$$

$$P = \frac{\frac{200}{10+3} \times 3}{.5}$$

P = 92 (=87 if R is 15)

Figure 2

$$L = \frac{T}{\frac{P \times A}{Y}}$$

$$L = \frac{200}{\frac{24 \times .5}{3}}$$

L = 50 years

R = year of fallow
Y = years of productivity
A = land used to provide plant food for one person a year
P = population
L = number of years group located in one place
T = acres of cultivable land within walking-working distance of village

[262] The ideal figures given above would be somewhat modified upwards by the additional foods provided by fishing, hunting, and gathering which, in the wet season, constitute about 30% of the diet and, in the dry, perhaps

[1] [for Table I see pp. 28-30, category 116--Analyst]
[11,12,13,14] [for footnotes, see p. 43, category 116--Analyst]

3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

distance of the gardens is too far from the village for effective or efficient exploitation. At this point a village or part of a village must move. Moving the villages involves decision-making with respect to time, new location, and so on. Plainly, moving a village involves a community decision. A community institution for handling the decision-making is necessary. Technologically speaking, the moving itself is not a community task and does not involve supervision and direction. Therefore, one would not expect the institution of decision-making to be a directive one, but a consultative one. Again this corresponds to the observed modes of action of the Yaruro chiefs. The chiefs' function is to facilitate the formation of the decisions of the community by funnelling and interpreting individuals' feelings and expressions to the rest of the members of the community.

In sum, I have presented a model of a form of ecology which, hypothetically, determines the limits within which any sort of chiefly functions may operate. This model, again hypothetically, is applicable to all cultures having the kind of technological and habitat characteristics and forms of surplus here described. I think the model applies particularly to cultures which grow root-crops such as manioc, which utilize no labor-concentrative techniques, such as irrigation, and for whose food resources notable seasonality is absent. Such cultures have been noted widely in tropical South America and also in Melanesia. In both areas, chiefly functions are notably limited as contrasted, say, with Circum-Caribbean corn-raising cultures with some irrigation and other intensive techniques[24] and with Polynesian high cultures with elaborate irrigation and other public works.[25] It should be noted, first, that the Yaruro were not far from these Circum-Caribbean chiefdoms and even show a number of trait similarities, and, second, that the Yaruro have been under Spanish acculturation, which has involved encouragement of chiefly functions, for probably 250 years. Yet, despite the pressures of both diffusion and acculturation to produce a more developed chieftaincy, the attenuated form described persists. The explanation of this persistence seems to me to be ecological. I suggest that the model of explanation presented here is based on a set of analytic dimensions — the characteristics of the technology, those of the habitat, those of the harvest surplus, and the interrelationships of these — which may be used for all cultures, but whose formal, systemic relations vary from culture to culture, or class of cultures to class of cultures, thus giving different models for different cultures or classes of cultures. By using such dimensions, one can account for cultural differences by means of a standard set of principles, thus faciliating genuine comparisons and generalizations.

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[24] Cf. Sturtevant, 1961; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961.
[25] Cf. Sahlins, 1958.

/14 cont./

O 115 361 In 1949 Catalina still had three brothers, Ramón, Pablo, and Nicolas, and a sister, Guadalupe. The first brother was living on the island of Fraile in the Orinoco--his existence had been confirmed for us by a trader of the Orinoco--and the two others in San Fernando in Apure, where they were employed in the firm, Casa Hermanos Vivas. The sister was also living in San Fernando. All four had been born in Los Caballos, whereas Catalina, older than they, had first seen the light of day on the Orinoco at a time when, no doubt, the Otomaco were still living along the river. According to our informant, Pedro Ramón Camacho, in addition to these five survivors, an old Otomaco woman, also Racional like the others, was living at Lucero, a farm situated on the right bank of the Capanaparo, at the time of our investigations. Finally, according to another source, some Otomaco still existed at this same time in Colombia on the banks of the Meta.

Y 128 III. Complementary observations on the habitat of the Yaruro (28)

28. See "infra" IV List...36.

The observations made are reproduced on the two tables which follow. They are summarized for certain communities in the notes below:

Y No. of the community

342 361 2a This community No. 2 is initially located (No. 2a) on a dune of sand and earth swept by wind and relatively little assailed by mosquitoes. It has five habitations of type II 1a. The chief's habitation is to the west; the others are spread out along the same line toward the southeast. The shaman's habitation is the one in the middle. The fourth from that of the chief of the community appears to be reserved, according to the latter, for children and for passing guests.

Y [485]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

men. A female ethnologist might get an interesting, and perhaps different, picture of Yaruro culture. I do know that there were many things, especially in the field of shamanism, from which I was shut off. The Yaruros saw this and the women relayed a pressing request that on my next visit to them I bring my "wife" (I have none!), with whom they could lie on the sands at night and tell things about their world similar to what their men told me.

My visit took place in the months of February, March, and April of 1934. Several species of intestinal parasites acquired in Brazil not only precluded my roaming about the countryside, but forced the Yaruros to attend me day and night for many weeks, giving ample opportunity—once it lasted for thirty-four consecutive hours—to talk. A sedentary life is so foreign to a nomadic people that this chance to corner them for "talk" was too good to miss. In fact, after a while it was becoming too much for them, and besides, hunting in the area became impractical. Everything considered, we reached a saturation point and I started on my way back. Many of these friends may be dead by now.

The Yaruros and Their Country

Yaruro daily life

Peaceful and mystical, the Yaruros, or Pumeh as they call themselves, wander up and down the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers (fig. 15) gathering their daily dinner and thinking about the life awaiting them in the Land of Kuma when they leave this world.

As dawn breaks over the hills of Guiana we may discover a Yaruro camp on one of the sandy beaches of the Capanaparo River about a day's journey by canoe from where it flows into the Orinoco. It appears as a dark blotch on the wind-packed white sands at a distance of some 50 yards from the water's edge and more than that from the wall of vegetation which marks the bank of the river during the rainy season and hides the open savanna country beyond. The camp gives no sign of life until the sun shows clearly in the sky. Then we see that it consists of some leafy branches and 3-foot sticks bare of bark thrust in the sands, casting long shadows in the early morning to where the vultures are fighting among themselves at the refuse heap located to the west of the camp; or the white vulture, the "king," may be seen feasting alone while his black brethren await disconsolately on the side.

As the light becomes stronger we make out under the branches piles of debris, recumbent human forms, and mangy dogs tied to the sticks. The debris consists of baskets and pots, with here and there small

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

stop to talk, rest, and later sleep. Twenty-four hours of Yaruro life have gone by. The stomach must be considered again.

THE LLANOS

The country of the Yaruros is a low plain lying south and east of the Venezuelan Andean mountain spur between the fifth and sixth degree of North Parallel. On the east it is flanked by the Orinoco, with the hills of Guiana beyond the river, and on the south the plain rolls away to Colombia. This vast inland plain is burned by a tropical sun the year round and nowhere is there a degree of elevation to relieve one from the intense heat. Fortunately there is no barrier to the trade winds which often blow too hard for human comfort but which, nevertheless, make life bearable by cooling the body and blowing away insect life. During the dry season this plain is a veritable desert with scant vegetation except along the river banks and by water holes. In the rainy season it becomes a vast inland sea rich in animal and plant life. The temperatures during the day are always high. In the plains of Apure 130° F. have been recorded a few feet from the ground. In the middle of the day animal life is practically at a standstill. Cattle and horses which roam the plains half wild or completely so rest quietly. The cowboy withdraws to the shelter of a grass roof; the traveler retires to the shade of a bush, provided he can find one; but the Yaruro seeks the river banks where the winds are freshest and there is always the branch thrust in the sand to give him some shade. In midafternoon the winds abate somewhat, but rise again as the sun sets. There is another lull just before midnight, but in the early morning the wind blows a gale, driving the well-equipped traveler under his blankets and the Yaruros to the warmth of sand pits. Shelter from the wind means intolerable insect life. One must remain exposed to the ever-blowing wind to find any comfort.

It is said that a geologist prospecting unsuccessfully for oil ended his report with the statement, "The plains of Venezuela, or as they are known, the llanos, are rich—in water." He would have been more accurate had he said that the llanos are rich in winds, in dust and sand, insects, and, in the rainy season, flora and fauna.

The llanos would form a desert were it not for the rivers which, fed by the Andes, flow into the Orinoco. The largest of these are the Apure and the Meta. Between them flow the Capanaparo and the Sinaruco. Fishes are plentiful in these rivers. Along the banks are found an abundance of birds, among which ducks, cranes, and storks predominate. Smaller birds give color and song to the country. Near the Orinoco species of sandpipers crowd the sand bars. Hawks and vultures are a common sight.

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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[probably should read: which--Analyst]

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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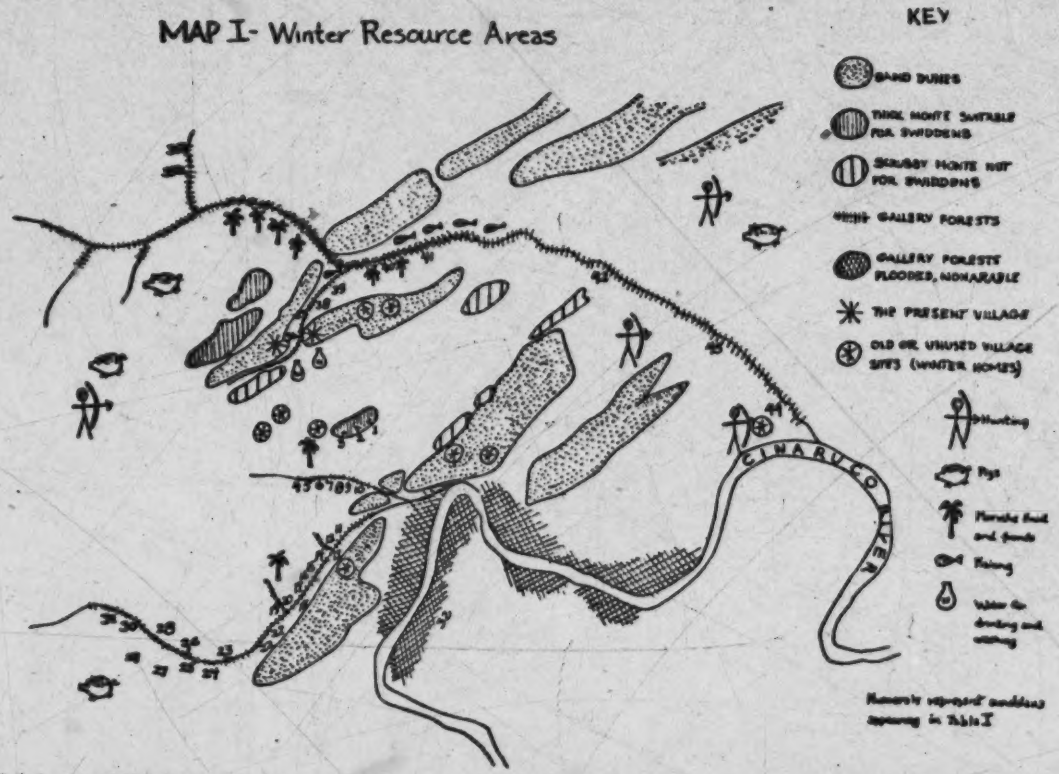
22

MAP I- Winter Resource Areas



I inch = ca 1.25 mi

Maps by Jo Leeds.

Cp. 40J

MAP II Summer Resource Areas

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[p.41]

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Antropológica

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[P. 1]

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE YARURO INDIANS IN RELATION TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Anthony LEEDS

121

It is the purpose of this paper to show the correspondence between the principles of socio-economic organization of the Yaruro Indians and their ideology and to isolate some dimensions of ideology which may be used for comparative purposes. It is hoped that by further isolation of such categories it will eventually become possible to compare the structure and content of widely different ideologies, as we today are able to compare kinship systems, so that we may be able to recognize synchronic regularities of a functional order and diachronic regularities of an evolutionary sort. Yaruro religious and philosophical beliefs are reduced to a series of postulates or axioms about the nature of the universe and man in an analysis somewhat like Kluckhohn's study of Navaho philosophy and Opler's of Apache themes. (1). No Yaruro would be able to express the axioms nor see them in the logical series as presented here, yet each would recognize them, when couched in the phrasings of his own language, as referring to his particular *Weltanschauung*. The postulates are derived from direct statements by informants about the cosmos or about human living, from other verbal materials such as discussions of disease and social organization, and, more occasionally, from observed behavior. The generalized titles introducing each of the summarized postulates appearing at the end of the paper comprise the dimensions, here inductively arrived at, which may serve for cross-cultural analysis.

101

The Yaruro Indians have been living in the savannas or llanos of Southern Venezuela for an unknown number of centuaries. They have developed a socio-economic life well-articulated to the geographical conditions of life. [131]

139
137

The gross geographical characteristics of the alternately desert-like and flood-covered llanos cause all the best economic resources to be concentrated

(1) Kluckhohn (1949); Opler (1945).

/109/

101 The Yaruro Indians, who among themselve call themselves by the term "pumę," live in the Venezuelan llanos, the tropical savannas that border the left bank of the Orinoco. They are fishermen, hunters, gatherers, and agriculturalists whose original culture has already greatly changed. All of their past 197 is not yet known. As to their dialect, it has not as yet been classified in any of the known South American linguistic families. 114 The observations that make up this article come from investigations made on the spot by the author between 1947 and 1950.

I. The Territory (see Map 1)[1]

● 131 a) Boundaries.

At the present time the territory populated by the Yaruro Indians lies approximately between 6.30 and 7.30 degrees north latitude and 67 and 69.30 degrees west longitude.

The bulk of the population, which was the subject of our investigations, lives along the banks of the Capanaparo and one of its tributaries, the Riecito, that is, on some 400 kilometers of river.

The rest are dispersed north of the Capanaparo, on the Arauca, the Cunaviche, and the neighboring rivers, and, to the south, on the banks of the Orinoco between the mouths of the Capanaparo and the Cinaruco and near the rivers located between the Capanaparo, the Riecito, and the Cinaruco.

b) Neighbors.

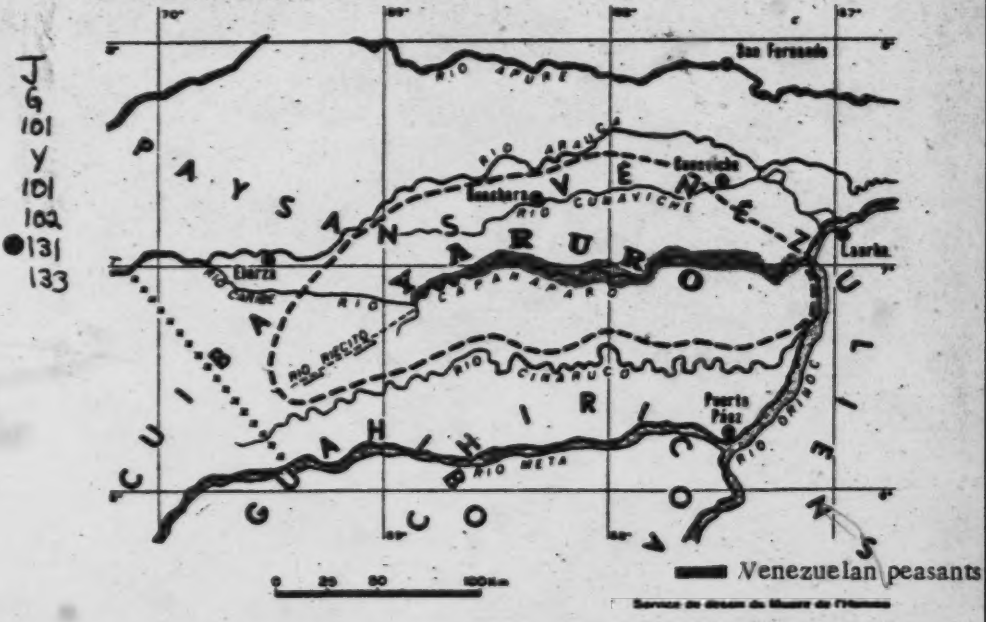
101 The whole region located north of the Capanaparo, the banks of the Orinoco, and part of the banks of the Capanaparo itself -- going upstream, the northern part up to the junction with the Riecito and the southern part on 220 kilometers up to the Madre Vieja Basiliero -- are populated by Venezuelan peasants, the llaneros, who thus occupy part of the Yaruro territory.

[1] [see p. 3. —Analyst]

5:Le Besnerais--3 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Jirajara SS12
Guahibo SC14

/111 cont./

the territory mentioned above, in the west, and the second in the east along the Orinoco; they meet to the south of the Cinaruco, the northern limit of their territory which lies principally in Colombia. Like the Cuiba, they seem to trade with the Yaruro, exchanges taking place in the Yaruro villages located near the Cinaruco and consisting also of products of their making for manufactured ones.



Map 1

Correction: Elorza instead of Elurza.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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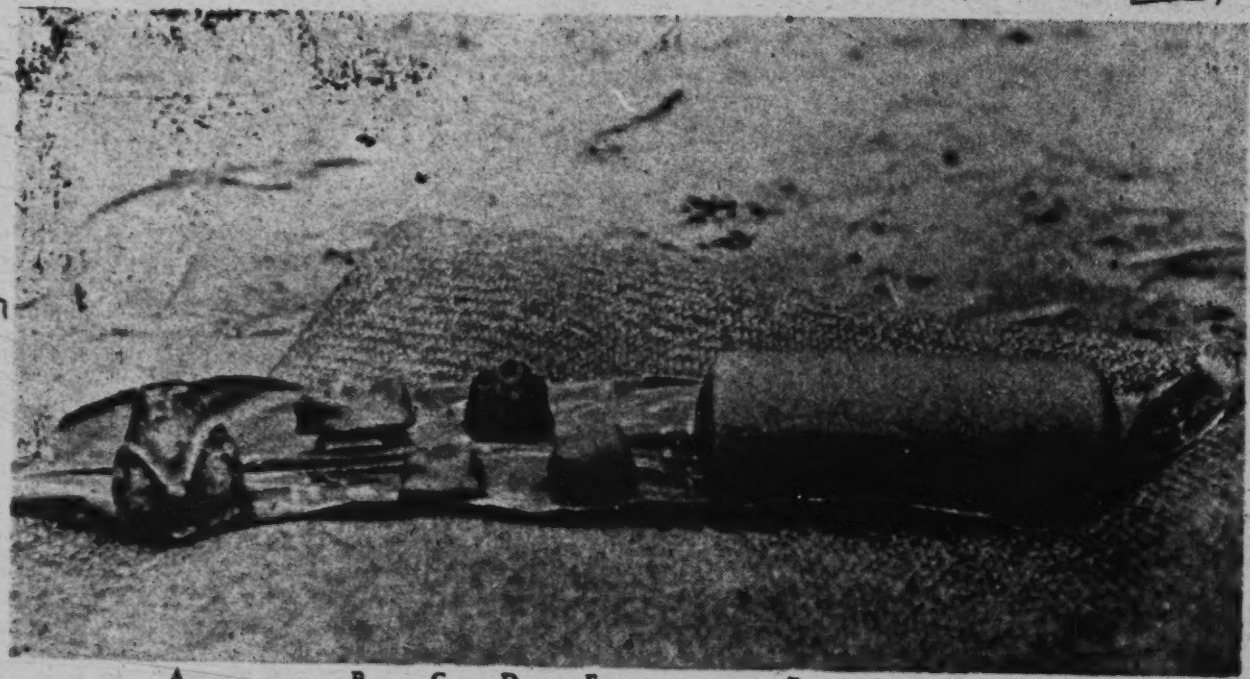
[131]



A B C D E F

Among the objects in the possesion of the El Gomal Yaruro (ca. 6° 42' N.; 67° 43' W.), about 70 miles west of the Orinoco River, Informants claimed to have dug them up during house-building. No objects of these kinds are made by the Yaruro today. *A*) Hollow ceramic bird-head object, open and broken at the top. *B*) Solid ceramic object, unidentified. *C*) Polished stone object, unidentified. *D*) Solid ceramic object with punctate design, apparently a conventionalized animal (frog or snake?) head. *E*) Highly polished black stone, unidentified, about 1.25 inches long, apparently broken at one end. *F*) Highly polished tan stone object (mano?), about 6 inches long. No stones of these kinds are to be found in the area.

[facing p. 166]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S819 Yaruro S519

stop to talk, rest, and later sleep. Twenty-four hours of Yaruro life have gone by. The stomach must be considered again.

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133 As one goes inland from the coast and westward through Yaruro territory, the land slowly rises so that the town of San Fernando de Apure is about 100 feet above sea level; Palmarito de Guachara, about 60 miles southwest, is just 145 feet; and the Cinaruco river about 100 miles SSW is about 190-200 feet. From the middle Cinaruco, the site of the writer's field work, to the sea, the average slope is 0.007% or 4 ½ inches/mile, but the slope increases gradually as one goes west till nearly 200 miles to the west, the plains abut on the Andes where, within a space of about 50 miles, the land rises from about 650 feet to over 12,000.

132 The slope of the land is paralleled by a gradual increase in total annual rainfall and length of rainy season, respectively averaging for the region as a whole about 1600 mm (63") annually,[1] and about 5 months of heavy rains with 2-3 transitional months of unsettled weather with considerable rain. The slope and climatic gradations are paralleled, furthermore, by an 134 orderly series of soil and vegetation types. As one moves steadily nearer the mountains, the soils change from muds, as at San Fernando, to muddy and sandy loams at Guachara, to sands and sandy loams in the central Cinaruco, and increasingly to sands and pebbly areas. These micro-ecological [134] differences appear to determine micro-cultural differences among various groups of Yaruro as one goes westwards, for example in the specific content of the cosmology. Space only permits us, here, to deal with the Cinaruco area.

133 The dip of the strata, hence drainage, is from West to East. The slope of the dip is so small, as we have noted, that at the first sizable rains, the flow exceeds the carrying capacity of the stream beds and flooding occurs. Thus, during the rainy season from May through September, [132] during which from 85-90% of the annual rain occurs, there is a constant tendency to flood, while during the driest months from December through March, not more than a total of 3 inches falls, and the rivers and landscape dry up often totally, presenting desert-like conditions. Because the topography of the central Cinaruco area is not level in large areas, and even in the flat parts, is raised above the level of the streams, flooding occurs more because of accumulated rain in low spots where it cannot drain than from overflow from streams. The streams themselves are swollen and in places overflow their banks for short distances before they are enclosed by the higher terrain. The west-east dip of the land an the east-west prevailing winds combine to make surface land forms, such as sand dunes and creeks, called *caños* (Y. *doro*) run east and west also.

133 In the central Cinaruco area, the creeks on the north side of the river are contained in a sort of basin formed by a row of dunes, perhaps as high 137 as 100 feet above the neighboring savanas, almost 300 feet above sea level, running east and west for many miles at a distance of 3-5 miles from the Cinaruco. On the south side of such "ranges" of dunes, a creek like the Totúdoro is likely to be found. On its right bank, sometimes at some [134] distance back from the normal high water mark, it is contained by the edge of the flat, sandy, coarse-grained savana, which is marked by a continuous

1 [for footnote see category 116, p.42 --Analyst]

and then shooting into the still side pools of a stream into which he has driven a post with bait attached. He may also stand in a canoe to shoot. It is reported, though I have not myself seen it, that barbasco (*Jacquinia revoluta* or *mucronulata*) poison is used by some Yaruro.[12] No nets, weirs, traps, sweeps, or artificial fish pools are used.

Given the techniques and tools of the Yaruro, all the subsistence activities described can conveniently be done by one person. Some *must* be done by one person only, since the tools and techniques themselves do not permit two or more persons to operate jointly. As it were, the logic of the tools and techniques concerned demands utilization by single persons.[13] Some of the tools and techniques might conveniently involve two or more persons, e. g. lashing tree trunks together to make a fence or cornering a capybara, but do not definitively *require* more than one person. Activities of all sorts may be done by aggregates of persons, each utilizing his own tools and techniques individually but neither the activity, the tools nor the techniques entail the aggregation of individuals. Thus, from the point of view of human organization, the technology, by itself, entails no managerial functions, no coordination of tasks which must be overseen by someone occupying an appropriately defined status.[14] That is, there are no technologically determined positions of leadership in Yaruro society. Further, the technology as such entails no significant cooperation in work organization, even when this is convenient, and correspondingly, no standard work groups or management functions, as represented in some defined status, for facilitating cooperation are to be expected or to be found. In fact, Yaruro technology and resource distribution are such as to elicit considerable dispersion of activities and actors at any given time of work, and to inhibit the development of rank and the personal acquisition of superordinating prestige.

IV

We may now examine the habitat aspect of the ecological relationship. A clearly marked annual cycle occurs in the Yaruro habitat.[15] However, despite a sharp seasonal change from heavy rains up to 60 inches in one half of the year to almost

[12] Personal communication from Mr. Thomas Rootes who has studied Yaruro linguistics for a number of months, having visited several groups.

[13] Different kinds of tools require different kinds of organization. A simple hand saw can be used by only one person at a time. A logging saw, though it can awkwardly be used by one person, is surely best used by two persons. Certain other saws, e. g. jig saws, make up one of a series of machine processes on a single part of a product, the entire series being the unit of operation which requires a still more complex level of organization. Cf. Leeds, 1960 b.

[14] For the structure of argument which is involved here, see Leeds, 1960 b.

[15] 'Habitat' here refers to all physical objects and conditions of the environment which are relevant to the existence or production of resources as defined by the culture. For the most part, then, 'habitat' refers to those environmental conditions such as humidity, temperature, insolation, rainfall, etc., which affect the food supply, as well as the food and water available for animals and plants and other culturally relevant physical objects. By extension, it refers to daily, seasonal, annual, and long-term variations and cycles in the various relevant factors of the environment, whether climatic, geologic, or biotic, which affect any of these supplies.

132 136 [137] desert-like conditions in the other, temperature, sun, soil, and water-table conditions are such that plants will grow all year round, supplying a steady flow of vegetable foods to the people. The change of the water level in the rivers and in the water-table and the sharp increases and decreases of rain strongly affect the patterns of animal and plant life in the Yaruro environment. Annual cyclical variations in wind, humidity, and temperature are also quite marked. Plants and most especially animals, experience a kind of seasonal pulsation. As the rivers fill during the rainy season, the larger animals, such as the cayman, alligator, manati, and dugong, move upstream to somewhat shallower waters, where their food supply is easier of access. Fish also move upstream and even up small brooks, where this is possible. If the savannas flood, many fish swim out into the savannas where numerous insects and other foods are now to be found. The insects themselves multiply and are distributed farther and farther back from the rivers as the rains progress and the savanna floods widen. Meanwhile, foraging animals move farther from the rivers and ponds, and range over greater distances as the rains and the elevated water-tables foster greater plant food resources. Insects in part follow the animals, in part the vegetation as it wakens to winter life in the interfluves. As the dry season begins to return, the reverse process takes place, and all life concentrates nearer and nearer the permanent waters such as the big rivers and some lakes, or at points where the land surface is near enough the permanent water-table to maintain some vegetation, notably the gallery forests and the woodlots, called *montes* in Spanish. Thus one may ideally describe a summer and a winter 221 organization of the habitat. The incidence of resources varies accordingly, and 132 consequently so do the technological activities and tasks to be done. In the dry season, there is a marked increase of gathering, particularly of roots and seeds which appear to store starches for dry season use in the wet season, whereas fruits appear mainly in the rainy season. Hunting increases in the dry season when animals are more highly concentrated in and near the rivers and tributary brooks and streams. Fishing also increases in the dry season as the waters become shallower, less grass-choked, and no longer laden with muds from upstream erosion which makes it impossible to see the fish. Garden production appears to decrease in summer as the dry season precludes growing some crops, such as pineapples, altogether, and [249] reduces the possibility of growing sugar cane and corn.

221 241 132 Despite this marked seasonality, the habitat conditions of both seasons resemble each other in certain formal respects vital to our argument.[10] First, at any given moment of either season, from the point of view of work organization, the resources are what we may call dispersive. Thus, in mid-rainy season, swiddens are to be found dispersed along the streams and brooks flowing into the rivers and these adits are distributed irregularly over the land within a distance of 4—5 miles of the river. Even low slip-off slopes of the river may be used for growing sugar cane in the wet season, though they are too dry in the dry season. Game, such [249] as tortoise, armadillo, deer, birds, and occasional other animals, are to be found [136] throughout the savannas and about the river banks. Fish are found in most streams and in the rivers including those which have no useful banks for horticulture.

[10] Cf. Leeds, 1961, for further details and maps of the seasonal resource locations.

Gathered resources are found near the streams in marshy places where the moriche palm grows, and to a lesser extent in the savannas.[17] The dry season resources are also distributively located though the pattern is somewhat different. Quanta of production from these resources at any one time are rarely great. The larder, as it were, must be filled from a number of sources at once, even though one crop, particularly bitter manioc, and occasionally sweet manioc and corn, may rise briefly to as much as 50 or 60% of the food supply. Thus the available quanta of resources and their distribution at given moments in time are such as to demand a distributive form of labor organization: workers, as individuals or in very small groups, must go off in different directions at the same time. The obverse of this, of course, is that no sizable or permanent working groups are to be expected and none in fact occur. Further, because a dispersion of the labor force and a constant flux in the constitution of work groups is entailed by the relationships between the technology and the habitat, organized and permanent managerial functions can scarcely occur, and no fixed status with significant managerial powers would be expected. The observed data of leadership among the Yaruro and many other tribes in South America and other parts of the world, such as Melanesia, having fundamentally similar ecologies, corresponds precisely with what one is led to expect logically from the form of the ecology.

The absolute size of work groups achievable in the Yaruro habitat is limited not only by the dispersed locations and temporal harvest patterns of resources, but also by the absolute productivity of the ecology. If one calculates the distribution per land area of those calories potentially convertible to human energy, the ratio of calories per unit of land surface is so low that even at maximum utilization only a very low population density of about 2 persons per square mile would be possible. If concentrated in the center of an effective walking distance for exploiting resources of, say, six miles radius from a village, with a resultant total area of about 110 square miles, there would be about 220 souls. Of these, perhaps 70% (all persons over age 10), at maximum, might constitute the labor force, i. e. 154 adults and older children. The actual conditions are, of course, much more limiting, since the efficiency of the technology is such that it cannot exploit the totality of calories potentially available for conversion to human energy at any one time.[19] The actually harvested calories are considerably less, though I have no estimates as to how much less. Let us estimate half, or enough to support one person per square mile, that is, 110 persons. With a somewhat smaller per cent of the population available for the labor force, say 60% of the 110, the force would have only about 67 persons at most. This appears to be a reasonable number for the Cinaruco Yaruro groups, although due to depopulation from disease and mas-

[17] *Ibid.*, Map I.

[18] *Ibid.*, Map II.

[19] For example, all the fish available in the streams at a given time cannot be caught. More could be caught with an improved technology, such as the use of fish traps, weirs, or fish poisons, which, as we have said, are absent from the technology of the Cinaruco Yaruro. Density of fish, or any other biotic population, can be estimated (cf. Dice, 1952, Ch. IV), and then compared with rates of harvesting. Furthermore, it should be noted that often the totality of an actually harvested resource may not be available. For example, in

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Table II
Habitation Types by Community
and according to the Months of the Year

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No. of the Community	Rainy Season						Dry Season					
	June	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May
1	☆	☆	★	☆	☆							
2	★ ●	★ ●	☆ ●	☆ ●	■	□	□	■	□	□	□	□
3	●	○	○	●	○							
4	☆ ○	☆ ●	☆ ○	★ ●	☆ ○							
5	○	○	○	●	● ■	● ■	■	■	□	□	□	□
6	○	●	○	●	● ▲	● ▲	▲	▲	△	△	△	△
7	○	○	○	○	● ■ ▲	● ■ ▲	● ■ ▲	● ■ ▲	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △
8	☆	★	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
9	☆	☆	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
10	☆ D	☆ ◗	☆ D	★ ◗	☆ ◗							
11	☆	☆	☆	★ ■	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
12	☆	☆	☆	★	☆	△	△	△	▲	△	△	△
13	☆	☆	☆	★	☆							
14	☆	☆	☆	★	☆							
15	☆	★	☆	☆	☆	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◆ ▲	◆ ▲	◆ ▲
16	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◆ ▲	◆ ▲	◇ △
17	☆	☆	☆	★	◆	◇	◇	◇	◇	◇	◆	◇
18	☆	☆	☆	★	☆							
19	☆	☆	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□

5:Le Besnerais--8 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of the Comm.	Rainy Season						Dry Season						
	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May
20	☆	☆	☆	☆	★							
21	☆	☆	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
22	☆	☆	☆	☆	★							
23	○	○	○	●	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
24	☆	★	☆	☆	☆							
25	☆	★	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	★	☆
26	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	★ ■ ▲	☆ □ △
27	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	△	△	△	△	△	▲	△
28	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	★	☆
29	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	■ ▲	□ △
30	☆ ○	☆ ○	☆ ○	☆ ○	☆ ○	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	■ ▲	□ △

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HABITATION TYPE	I	II, a	II, b	II, a	II, b	III
Type observed occupied (Table I)	★	●	◗	■	◆	▲
Type presumed resulting from the extension of the type observed occupied	☆	○	◗	□	◇	△

Corrections: Put all the white signs of the table and its legend in grey.

Community No. 1 -- Replace all the signs for Type 1 (stars) by the signs for Type II 1 a (circles).

The extension was made in the following manner:

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A type observed during the months of the rainy season (June to September) was extended to all the months of this season and for that which follows it (October), that is, for half of the transition period, rainy season-dry season.

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162 Each community is comprised of ten to 30 individuals
621 including children (average: 17.9), distributed in one or
942 several habitations of which the type varies according to function and the nature of the terrain and the season (1).

[132]
[193]

1. The Venezuelan llanos are huge savannas furrowed with watercourses running west-east and bordered with a corridor of forest, narrow but dense; they have a tropical climate characterized by two seasons: a rainy season, winter (June to September), during which the rivers overflow their beds and flood the savanna, and a dry season, summer (December to April), during which the latter become dry in part, uncovering long sandy shores.

342 The first type (I) is an upright house with a rectangular base (sometimes oval), three to four meters wide by five to seven long and three to four high, without walls and covered with a straw or palm roof with two sloping sides, open or closed at one or two ends and protecting from rain. It is built on the hard ground of high banks that the floods of the rainy season do not reach.

The second type (II) is a small, low hut (a man cannot stand in it) with a round base (II a) or oblong (II b), also without walls and covered with a roof of palms, either hemispherical (II a) or with two sloping sides (II b), protecting from rain; it stands on the soft ground of sand dunes and shores raised above the flood level (II 1), or shores freed by a drop in the water level (II 2).

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

123 men. A female ethnologist might get an interesting, and perhaps different, picture of Yaruro culture. I do know that there were many things, especially in the field of shamanism, from which I was shut off. The Yaruros saw this and the women relayed a pressing request that on my next visit to them I bring my "wife" (I have none!), with whom they could lie on the sands at night and tell things about their world similar to what their men told me.

My visit took place in the months of February, March, and April of 1934. Several species of intestinal parasites acquired in Brazil not only precluded my roaming about the countryside, but forced the Yaruros to attend me day and night for many weeks, giving ample opportunity—once it lasted for thirty-four consecutive hours—to talk. A sedentary life is so foreign to a nomadic people that this chance to corner them for "talk" was too good to miss. In fact, after a while it was becoming too much for them, and besides, hunting in the area became impractical. Everything considered, we reached a saturation point and I started on my way back. Many of these friends may be dead by now.

The Yaruros and Their Country

Yaruro Daily Life

101 131 181 Peaceful and mystical, the Yaruros, or Pumeh as they call themselves, wander up and down the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers (fig. 15) gathering their daily dinner and thinking about the life awaiting them in the Land of Kuma when they leave this world.

361 ● 133 As dawn breaks over the hills of Guiana we may discover a Yaruro camp on one of the sandy beaches of the Capanaparo River about a day's journey by canoe from where it flows into the Orinoco. It appears as a dark blotch on the wind-packed white sands at a distance of some 50 yards from the water's edge and more than that from the wall of vegetation which marks the bank of the river during the rainy season and hides the open savanna country beyond. The camp gives no sign of life until the sun shows clearly in the sky. Then we see that it consists of some leafy branches and 3-foot sticks bare of bark thrust in the sands, casting long shadows in the early morning to where the vultures are fighting among themselves at the refuse heap located to the west of the camp; or the white vulture, the "king," may be seen feasting alone while his black brethren await disconsolately on the side.

361 As the light becomes stronger we make out under the branches piles of debris, recumbent human forms, and mangy dogs tied to the sticks. The debris consists of baskets and pots, with here and there small

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

361 cheesecloth contraptions no more than 2 feet high under which human beings are sleeping half buried in the sand.

361 136 Approaching the river, we see canoes pulled up on the sands and discover that there is more debris close by, but its owners are not in sight. In the water close to the canoes are turtles with their hind legs tied to the front ones. Some of these are also fastened to the canoes, by means of strings which pass through holes drilled in their carapaces. They make fruitless efforts to move away whenever anyone comes near to them.

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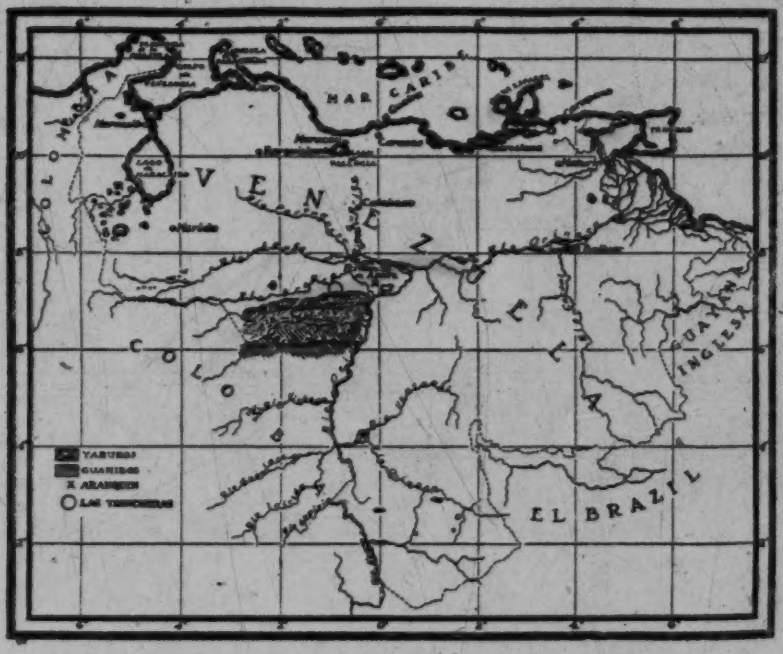

FIGURE 15.—Map of Venezuela.

361 ● 133 It is not a large camp, and the sleepers do not number many. As we look around us they appear to be insignificant and lost in immense space, so distant and even is the horizon. Only to the east do we see a wall of shadow rising a little above the horizon. It is all that can be seen of the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco not far away. In the early morning light they look like mountains, though they are only a few hundred feet high.

512 The awakening of a Yaruro camp is quiet, almost surreptitious. As the grayness of the landscape gives place to bright orange-gold, some of the sleepers are up, squatting with their legs doubled under them. They face the west; they do not move, merely sit still watching

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

stop to talk, rest, and later sleep. Twenty-four hours of Yaruro life have gone by. The stomach must be considered again.

THE LLANOS

The country of the Yaruros is a low plain lying south and east of the Venezuelan Andean mountain spur between the fifth and sixth degree of North Parallel. On the east it is flanked by the Orinoco, with the hills of Guiana beyond the river, and on the south the plain rolls away to Colombia. This vast inland plain is burned by a tropical sun the year round and nowhere is there a degree of elevation to relieve one from the intense heat. Fortunately there is no barrier to the trade winds which often blow too hard for human comfort but which, nevertheless, make life bearable by cooling the body and blowing away insect life. During the dry season this plain is a veritable desert with scant vegetation except along the river banks and by water holes. In the rainy season it becomes a vast inland sea rich in animal and plant life. The temperatures during the day are always high. In the plains of Apure 130° F. have been recorded a few feet from the ground. In the middle of the day animal life is practically at a standstill. Cattle and horses which roam the plains half wild or completely so rest quietly. The cowboy withdraws to the shelter of a grass roof; the traveler retires to the shade of a bush, provided he can find one; but the Yaruro seeks the river banks where the winds are freshest and there is always the branch thrust in the sand to give him some shade. In midafternoon the winds abate somewhat, but rise again as the sun sets. There is another lull just before midnight, but in the early morning the wind blows a gale, driving the well-equipped traveler under his blankets and the Yaruros to the warmth of sand pits. Shelter from the wind means intolerable insect life. One must remain exposed to the ever-blowing wind to find any comfort.

It is said that a geologist prospecting unsuccessfully for oil ended his report with the statement, "The plains of Venezuela, or as they are known, the llanos, are rich—in water." He would have been more accurate had he said that the llanos are rich in winds, in dust and sand, insects, and, in the rainy season, flora and fauna.

The llanos would form a desert were it not for the rivers which, fed by the Andes, flow into the Orinoco. The largest of these are the Apure and the Meta. Between them flow the Capanaparo and the Sinaruco. Fishes are plentiful in these rivers. Along the banks are found an abundance of birds, among which ducks, cranes, and storks predominate. Smaller birds give color and song to the country. Near the Orinoco species of sandpipers crowd the sand bars. Hawks and vultures are a common sight.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

We camped on a large wind-swept beach on the Capanaparo and waited there for Landaeta. While waiting I made visits about the country, seeking out Yaruros wherever I could find them. In one nearby group I noticed that unlike most of the Yaruros, these had built permanent shelters, constructed similarly to the houses of the ranchers. However, there was one significant difference. With true Indian logic, they had left the walls open at the bottom, so that the wind could sweep through the house and keep it cool and free from insects.

One morning we embarked to visit a group led by Pablo Reyes, being on an island in the Orinoco, at the mouth of the Capanaparo. Pablo Reyes had been described to us as a very old and very wise man. Borrowing a small dugout, we set out to visit him, traveling mostly by night. On our way we saw and heard a great deal of animal and bird life, for the lower part of the river was less hunted by the Yaruros than the upper part. On the banks we saw numerous tracks of the cats, we saw many capibaros or "chiguires" and we were often serenaded by the roar of the howlers.

Our entrance into the Orinoco was dramatic. We were catapulted out of the swift waters of the mouth of the Capanaparo and staggered about among the powerful cross currents and eddies at the confluence of the two rivers. The east wind made travel no easier, as it was blowing a gale. On the far side of the Orinoco were the hills of Guiana, rough and jagged, with gnarled vegetation, and dark patches of jungle growth. There were several islands of odd shape, and one of them, about halfway across the Orinoco, was the Linda Bara, to which we made our way.

Encamped on this island we found Pablo Reyes' band and a number of "Racionales," that is, "civilized," Venezuelans of the llanos, who during the dry season take to living like the Indians, except that they clutter their shelters with civilized equipment. The result is that their houses are infested with parasites of all kinds. However, they too live upon crocodiles, turtles, and the eggs of the latter.

This portion of the Orinoco is, in late March and early April, the gathering ground of both Indians and Racionales. The region teems with turtles. By common agreement, stretches of the beaches where the turtles are known to gather in large numbers are not hunted until April, at which time the people dig up thousands and thousands of newly laid eggs out of which they make an oil for export. The center for this commerce is the little settlement of La Urbana, originally a Capuchin mission established about 1750.

Like Landaeta, Pablo Reyes had also learned of my coming, and was ready for me. He too is a shaman, and delights in speaking to a sympathetic listener about religious themes, of his conception of

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. Llanero horseman. Note the toe stirrup and lack of bridle. 2. Author's party traveling across Apure. Note the rope tied to the horse's tail and the bull's nose. 3. Sand dunes in the Llanos of Apure.

End Plate 0

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

YARURO INCIPIENT TROPICAL FOREST HORTICULTURE

Possibilities and Limits

Anthony LEEDS

The immediate concern of the papers in this symposium is the interaction between human populations and their habitats through the agency of horticulture insofar as factors in this interaction result in the evolution of culture. The present paper discusses an Incipient Tropical Forest Slash-and-Burn Horticultural group, the Yaruro of the south-central Venezuelan llanos, in order to show what kinds of upper limits were set upon its development by its technology and habitat, or both, and what sorts of factors within the relatively limiting conditions of incipient tropical forest horticulture might have provided a foundation for evolution to a more developed state. For any of the cultures wich[1] are examples of this class of horticulturalists, slash-and-burn horticulture plays a considerable, but usually not, by itself, a dominating role in the total food procurement process. The Yaruro fall between the Incipient and Intermediate Tropical Forest types discussed in the introduction, whereas the Siriono, for example, represent a culture near the lower limits of cultures of the type. Despite their somewhat more advanced condition, what pertains to the Yaruro, in a general way applies to the rest of the type.

We shall consider first the habitat conditions in which the Yaruro find themselves and then describe the major dimensions of their swidden horticultural technology. With these aspects of the total ecology before us we shall show how its characteristics provide us a model for our incipient tropical forest stage and at the same time demonstrate how its special ecological conditions inhibited its further evolution into the more advanced stages of horticulture.

The Venezuelan llanos stretch as a low inland plain from the Orinoco delta, W by WSW, 750-800 miles inland, to the edges of the Andes in the far west of Apure State and into Eastern Colombia. The Yaruro are found between 450 and 600 miles from the mouth of the Orinoco, but still inside Venezuelan frontiers. They are found on all the rivers from the Arauca to the Cinaruco, inclusive, a distance of about 90 miles from north to south.

[1] [probably should read: which--Analyst]

●133 As one goes inland from the coast and westward through Yaruro territory, the land slowly rises so that the town of San Fernando de Apure is about 100 feet above sea level; Palmarito de Guachara, about 60 miles southwest, is just 145 feet; and the Cinaruco river about 100 miles SSW is about 190-200 feet. From the middle Cinaruco, the site of the writer's field work, to the sea, the average slope is 0.007% or 4 ½ inches/mile, but the slope increases gradually as one goes west till nearly 200 miles to the west, the plains abut on the Andes where, within a space of about 50 miles, the land rises from about 650 feet to over 12,000.

132 The slope of the land is paralleled by a gradual increase in total annual rainfall and length of rainy season, respectively averaging for the region as a whole about 1600 mm (63") annually,[1] and about 5 months of heavy rains with 2-3 transitional months of unsettled weather with considerable rain. The slope and climatic gradations are paralleled, furthermore, by an 134 orderly series of soil and vegetation types. As one moves steadily nearer the mountains, the soils change from muds, as at San Fernando, to muddy and sandy loams at Guachara, to sands and sandy loams in the central Cinaruco, and increasingly to sands and pebbly areas. These micro-ecological [134] differences appear to determine micro-cultural differences among various groups of Yaruro as one goes westwards, for example in the specific content of the cosmology. Space only permits us, here, to deal with the Cinaruco area.

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1 [for footnote see category 116, p.42 --Analyst]

narrow band of soft, red-brown, heavy pebbles, sometimes agglomerated into chunks as large as a man's head. These, the only stones of this area, are entirely absent to the north-east and are technologically useless. Between these bands, which appear to represent flood levels or banks of older streams into which the present beds have been incised, and the streams themselves, low-lying areas are found which are soggy to a depth of a couple of inches above a clayey-sandy hardpan, and are covered with a sleezy layer of organic remains. Grasses appear slightly less barren here than in the areas beyond the pebble banks, the savanas proper. 133 134 [137]

The savanas run east-west for miles and may be one or more miles wide, broken here and there by either strips of dunes or patches of woods, called *montes* (Y. *hôi*), growing in somewhat saucered hollows which may once have been parts of stream beds. On the upper level savanas (Y.*ciri*), the soil is largely sandy, with occasional scatterings of pebbles at the juncture with the lower savana level, 12 to 15 feet below it. Grasses are course, tough, long-rooted, and sparse, giving a barren, yellow appearance even in mid-rainy season. Only a few scrubby trees are seen on the open moors, mostly in wetter spots. These sandy savanas have long since been leached of practically all mineral content, as soil tests show.[2] The savanas constantly tend to lose their finer particles of soils, which are deposited near the streams where the latter have cut down a few feet into the surface of the savana. Thick and rich soil layers are thus created. It is in such layers that soils mechanically more suitable for horticulture combine with a water supply which suffices not only in the wet season, but also provides a dry-season water table accessible to long-rooted flora. This combination fosters the growth of gallery forests, here, which constantly add humus to the very limited areas of better soils provided in this habitat. The width of these layers depends on the depth of the stream's incision and the amount of flow as well as on the presence and relative distance of the dunes and the high and low savanas from the streams, and on the slope and width of the low savana next to the stream. Maximum width of these layers occurs where the streams are more incised and the slope from the higher savana to the streams is a steady descent, so that drainage occurs without flooding and waterlogging, while the dry-season water-table is not too far below. Under any other conditions, these places are narrow, or may almost disappear. Thus, the mouths of *caños* have narrow or no strips of gallery forest since the level of the savana is little above that of the stream, and little soil accumulates at the same time that flooding is heavy. On the upper reaches of streams, *caños* are little incised, the slope from the high savana is insufficient to have deposited much soil, and the forest again disappears. Thus only the median stretches of streams are well-forested and it is only in these areas that horticultural soils are available. Only the *montes*, those depressions in the savana surfaces, which, though above permanent water, nevertheless are nearer the water table than the surrounding savana, provide other suitable, if dry, areas for planting. Here too are found tall tropical hardwood forests which somewhat enrich their own soils by a very thin layer of humus. 137 134 [133]

[2] [for footnote see category 116, p. 42--Analyst]

area is only such in reference to the presence of a given technology. The presence of such a technology is not guaranteed in any particular culture by any historical, evolutionary, geographical, or ecological necessity. Its presence may entail a particular historical explanation or a general evolutionary one. In any case, its absence entails the absence of the use of certain resources whose presence we can observe only in retrospect. 311

Other resource areas besides those utilized because of the presence of horticulture among the Yaruro become available by their possession of hunting, gathering, and fishing technologies, as well as recently acquired animal husbandry in the form of pig-herding. Hunter animals include deer, armadillo, capybara, paca, peccary (?), iguana, and a number of birds (see Table II, p. 4)[1]. These are variously distributed spatially according to the specific ecological niches for which they are adapted. Thus deer are apparently usually found dispersed in the somewhat damper, low-lying savanas where grass is greener and water more available away from the scene of human activity. Armadillo are found distributed throughout the savana. Other species, however, such as the capybara, live near the edge of permanent waters, mainly the rivers. Alligators also live only in the rivers. The faunal carrying capacity of the savanas appears to be quite low in the Cinaruco llanos since foraging foods for larger game animals are sparse. It is important to note that not only is the overall carrying capacity governed by the minimum average food supply of the savanas in the florally more restricted dry season,[2] but the distribution of animals varies considerably from the wet to the dry season. In the latter, animals tend to cluster nearer the rivers or the widely dispersed water holes. Consequently, the locus of hunting must also shift seasonally (see Maps)[2]. Savana hunting techniques are neccessarily different from those used in procuring food in the rivers, whether hunting alligators or capybara, or, of course, fishing. There is some seasonal variation in the locus of fishing, too, although this is much less marked on the Cinaruco than on the freely-flooding streams of the flatter, more north-easterly savanas of the Apure llanos. In the rainy season, fish move up the larger streams into somewhat shallower waters where more plant and insect food is available to them. However, they are apparently unable to move up smaller streams which often have rapids-like stretches interrupting their course. Thus fishing in the rainy seasons is directed towards the larger creeks and away from the smaller creeks and the river itself, where the water has become too deep for successful fishing since the fish are scarcer and more difficult to see in the deep, swift currents of winter. In respect to animal husbandry, recently introduced pigs are pastured anywhere in the savanas but preferably next to the village or quite a distance from it, in either case far from the nearest gardens (Sp. *conuco*, Y. *tadó*), an effort which is rarely successful, since the pigs, in their wisdom, are among the main predators on the garden crops. Gathering may be carried out in the dry or the wet savana depending upon the plant food to be gathered, or it may be carried out near the creeks especially for the fruit of the moriche palm. The rivers do not appear to be used in gathering. 224 137 [221] 226 133 231 [241] 222

[1] [See pp. 35-37, category 116 --Analyst]
[2] [See pp. 40-41, category 102 --Analyst]
[17] [for footnote, see p. 42, category 116 --Analyst]

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Antropológica

[P. 1]

SOCIEDAD DE CIENCIAS NATURALES LA SALLE
Ap. 681 — Caracas - Venezuela

Número 9 31 Enero 1960

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE YARURO INDIANS IN RELATION TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Anthony LEEDS

121

It is the purpose of this paper to show the correspondence between the principles of socio-economic organization of the Yaruro Indians and their ideology and to isolate some dimensions of ideology which may be used for comparative purposes. It is hoped that by further isolation of such categories it will eventually become possible to compare the structure and content of widely different ideologies, as we today are able to compare kinship systems, so that we may be able to recognize synchronic regularities of a functional order and diachronic regularities of an evolutionary sort. Yaruro religious and philosophical beliefs are reduced to a series of postulates or axioms about the nature of the universe and man in an analysis somewhat like Kluckhohn's study of Navaho philosophy and Opler's of Apache themes. (1). No Yaruro would be able to express the axioms nor see them in the logical series as presented here, yet each would recognize them, when couched in the phrasings of his own language, as referring to his particular *Weltanschauung*. The postulates are derived from direct statements by informants about the cosmos or about human living, from other verbal materials such as discussions of disease and social organization, and, more occasionally, from observed behavior. The generalized titles introducing each of the summarized postulates appearing at the end of the paper comprise the dimensions, here inductively arrived at, which may serve for cross-cultural analysis.

101
[131]

The Yaruro Indians have been living in the savannas or llanos of Southern Venezuela for an unknown number of centuaries. They have developed a socio-economic life well-articulated to the geographical conditions of life.

139
137

The gross geographical characteristics of the alternately desert-like and flood-covered llanos cause all the best economic resources to be concentrated

(1) Kluckhohn (1949); Opler (1945).

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

133 137 along the west-to-east flowing rivers in ribbons some kilometers wide. Most significant fauna and flora of economic use occur in these ribbons. This ecological distribution of resources governs subsistence activities whether they be mainly hunting, fishing, collecting, or horticulture.

241 433 Yaruro subsistence comprises all these activities. (2). Horticulture in the rainy season appears considerably to outweigh all other sources of food together, but in the dry season, hunting, fishing, and collecting perhaps equal or outstrip horticulture. In any case, slash and burn gardening of manioc, corn, plantains, and a number of lesser crops is by far the single most important economic activity. The technology is exceedingly simple in all aspects of [442] production, the main tools being the machete and digging stick. The most elaborate technology occurs in the conversion of food into edibles and in the manufacture of hammocks, pottery, objects of wood such as canoes, and woven containers of all types.

462 The economic organization displays a sharp division of labor between men's and women's work. Men do all hunting and fishing, make all objects of wood, haul lumber and householding materials, make hammocks, and carry out the heavy labor of gardening. Women do most of the collecting of roots, [222] seeds, and fruits. Since collecting contributes a substantial portion of the food supply in summer, woman's contribution, here, is of considerable communal importance. Women's work, a continuous activity from dawn to dusk, is, first, the conversion of raw foodstuffs into edibles. Second, women make all pottery, mats and baskets, the manioc squeezers, and much of the cord used to make hammocks. Another important contribution of women is their help in harvesting in the gardens. Men sometimes help the women with the cookery.

[476] Men may work alone, in groups of 2 or 3, or in larger groups on rare occasions. No occasion exists for all men to work at a single task since there is no technological need for it. Women's work groups for collecting of householding are of similar size. Work group alignments are often based on choice or [592] accident but in other instances coresidence and kinship are determinants. The household, however, constitutes the only really necessary cooperative group for production. The man is a funnel for produce which the woman converts to

114 [122]

(2) The present description applies to the Cinaruco River Yaruro where the major part of the writer's field work, supported by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, was done. The Capanaparo River Yaruro were reported by Petrullo (1939) and Le Besnerais (1948) as being hunters and gatherers, although Le Besnerais observed small horticultural patches which he claimed were diffusions from Venezuelan farmers which had occurred recently. Le Besnerais in 1954 states directly that they were horticulturalists, omitting any mention of possible diffusions from Venezuelans. The passing mention of horticulture by Fiasson (1947) confirms the present writer in his opinion that, although horticulture may be more restricted on the Capanaparo than on the Cinaruco and Cunaviche-Arauca (where the writer also spent several weeks) which are not discussed at all by Petrullo or Le Besnerais, nevertheless, the absence of horticulture is probably not aboriginal with the Yaruro as has been suggested by Kirchhoff (1948, p. 456). Rather the restricted gardening is a result of ecological conditions on the Capanaparo which are less favorable to horticulture than on the neighboring rivers, combined with extremely violent acculturation, including large-scale massacres of natives. The only other possibility, in my opinion, is that horticulture was introduced by the missionaries in the early part of the [797 177] Eighteenth Century, which is certainly the period when the Yaruro first became acquainted with iron tools (cf Lodares, 1922).

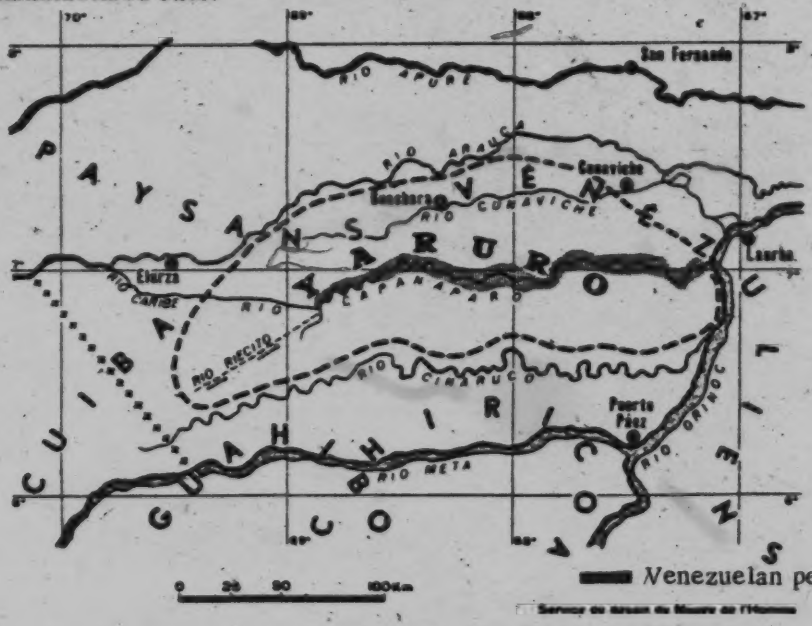
5:Le Besnerais--3 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Jirajara SS12
Guahibo SC14

G 101 114 131 G Y 431

/111 cont./

the territory mentioned above, in the west, and the second in the east along the Orinoco; they meet to the south of the Cinaruco, the northern limit of their territory which lies principally in Colombia. Like the Cuiba, they seem to trade with the Yaruro, exchanges taking place in the Yaruro villages located near the Cinaruco and consisting also of products of their making for manufactured ones.

J G 101 Y 101 102 131 ● 133



Map 1

Correction: Elorza instead of Elurza.

/116/

162 621 342 Each community is comprised of ten to 30 individuals including children (average: 17.9), distributed in one or several habitations of which the type varies according to function and the nature of the terrain and the season (1).

[132] [133]

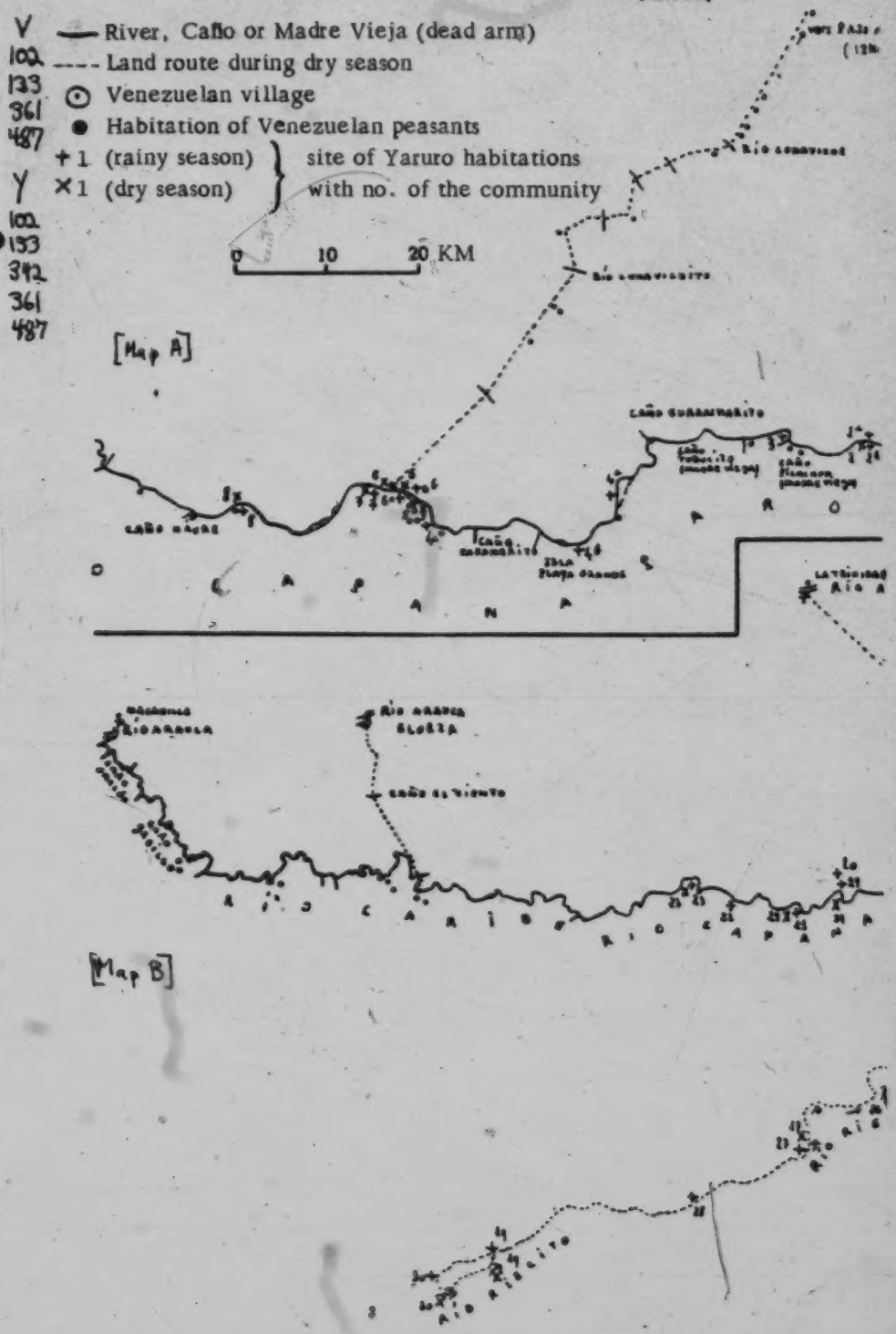
1. The Venezuelan llanos are huge savannas furrowed with watercourses running west-east and bordered with a corridor of forest, narrow but dense; they have a tropical climate characterized by two seasons: a rainy season, winter (June to September), during which the rivers overflow their beds and flood the savanna, and a dry season, summer (December to April), during which the latter become dry in part, uncovering long sandy shores.

342 The first type (I) is an upright house with a rectangular base (sometimes oval), three to four meters wide by five to seven long and three to four high, without walls and covered with a straw or palm roof with two sloping sides, open or closed at one or two ends and protecting from rain. It is built on the hard ground of high banks that the floods of the rainy season do not reach.

The second type (II) is a small, low hut (a man cannot stand in it) with a round base (II a) or oblong (II b), also without walls and covered with a roof of palms, either hemispherical (II a) or with two sloping sides (II b), protecting from rain; it stands on the soft ground of sand dunes and shores raised above the flood level (II 1), or shores freed by a drop in the water level (II 2).

5:Le Besnerais--19 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Venezuela SS1



Map 2. Yaruro Territory

5:Le Besnerais--20 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Venezuela SS1

V
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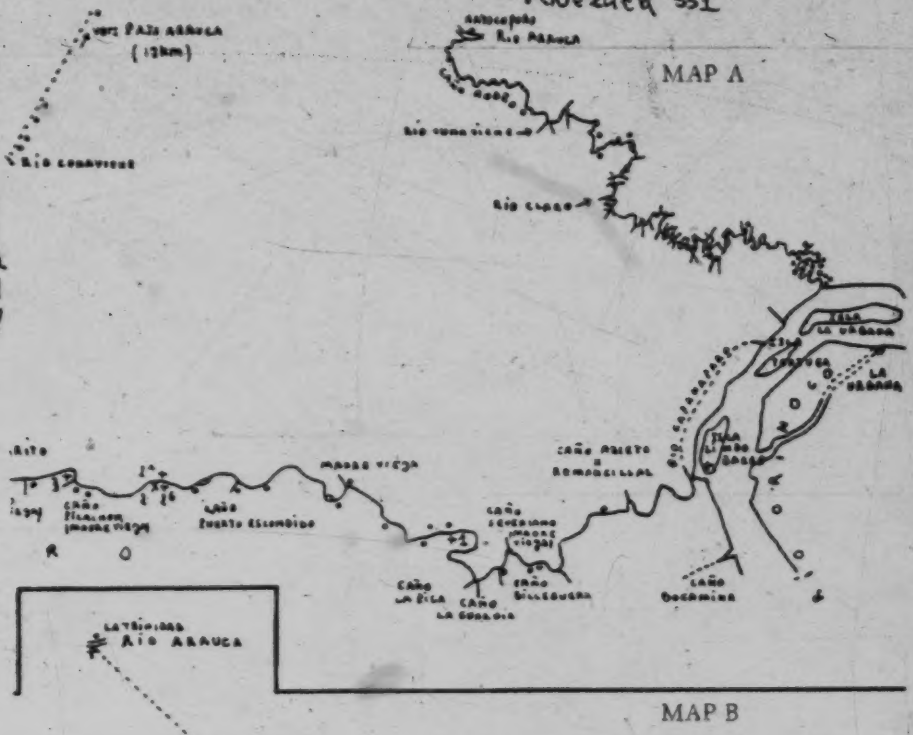

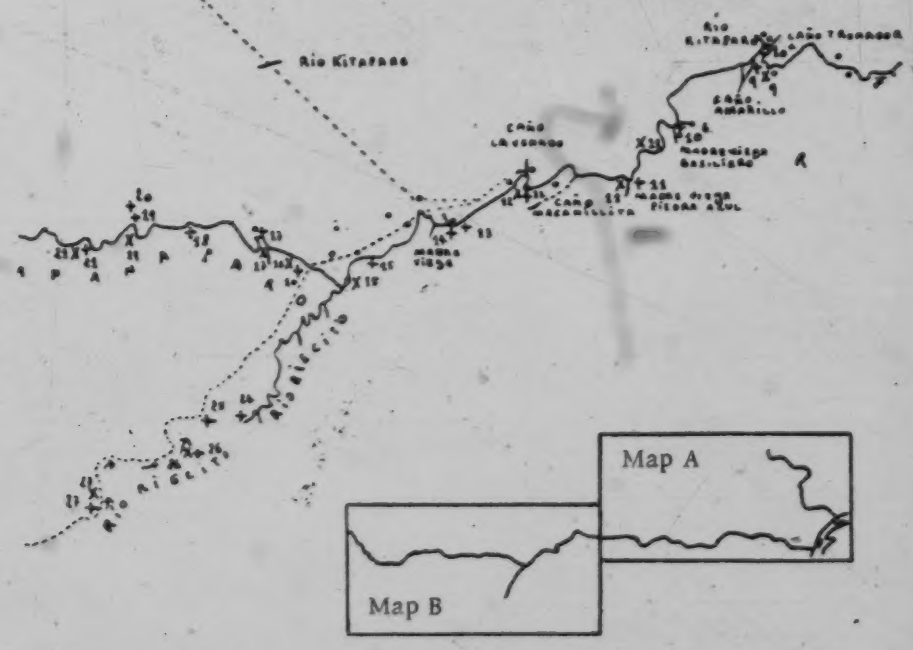

Author's correction: In MAP B, the first Yaruro community on the Capanaparo after the mouth of the Riecito should be 16 instead of 10.

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1 [for footnote see category 116, p. 42 --Analyst]

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[2] [for footnote see category 116, p. 42--Analyst]

241 With respect to these habitat conditions, the single most important, and, in the case of the Yaruro, predominant subsistence activity is swidden-ing, also called brand tillage, slash and burn horticulture, milpa, or shifting horticulture, a type of subsistence which peoples in both tropical and temperate forested areas of the world have practiced and still practice widely. The procedure followed by the Yaruro is very much like that of other swiddeners.[A] A garden site is chosen in virgin forest or preferably in second growth. During the dry season, the underbrush is first cut out and then the larger trees are felled by a variety of techniques including the use of machetes, axes, or girdling. The cut trees and brush are left to dry during the remainder of the dry season. Just as the first rains are approach-ing, these logs, along with whatever smaller underbrush may be standing, are set afire. The smaller materials largely burn up while the charred remnants of large trees lie scattered about. Burning partially destroys the [134] humus, as does removal of the forest cover, and to a degree disturbs the soil structure,[A] consequently often speeding the decline of soil fertility despite the addition of organic material from the rotting of partially burned tree boles. Also ash from the burned wood contributes some fertilizing minerals to the soil, thus increasing the short-term fertility of the soil before it is exhausted by man, plants, and rain.

134 241 The destruction of the forest cover and of the humus layers exposes the plots to more drastic leaching or erosion by tropical rains. This fact, together with a decrease in fertility from continual replanting and harvesting in unweeded and uncultivated soils, accompanied by a gradual but drastic invasion by weeds and grasses, makes further use of the plot uneconomical at best and impossible at worst. It is abandoned in favor of some entirely new plot or one which has been reconstituted by long fallowing. Abandoned plots overgrown by weeds and grasses, though they may soon recover their fertility, are so difficult to work with the characteristic swidden horticul-tural tools,[A] the digging stick and the machete, that they generally cannot be recultivated until a new forest cover has grown up and shaded out smaller vegetation. This usually takes a number of years, in general a minimum of 10 to 15 years, though, in other parts of the world this range may be extended in both directions.[A]

241 Planting is carried out beginning just before or just at the inception of the rains and just after the burning. It may be continued at intervals during the rainy season in order to stagger the harvests. Plantings may be staggered through part or all of the dry season, if climate and horticultural conditions permit, to create a more or less continuous crop, and the probability of a correspondingly higher annual productivity per capita and per land area. Where marked differences between seasons are not found, the entire process may be more or less continuous throughout the year. Irrigation, terracing, and fertilization (other than natural fertilization resulting from silting) are not used.

311 The remaining land surface presents resource areas of various types. In passing, it should be noted, though it is too often thought to be self-evident and consequently not specified, that what constitutes a resource

[A] 3,4,5,6 [for footnote see category 116, p. 42--Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

cheesecloth contraptions no more than 2 feet high under which human beings are sleeping half buried in the sand.

Approaching the river, we see canoes pulled up on the sands and discover that there is more debris close by, but its owners are not in sight. In the water close to the canoes are turtles with their hind legs tied to the front ones. Some of these are also fastened to the canoes, by means of strings which pass through holes drilled in their carapaces. They make fruitless efforts to move away whenever anyone comes near to them.

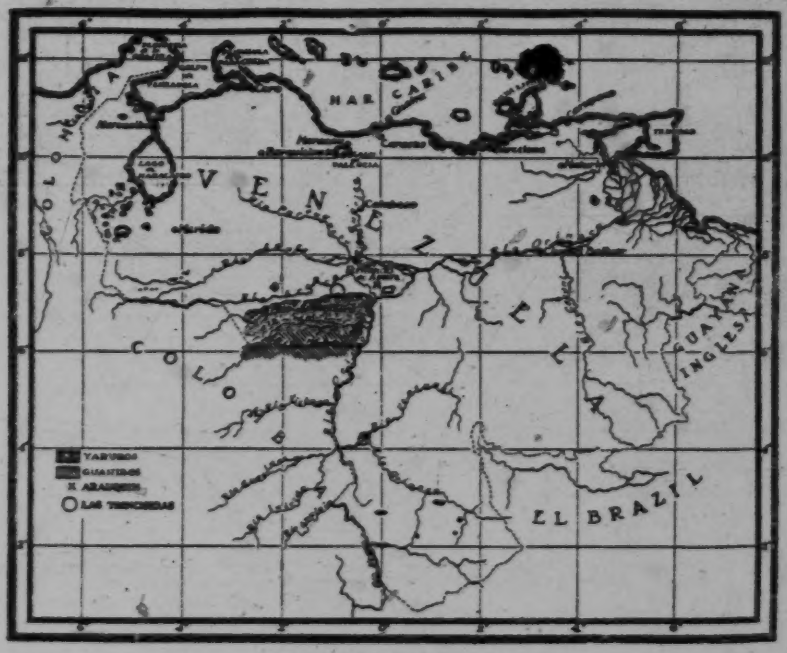

FIGURE 15.—Map of Venezuela.

It is not a large camp, and the sleepers do not number many. As we look around us they appear to be insignificant and lost in immense space, so distant and even is the horizon. Only to the east do we see a wall of shadow rising a little above the horizon. It is all that can be seen of the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco not far away. In the early morning light they look like mountains, though they are only a few hundred feet high.

The awakening of a Yaruro camp is quiet, almost surreptitious. As the grayness of the landscape gives place to bright orange-gold, some of the sleepers are up, squatting with their legs doubled under them. They face the west; they do not move, merely sit still watching

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

stop to talk, rest, and later sleep. Twenty-four hours of Yaruro life have gone by. The stomach must be considered again.

THE LLANOS

The country of the Yaruros is a low plain lying south and east of the Venezuelan Andean mountain spur between the fifth and sixth degree of North Parallel. On the east it is flanked by the Orinoco, with the hills of Guiana beyond the river, and on the south the plain rolls away to Colombia. This vast inland plain is burned by a tropical sun the year round and nowhere is there a degree of elevation to relieve one from the intense heat. Fortunately there is no barrier to the trade winds which often blow too hard for human comfort but which, nevertheless, make life bearable by cooling the body and blowing away insect life. During the dry season this plain is a veritable desert with scant vegetation except along the river banks and by water holes. In the rainy season it becomes a vast inland sea rich in animal and plant life. The temperatures during the day are always high. In the plains of Apure 130° F. have been recorded a few feet from the ground. In the middle of the day animal life is practically at a standstill. Cattle and horses which roam the plains half wild or completely so rest quietly. The cowboy withdraws to the shelter of a grass roof; the traveler retires to the shade of a bush, provided he can find one; but the Yaruro seeks the river banks where the winds are freshest and there is always the branch thrust in the sand to give him some shade. In midafternoon the winds abate somewhat, but rise again as the sun sets. There is another lull just before midnight, but in the early morning the wind blows a gale, driving the well-equipped traveler under his blankets and the Yaruros to the warmth of sand pits. Shelter from the wind means intolerable insect life. One must remain exposed to the ever-blowing wind to find any comfort.

It is said that a geologist prospecting unsuccessfully for oil ended his report with the statement, "The plains of Venezuela, or as they are known, the llanos, are rich—in water." He would have been more accurate had he said that the llanos are rich in winds, in dust and sand, insects, and, in the rainy season, flora and fauna.

The llanos would form a desert were it not for the rivers which, fed by the Andes, flow into the Orinoco. The largest of these are the Apure and the Meta. Between them flow the Capanaparo and the Sinaruco. Fishes are plentiful in these rivers. Along the banks are found an abundance of birds, among which ducks, cranes, and storks predominate. Smaller birds give color and song to the country. Near the Orinoco species of sandpipers crowd the sand bars. Hawks and vultures are a common sight.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

136 Bats are plentiful, but they tend to be most abundant in the forests and hills close to the Orinoco. Armies of them fly nightly out of the caves of Guiana to feed on the fruit of the forests in the plains. One evening while crossing back from Guiana to the llanos we saw a stream of bats flying across the river. They seemed to come from a cave about 2 miles away. Though we watched them flying overhead for about half an hour, there did not seem to be any end to them.

174 Formerly the llanos were peopled by a number of tribes who have since disappeared, leaving behind them practically no knowledge of their societies. Only the Yaruros and the Guahibos inhabiting the Meta region have survived to this day. The Tamanachi, the Guamos, the Otomacos, which are best but meagerly known, have died or been killed off in recent years. I saw the last Otomaco survivors, an old woman and a boy of five, who had been saved from a reputed massacre. The Achaguas seem to have disappeared in recent years also.

177 What has happened to these people can be easily understood when it is considered that during the past 25 years the worldwide unrest has driven adventurers to many corners of the earth, and these people have been exposed to the marauding "revolutionary" bands and to the equally destructive cupidity of the crocodile hunter and the rancher.

161 There are 150 Yaruros left in the region of the Capanaparo and
161 on an island at the mouth of that river called the Linda Bara. It is claimed that on the Sinaruco there are other bands but no contact was made with them. Formerly the Yaruros occupied a large territory and perhaps roamed the plains, as well as the rivers, but since the land has been taken up by the ranchers they have been forced to the river banks.

136 The animals of greatest interest to the Yaruros are: jaguar, puma, wild pigs, capibara (the chiguire), armadillo, snakes, jivaro stork, vultures, manatee, tonino, crocodiles, iguana.

137 Plant life has great importance as a source of food, usable wood,
222 medicines, and narcotics. The moriche and macanilla palms supply the Yaruros with fibers and bow wood. The chigua supplies him with flour; the changuango and barbaco with edible roots.

101 The Yaruros call themselves "Pumeh." In the literature they are referred to as "Saururi" (Gumilla), "Zavuri" (Gilii), and more recently as Jaruros, Sayuros, etc. According to my informants Yaruro or Jaruro, is a Guahibo word by which they are known to that people. The Guahibos are known to the Yaruros as "Tciricoa," "people of the forest." The word Pumeh has no exact translatable meaning. The closest equivalent is the Spanish "gente." When a Yaruro uses it he implies "the people," "the chosen people." Only the Yaruros are Pumeh, but the term occasionally includes other tribes. All non-

1: Petrullo E-S (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

the universe, his understanding of life and death, of the history of his people and their future, of morality, and of justice. Likewise he was anxious to hear what message I had to bring from my people in respect to these things. So, sitting under the shelter of some branches, we talked. As we talked we both worked. Pablo Reyes kept his hands occupied making string, fixing bows and arrows, and I, when not busy writing, pretended to carve little figures out of wood. The children played about us and Pablo's three wives kept shyly in the background, though listening carefully to what we said and often throwing inquisitive glances in our direction.

Profiting by our proximity to Guiana, I decided to visit Urbana where I could buy some goods for my friends and at the same time gather information about archeology. The wind blew so hard it proved necessary to drag the canoe along the shore of the island until we found the best place for a crossing. The sand was raised in clouds and our bodies were peppered with it so that we were forced to cover up closely. It finally proved impossible to continue and we were forced to stop and camp in the open with our backs to the wind and no shelter except what we could get from our hammocks. But holding them up was as much a hardship as to be bombarded by sand. We made one attempt to cross the Orinoco in the afternoon but we were forced to give it up. Finally, late in the afternoon, putting our trust in "God and the Virgin," as the Venezuelan canoemen say, we launched the canoe and reached La Urbana about midnight. Our stay there was necessarily short and we hastened back to Linda Bara the following day, but I gathered enough from the examination of collections at the Salesian Mission to determine that the archeology on that side of the Orinoco is quite different from that of the llanos.

At sunset as we were approaching the island we saw an army of bats in flight. The bats were coming as a cloud out of a Guiana hill in the far distance, and flew directly over us, and across to the other shore of the river, disappearing into the forest. We watched this vast army for about 15 minutes and then continued on our way, not because we had seen the last of the bats, but because time was short. I was told by my guide that this daily flight of the bats from the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco generally lasts two hours. How many thousands of them live in this cave and fly daily to forage for food in the forest is a matter of conjecture. The bat, so plentiful in this region, seems to have inspired the ancient potters of the llanos to use the head as a motif of decoration.

When we reached Pablo Reyes the next day we found there several other Yaruro families, relatives of Pablo, encamped with him. We talked some more, then departed several days later in order to return to Landaeta, who proved to be my best informant.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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not allowed to the neighboring peoples, such as the Otomacos or the Achaguas. The social and linguistic bonds seem to be strong enough to cause the Yaruros to recognize themselves as a distinct people.

FOODS

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In the llanos food is not plentiful except in and along the rivers; but the foraging activities of the Yaruros are restricted to the banks of the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers for another reason. The hunting of land animals has practically stopped for fear that they will be accused by the ranchers of killing cattle. In recent years the activities of the crocodile hunters have ruthlessly destroyed the game, and since such hunters live on the country they have consumed a portion of the available quantity of game on which the Yaruros depended for a livelihood.

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In the dry season game is concentrated along the rivers and the water holes. It is considerably easier to hunt it then than in the rainy season, when it is dispersed over the plains. The turtle, which is found in great quantities in the waters of the Orinoco and its tributaries, suffers a yearly mass hunt and destruction which has its effect on the food supply of the Yaruros. It has been discovered that the turtle fat and eggs will produce a fine grade of oil which sells for a high price. The result is that the breeding grounds of the turtles become yearly a scene of great activity and destruction. No one knows how many thousands of turtles and turtle eggs are gathered and converted into this oil late in the month of April.

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The meat staple of the Yaruros is the *Crocodilus babu*, a small crocodile which grows to about 6 feet long. This animal is hunted daily and eaten in its entirety. Its meat is esteemed above that of any other animal. On the other hand, the cayman, sought for its hide, is not hunted as a rule by the Yaruros. Perhaps this meat is not as savory as that of the babu, but the Yaruros give the reason that the large crocodile represents a race of mankind to which they are related. So that although occasionally it may be hunted for the price that its hide may bring, it is never eaten and never hunted consistently.

[825]

Next to the crocodile, turtles, including the matamata and tortoise, are to be found broiling over the fires in every Yaruro camp, and if they are not broiling they can be seen in shallow pools of water with their forelegs tied to their hindlegs. In this way they can keep alive but cannot walk away. The armadillo is seldom obtained and other meats appear occasionally on the diet of the Yaruros. Fishing is resorted to when neither crocodiles nor turtles are obtainable. The caribe, which is the piranha of Brazil, is esteemed but little. The tonino, which can be seen gracefully playing in the water or can be heard snorting in the rivers at night, is never hunted. It also is

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

136 225 262 [224] thought to be related to the race of mankind. On the other hand, the manatee is hunted occasionally. Birds are hunted but seldom, but the meat of the iguana is prized. This animal is not found in great quantities, however, in the open plains.

The vegetable diet is somewhat more plentiful and varied. There are no restrictions or taboos on what can be eaten. In the dry season it is the potato-like changuango, which is gathered by the women and which is to be seen broiling over the fires at all times, and which is the only food which the Yaruros are able to keep for a few days by burying it in the sand. In the rainy season it is the chigua seed and the barbaco which form the basic foods. The following list includes most of the foods eaten by the Yaruros:

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DRY SEASON

221 262 136 137 *Eggs.*—Terracai (small water turtle) (mostly in February), turtle (March, April), galapago (tortoise—December), crocodile (cayman—February), babu (December).

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire (capibara), birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Changuango (root found in the savanna), barbaco (root found in the forest, mostly in May), guapo (a root found in the forest), wild yam (found in the savanna and the forests), fruit of the macanilla palm, honey, hearts of palm (in April).

DRY AND RAINY SEASON

Fish.—(Local Spanish names) tapuara, caribe, toporo, tachiama, palumeta, pavon, cajani, temblador (electric eel).

RAINY SEASON

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire, birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Fruit of the moriche, chigua, barbaco.

PROPERTY

421 422 The Yaruros do not have much personal property. Nevertheless, what each person possesses is respected scrupulously. This attitude is especially in evidence when, for instance, a visitor attempts to purchase such a thing as a pot. In my case I was forced to ask the men. In spite of any price that I might offer they never allowed themselves to give any kind of an answer to my offer. Instead they offered the explanation that the pots were the property of the women and, therefore, they had to be asked if they wished to sell them. My own property I left in camp often without anyone to watch over it, but never did I miss even a sheet of paper.

222 the moriche palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*); several seeds, notably chiga (= chigo?; — *Campsiandra comosa*); calabashes (*Crescentia Cujete*), and bees' wax and honey. Non of the items gathered are large in size or difficult of access except the bees' wax, one or two of the fruits, and calabashes which grow on higher trees, or may be very far. Gathered foods may be picked up by hand or with the aid of a digging [412] stick or machete, and may be brought back in the harvesting baskets. Other items [415] which may be gathered include the raw materials for baskets and mat-making or 824 for food-processing tools such as the tipiti, pots, or mortars and pestels. These [285] items include the fronds of the moriche palm, used for making cord, baskets, tipi- [323] tis, mats, and sacks; in some villages, clay for pots; reeds for arrows, wood for house beams, mortars and pestles, bows, and for cooking utensils. Wood, palm fronds, and many other items are gathered with the help of the all-purpose machete.

231 Pig herding is unsystematically done. The pigs, a recent acquisition, spend most of their time at will in the foraging grounds. The significant herding activity occurs only at times when one or another of the groups of pigs breaks into the gardens, an almost daily occurrence. They are then driven to the forsging grounds again, or if late in the day, into a close till morning when they are either driven forth again or allowed to scavenge in the village. There are several herds of pigs of sizes varying from perhaps a maximum of 20 including piglets to the more usual six or eight animals. The only tools used in pig care include a slaughtering [412] stick with which the pig is clubbed to death and knives to cut up the meat. The [262] close is built of logs cut with a machete and carried in by one or two men. Pig meat, though eaten with regularity, is definitely a secondary element of diet.

441 Hunting is done almost exclusively with the bow and arrow. There are several types of arrows. One for fish has a metal point approximately 4 inches long with a side hook about five inches from the tip, where the tip is set into the shaft. This may also be used for smaller animals. One for birds has a blunt wooden head, and does not appear to be used very often. A third type is used for larger animals such as deer and capybara. It has a blade about 6 inches long shaped like a laurel leaf and, at present, made of steel. At the base of the blade, a small cross-piece is affixed in order to prevent the precious blade from piercing so deeply into the animal that, if it escapes, it would carry the arrow away with it. The fourth type of arrow is used for turtles, tortoises, and alligators or other animals which submerge. The head is short and strong with a sharp recurved hook. The entire metal head is attached to a cord, and this in turn is attached to the arrow shaft, from which the head is detachable. On detaching, the shaft floats and the game can be followed in its underwater course. The bow is generally about 6 feet long or a little more. It is made rather crudely of the wood of the macanilla palm (*Bactris Gasipaes*). Some animals, especially land tortoises and armadillos, may be caught [136] [224] by hand. Alligators may also be hunted with exceedingly heavy steel hooks and a strong line. In hunting, no traps, nets, surrounds, or drives are used.

226 Fishing is done chiefly with bows and arrows, though an arrow may sometimes be used as a spear, repeatedly jabbed into grassy waters near the river banks. Fishing may also be done with hooks and lines of different sizes. Bait is also used. A man may fish from a platform built by lashing logs horizontally to two trees

and then shooting into the still side pools of a stream into which he has driven a post with bait attached. He may also stand in a canoe to shoot. It is reported, though I have not myself seen it, that barbasco (*Jacquinia revoluta* or *mucronulata*) poison is used by some Yaruro.[12] No nets, weirs, traps, sweeps, or artificial fish pools are used.

Given the techniques and tools of the Yaruro, all the subsistence activities described can conveniently be done by one person. Some *must* be done by one person only, since the tools and techniques themselves do not permit two or more persons to operate jointly. As it were, the logic of the tools and techniques concerned demands utilization by single persons.[13] Some of the tools and techniques might conveniently involve two or more persons, e. g. lashing tree trunks together to make a fence or cornering a capybara, but do not definitively *require* more than one person. Activities of all sorts may be done by aggregates of persons, each utilizing his own tools and techniques individually but neither the activity, the tools nor the techniques entail the aggregation of individuals. Thus, from the point of view of human organization, the technology, by itself, entails no managerial functions, no coordination of tasks which must be overseen by someone occupying an appropriately defined status.[14] That is, there are no technologically determined positions of leadership in Yaruro society. Further, the technology as such entails no significant cooperation in work organization, even when this is convenient, and correspondingly, no standard work groups or management functions, as represented in some defined status, for facilitating cooperation are to be expected or to be found. In fact, Yaruro technology and resource distribution are such as to elicit considerable dispersion of activities and actors at any given time of work, and to inhibit the development of rank and the personal acquisition of superordinating prestige.

IV

We may now examine the habitat aspect of the ecological relationship. A clearly marked annual cycle occurs in the Yaruro habitat.[15] However, despite a sharp seasonal change from heavy rains up to 60 inches in one half of the year to almost

[12] Personal communication from Mr. Thomas Rootes who has studied Yaruro linguistics for a number of months, having visited several groups.

[13] Different kinds of tools require different kinds of organization. A simple hand saw can be used by only one person at a time. A logging saw, though it can awkwardly be used by one person, is surely best used by two persons. Certain other saws, e. g. jig saws, make up one of a series of machine processes on a single part of a product, the entire series being the unit of operation which requires a still more complex level of organization. Cf. Leeds, 1960 b.

[14] For the structure of argument which is involved here, see Leeds, 1960 b.

[15] 'Habitat' here refers to all physical objects and conditions of the environment which are relevant to the existence or production of resources as defined by the culture. For the most part, then, 'habitat' refers to those environmental conditions such as humidity, temperature, insolation, rainfall, etc., which affect the food supply, as well as the food and water available for animals and plants and other culturally relevant physical objects. By extension, it refers to daily, seasonal, annual, and long-term variations and cycles in the various relevant factors of the environment, whether climatic, geologic, or biotic, which affect any of these supplies.

132 desert-like conditions in the other, temperature, sun, soil, and water-table conditions
136 are such that plants will grow all year round, supplying a steady flow of vegetable
[137] foods to the people. The change of the water level in the rivers and in the water-table and the sharp increases and decreases of rain strongly affect the patterns of animal and plant life in the Yaruro environment. Annual cyclical variations in wind, humidity, and temperature are also quite marked. Plants and most especially animals, experience a kind of seasonal pulsation. As the rivers fill during the rainy season, the larger animals, such as the cayman, alligator, manatí, and dugong, move upstream to somewhat shallower waters, where their food supply is easier of access. Fish also move upstream and even up small brooks, where this is possible. If the savannas flood, many fish swim out into the savannas where numerous insects and other foods are now to be found. The insects themselves multiply and are distributed farther and farther back from the rivers as the rains progress and the savanna floods widen. Meanwhile, foraging animals move farther from the rivers and ponds, and range over greater distances as the rains and the elevated water-tables foster greater plant food resources. Insects in part follow the animals, in part the vegetation as it wakens to winter life in the interfluves. As the dry season begins to return, the reverse process takes place, and all life concentrates nearer and nearer the permanent waters such as the big rivers and some lakes, or at points where the land surface is near enough the permanent water-table to maintain some vegetation, notably the gallery forests and the woodlots, called *montes* in Spanish. Thus one may ideally describe a summer and a winter
221 organization of the habitat. The incidence of resources varies accordingly, and
132 consequently so do the technological activities and tasks to be done. In the dry season, there is a marked increase of gathering, particularly of roots and seeds which appear to store starches for dry season use in the wet season, whereas fruits appear mainly in the rainy season. Hunting increases in the dry season when animals are more highly concentrated in and near the rivers and tributary brooks and streams. Fishing also increases in the dry season as the waters become shallower, less grass-choked, and no longer laden with muds from upstream erosion which makes it impossible to see the fish. Garden production appears to decrease in summer as the dry season precludes growing some crops, such as pineapples, altogether, and
[249] reduces the possibility of growing sugar cane and corn.

221 Despite this marked seasonality, the habitat conditions of both seasons resemble
241 each other in certain formal respects vital to our argument.[10] First, at any given
132 moment of either season, from the point of view of work organization, the resources are what we may call dispersive. Thus, in mid-rainy season, swiddens are to be found dispersed along the streams and brooks flowing into the rivers and these adits are distributed irregularly over the land within a distance of 4—5 miles of the river. Even low slip-off slopes of the river may be used for growing sugar cane in the wet season, though they are too dry in the dry season. Game, such
[249] as tortoise, armadillo, deer, birds, and occasional other animals, are to be found
[136] throughout the savannas and about the river banks. Fish are found in most streams and in the rivers including those which have no useful banks for horticulture.

[10] Cf. Leeds, 1961, for further details and maps of the seasonal resource locations.

/11 cont./

O Y 775 776 way which leads to the other world it will meet after the village of the tiyo of Iţiai, at the left, on the same side, the tiyo of the Otomaco. They sang and danced (shamanistic ceremony) during the day when Kuma and Iţiai were still living on earth. When they ran off into the other world they continued to sing and dance but at night. During their songs they walked, the old men of past times used to say."

Y 533 539 Pedro Ramón Camacho completed his account with a quatrain of this song which had been repeated to him by a grandfather, but the meaning of which he did not know:

gwačarka hihi gwačarka hihi
gwačarka hihi gwačarka hihi
pidęruba pidęruba pidęruba hihi
pidęruba pidęruba pidęruba hihi

Y 773 825 136 The Otomaco are presented in Yaruro legends as being in the beginning three animals: the mono (15), the araguato (16),

15. Monkey (Cebus nigrivittatus), in Venezuelan.

16. Howling monkey (Alouetta ursina), in Venezuelan.

and the chigüíre (17).

17. Capybara, large amphibious rodent (Hydrochoerus hydrochoeris), in Venezuelan.

Y 773 825 The transformation of the Otomaco into monos and araguatos seems to have occurred at the time of the flood unleashed by Iţiai to cleanse the world of all the moral disorder which reigned there. Some Otomaco took refuge in the trees

/11 cont./
out of reach of the waters, having refused to shelter themselves on an elevated knoll as Iɟiai ordered them to do. The latter, to punish them, condemned them and all their family to become "monos and araguatos who will eat henceforth," he told them, "leaves, fruit, chiga (18), etc...."

18. Chigo grain (Campsiandra comosa), from which the Yaruro apparently extract flour.

The origin of the chigüire is illustrated on its part by the text reproduced next:

1st version (literal translation)

"Once upon a time, when the Kuma still lived on earth, an old Otomaco pume (19). The Kuma had a little gourd

19. In Yaruro: man or Yaruro.

full of mosquitos (20) and plaga (21) and one day the Otomaco

20. Diurnal wounding gnats (Similium haemapotum Malloch), in Venezuelan.

21. Nocturnal mosquitoes, in Venezuelan.

asked her: "What is this, grandmother?" "No, son," she answered him, "do not try to uncork it because they are Iɟiai's sons. If you uncork it, /12/ the little beasts will eat you." The Otomaco, the old pume, was stubborn and in an inattentive moment of the Kuma uncorked the little receptacle near a river. In an instant he was covered with bites and threw himself into the water. Then Iɟiai said to him that for

Y /12 cont./
773 having been disobediant he was going to serve as food for the
825 pumę's and be transformed into chigüíre. In the same instant he was transformed into chigüíre."

2nd version (literal translation)

"The Kuma had a little receptacle filled with plaga and all kinds of zancudos (22). A pumę, the chigüíre, the

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[136]

22. Anopheles mosquitoes (Cellia argyritarsis), in Venezuelan.

Otomaco asked Kuma what kind of animal was in the receptacle. She answered that they were dangerous zancudos and that he must not open it because that would present danger. The Otomaco said: "I am going to open it." Then he opened the receptacle and thus the plaga came. If he had not opened it there would have been no plaga. When he had opened the receptacle, the mosquitoes began to bite him. The Otomaco threw himself into the water because he could not stand the bites and was transformed into chigüíre because he had disobeyed. Iţiai said to him: "You did not want to obey, you will be transformed into chigüíre which the pumę's will kill to feed upon." The bristles of the chigüíres are the zancudos. The present chigüíres are the sons of those who have disobeyed."

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131 Otomaco territory seems to have been situated north of that of the Yaruro, around the place where they supposedly were created: Los Caballos, near the Río Cunaviche. "All these dunes," Pedro Ramón Camacho said to us word for word, and at the same time his hand made a one-quarter turn of the horizon toward the north, "were once covered with Otomaco
O villages. The remains of pimpina (23), of plates, of
172
415
Y
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23. A pitcher of porous earthenware used as a water-cooler in Venezuelan.

/12 cont./

budare (24), of tinaja (25), etc...which are found there are

24. Dish to cook flat manioc cakes, in Venezuelan.

25. Jar, in Venezuelan.

from the Otomaco women. But they often came this way--sometimes to dance or to buy canoes--to meet with the ancestors of the Yaruro of today. Like the former they were themselves good people. Yaruro and Otomaco each spoke in their dialect, which they mutually understood, which was not difficult. "Today," he added, "not a person remembers it."

Their relations must even have extended further, since they married among themselves without any obstacle /13/ placing itself in the way. Itiai in fact approved of these unions, as opposed to those with other Indians, the Piquero and Taparito included, Pedro Ramón Camacho specified, or with the Racionales, of which he disapproved.

They fed themselves, it appears, not only on fish, tortoise, deer, and vegetable produce grown in the conucos, but also on guiriguiri duck (26), a bird little in demand among the

26. Venezuelan name of the Dendrocygna automnalis.

present Indians because of the fishy taste of its meat. In addition, like the Yaruro, they appear to have lived in round huts built on the dunes, practiced a ball game, and made their pottery with the same technique and not with the aid of basketwork molds, contrary to what the remains with basketwork impressions which abound in the region where they apparently lived would lead us to suppose.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

B) Petrullo restricted his visits to the sand banks along and in the river, and, after his first arrival, most of his travelling was done on the streams. Gardens are never to be found on the sand banks and bars, but rather, usually, on the affluent creeks which are just above flood level of the rivers in the rainy season. Therefore he was not in a position to see the gardens which Le Besnerais later saw in the same area when he explored back from the river.

C) Petrullo was in the llanos in the dry season when the Yaruro move nearer the rivers both to secure a water supply as the water table lowers and to avail themselves of the much more plentiful and accessible river fauna[11] at a time when vegetable harvests are reduced because of drought. He was therefore observing dry-season subsistence — and perhaps only a part of it.

D) The probability that he observed only a part of the dry-season subsistence pattern in his area is reinforced by two considerations:

1) He reports the fact that 150 Yaruro had been massacred by Venezuelans a month before his arrival (p. 181). Their response under such circumstances is, as fast as possible, to get off the land that the Venezuelans want and to move to the rivers. I myself had occasion to observe such a diaspora, occurring in response to a smaller massacre. In view of this sort of response, it is likely, therefore, that Petrullo's group was living off river resources and away from their gardens at the time of his visit.

2) Maps indicate that in the lower part of the Capanaparo River, the flooding is greater and the number and size of side creeks suitable for horticulture is smaller than upstream on any of the large rivers. In other words, the available area for garden plots is much smaller, and riverine subsistence proportionately more important. Upriver, and more especially on the Sinaruco and on the middle and upper Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, there is much more tillable ground.

"I thought you said you could not sing and were not a musico?" "Yes, that was true last week when I had the grippe, but now my grippe is better I can be a musico again." And many similar examples of the extreme caution one needed to exercise regarding negative responses in order to be sure they were not merely descriptive of the place and moment. If Petrullo asked "Do you raise crops?", his informants would most likely have said, "No, we have no crops here", under the circumstances in which he found them.

[11] The river fauna is more plentiful and accessible in dry season because, first, it is more concentrated, and, second, it is more visible. During the wet, flooding season, fish, and other animals spread even into smaller streams and out upon the watery llanos — we caught a small piranha on the grassy, watercovered plain itself. On the plains, the fish are lost among the grasses and are virtually impossible to spear or shoot with bow and arrow. The river turbulence of the rainy season, meanwhile, has brought so much mud from further upstream that many of the rivers are opaque, especially in those parts of the llanos constructed of mud rather than sandy soils. Fish and the water reptiles and mammals are well-cloaked by the murky stream. The waters and the plains clear in the dry season so that the fish are concentrated in the limpid, grassless waters of the rivers, while land animals and riparian fauna are all crowded together near the banks in their search for food and water.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

136 Bats are plentiful, but they tend to be most abundant in the forests and hills close to the Orinoco. Armies of them fly nightly out of the caves of Guiana to feed on the fruit of the forests in the plains. One evening while crossing back from Guiana to the llanos we saw a stream of bats flying across the river. They seemed to come from a cave about 2 miles away. Though we watched them flying overhead for about half an hour, there did not seem to be any end to them.

174 Formerly the llanos were peopled by a number of tribes who have since disappeared, leaving behind them practically no knowledge of their societies. Only the Yaruros and the Guahibos inhabiting the Meta region have survived to this day. The Tamanachi, the Guamos, the Otomacos, which are best but meagerly known, have died or been killed off in recent years. I saw the last Otomaco survivors, an old woman and a boy of five, who had been saved from a reputed massacre. The Achaguas seem to have disappeared in recent years also.

177 What has happened to these people can be easily understood when it is considered that during the past 25 years the worldwide unrest has driven adventurers to many corners of the earth, and these people have been exposed to the marauding "revolutionary" bands and to the equally destructive cupidity of the crocodile hunter and the rancher.

161 There are 150 Yaruros left in the region of the Capanaparo and
101 on an island at the mouth of that river called the Linda Bara. It is claimed that on the Sinaruco there are other bands but no contact was made with them. Formerly the Yaruros occupied a large territory and perhaps roamed the plains, as well as the rivers, but since the land has been taken up by the ranchers they have been forced to the river banks.

136 The animals of greatest interest to the Yaruros are: jaguar, puma, wild pigs, capibara (the chiguire), armadillo, snakes, jivaro stork, vultures, manatee, tonino, crocodiles, iguana.

137 Plant life has great importance as a source of food, usable wood,
222 medicines, and narcotics. The moriche and macanilla palms supply the Yaruros with fibers and bow wood. The chigua supplies him with flour; the changuango and barbaco with edible roots.

101 The Yaruros call themselves "Pumeh." In the literature they are referred to as "Saururi" (Gumilla), "Zavuri" (Gilii), and more recently as Jaruros, Sayuros, etc. According to my informants Yaruro or Jaruro, is a Guahibo word by which they are known to that people. The Guahibos are known to the Yaruros as "Tciricoa," "people of the forest." The word Pumeh has no exact translatable meaning. The closest equivalent is the Spanish "gente." When a Yaruro uses it he implies "the people," "the chosen people." Only the Yaruros are Pumeh, but the term occasionally includes other tribes. All non-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

thought to be related to the race of mankind. On the other hand, the manatee is hunted occasionally. Birds are hunted but seldom, but the meat of the iguana is prized. This animal is not found in great quantities, however, in the open plains.

The vegetable diet is somewhat more plentiful and varied. There are no restrictions or taboos on what can be eaten. In the dry season it is the potato-like changuango, which is gathered by the women and which is to be seen broiling over the fires at all times, and which is the only food which the Yaruros are able to keep for a few days by burying it in the sand. In the rainy season it is the chigua seed and the barbaco which form the basic foods. The following list includes most of the foods eaten by the Yaruros:

DRY SEASON

Eggs.—Terracai (small water turtle) (mostly in February), turtle (March, April), galapago (tortoise—December), crocodile (cayman—February), babu (December).

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire (capibara), birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Changuango (root found in the savanna), barbaco (root found in the forest, mostly in May), guapo (a root found in the forest), wild yam (found in the savanna and the forests), fruit of the macanilla palm, honey, hearts of palm (in April).

DRY AND RAINY SEASON

Fish.—(Local Spanish names) tapuara, caribe, toporo, tachiama, palumeta, pavon, cajani, temblador (electric eel).

RAINY SEASON

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire, birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Fruit of the moriche, chigua, barbaco.

PROPERTY

The Yaruros do not have much personal property. Nevertheless, what each person possesses is respected scrupulously. This attitude is especially in evidence when, for instance, a visitor attempts to purchase such a thing as a pot. In my case I was forced to ask the men. In spite of any price that I might offer they never allowed themselves to give any kind of an answer to my offer. Instead they offered the explanation that the pots were the property of the women and, therefore, they had to be asked if they wished to sell them. My own property I left in camp often without anyone to watch over it, but never did I miss even a sheet of paper.

1f Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

iron hoe, which is also made by the Yaruro out of any heavy scrap of iron that they may gather. Sometimes they will work for the ranchers and with their earnings purchase this type of hoe from a trader. However, such a digging tool is quite a luxury and sharpened sticks are more common.

MORTARS AND PESTLES.—During the rainy season, the Yaruros gather chigua, a seed, which they dry and pound into flour. Mortars of wood shaped as shown in figure 20, *a*, *b*, are used and the pestle is any ordinary hard stick.

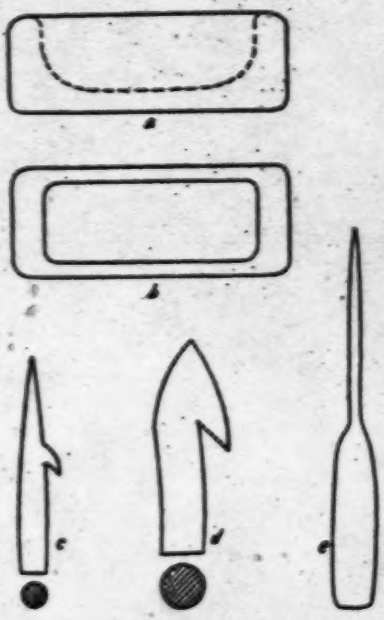

FIGURE 20.—*a*, *b*, Wooden mortar. *c*, Bone or iron point used for hunting chiguire. *d*, Hook used for manatee. *e*, Cooking paddle.

COOKING LADLES.—These are small wooden paddles used in cooking, especially when meat is boiling in a pot (fig. 20, *e*).

HAMMOCKS.—The Yaruros prefer to sleep on the sands, especially during the dry season. The men make hammocks, however, small ones generally used by children as cradles, and by the women shamans when they sing, during the day. During the rainy season they may employ them for sleeping.

The fiber employed to make the hammock string comes from the moriche leaf. The string may be very fine, of course, depending on the interest of the maker. It is made by the men. To weave the hammock a loom is made of two poles thrust into the sand to which are fastened two crosspieces at both the top and bottom. The string is then wound around these crosspieces. The weaver employs a knotter's netting technique. When the entire hammock has been woven the weaving is held in place by another string thrust through one of the woven rows.

ROPE.—The fiber mostly employed by the Yaruros is taken from the leaf of the moriche and the macanilla. The inner cortex of the leaf is stripped off and dried and then is taken apart strand by strand. These long fibers are then moistened and twisted together in two's and three's into a string by rolling them on the thigh with the palm of the hand. A stronger string is made in the same way and used for making hammocks. The bow strings are made from the fiber of the macanilla.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

181 177 invention offers a perfect refuge, even though it is only a philosophical one.

Mechanical aids to the shaman, in addition to his own psychological make-up, are: music and dance; tobacco, which he consumes in great quantities during his performance; tcuipah, a root with narcotic properties; caroto, which is a fermented or unfermented mixture of crushed maize and water, or manioc and water, and when obtainable, white rum. The extent to which these stimulants are used can be illustrated by the observations which are made in the course of one all-night performance: The shaman consumed 42 cigarettes which I offered him, about 100 cigars, which consisted of several strips of tobacco leaf wrapped in a thick green leaf obtained from one of the trees along the bank, about 6 inches of the tcuipah root, and about 2 quarts of the fermented maize-and-water mixture. Since these narcotics and stimulants were taken hurriedlly and in great quantities, it must have had a terrific physiological effect upon him. For instance, every cigarette and cigar was smoked completely through in 10 seconds. Each musical stanza lasted from about 10 to 15 seconds. He sang it first and then it was repeated by his people. It was during this repetition of his song that the shaman inhaled as much of the tobacco smoke as possible and then exhaled it just before commencing a new stanza.

791 276 273 [132] 533 276

In contrast with the rather violent shamanistic performance of the male shaman, the women do not seem to depend very much on narcotics. During the day the men are not permitted to sing or whistle, but the women may lie in their hammocks and sing. They may take small quantities of all of these narcotics, but as far as my observation went I never saw any of them consume any great quantity.

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The spiritual world of the shaman is quite different from the everyday realistic world. A comparison of the carvings on the gourd rattles with the realistic carvings of the asabache made by anyone greatly demonstrates this. In the latter form of art expression, animals, birds, and scenes are copied with great accuracy and skill. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that if the shaman were to attempt the realistic representation of the spirit world he could do so, but he has chosen to portray the various gods and spirits almost symbolically. Kuma and Hatchawa were always represented holding up their hands. It is this position which is read into the western skies whenever at sunset there occurs a phenomenon described above. The rays of light emanating from the horizon represent the fingers of the hands of the gods.

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The form of the dance has been described. It starts off as a simple walk around a pole and it may become a fast run in the evening,

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133 As one goes inland from the coast and westward through Yaruro territory, the land slowly rises so that the town of San Fernando de Apure is about 100 feet above sea level; Palmarito de Guachara, about 60 miles southwest, is just 145 feet; and the Cinaruco river about 100 miles SSW is about 190-200 feet. From the middle Cinaruco, the site of the writer's field work, to the sea, the average slope is 0.007% or 4 ½ inches/mile, but the slope increases gradually as one goes west till nearly 200 miles to the west, the plains abut on the Andes where, within a space of about 50 miles, the land rises from about 650 feet to over 12,000.

132 The slope of the land is paralleled by a gradual increase in total annual rainfall and length of rainy season, respectively averaging for the region as a whole about 1600 mm (63") annually,[1] and about 8 months of heavy rains with 2-3 transitional months of unsettled weather with considerable rain. The slope and climatic gradations are paralleled, furthermore, by an 134 orderly series of soil and vegetation types. As one moves steadily nearer the mountains, the soils change from muds, as at San Fernando, to muddy and sandy loams at Guachara, to sands and sandy loams in the central Cinaruco, and increasingly to sands and pebbly areas. These micro-ecological [184] differences appear to determine micro-cultural differences among various groups of Yaruro as one goes westwards, for example in the specific content of the cosmology. Space only permits us, here, to deal with the Cinaruco area.

133 The dip of the strata, hence drainage, is from West to East. The slope of the dip is so small, as we have noted, that at the first sizable rains, the flow exceeds the carrying capacity of the stream beds and flooding occurs. Thus, during the rainy season from May through September, [132] during which from 85-90% of the annual rain occurs, there is a constant tendency to flood, while during the driest months from December through March, not more than a total of 3 inches falls, and the rivers and landscape dry up often totally, presenting desert-like conditions. Because the topography of the central Cinaruco area is not level in large areas, and even in the flat parts, is raised above the level of the streams, flooding occurs more because of accumulated rain in low spots where it cannot drain than from overflow from streams. The streams themselves are swollen and in places overflow their banks for short distances before they are enclosed by the higher terrain. The west-east dip of the land an the east-west prevailing winds combine to make surface land forms, such as sand dunes and creeks, called *caños* (Y. *doro*) run east and west also.

133 In the central Cinaruco area, the creeks on the north side of the river are contained in a sort of basin formed by a row of dunes, perhaps as high ● 137 as 100 feet above the neighboring savanas, almost 300 feet above sea level, running east and west for many miles at a distance of 3-5 miles from the Cinaruco. On the south side of such "ranges" of dunes, a creek like the Totúdoro is likely to be found. On its right bank, sometimes at some [134] distance back from the normal high water mark, it is contained by the edge of the flat, sandy, coarse-grassed savana, which is marked by a continuous

1 [for footnote see category 116, p. 42 -- Analyst]

narrow band of soft, red-brown, heavy pebbles, sometimes agglomerated into chunks as large as a man's head. These, the only stones of this area, are entirely absent to the north-east and are technologically useless. Between these bands, which appear to represent flood levels or banks of older streams into which the present beds have been incised, and the streams themselves, low-lying areas are found which are soggy to a depth of a couple of inches above a clayey-sandy hardpan, and are covered with a sleezy layer of organic remains. Grasses appear slightly less barren here than in the areas beyond the pebble banks, the savanas proper. 133 134 [137]

The savanas run east-west for miles and may be one or more miles wide, broken here and there by either strips of dunes or patches of woods, called *montes* (Y. *hôi*), growing in somewhat saucered hollows which may once have been parts of stream beds. On the upper level savanas (Y.*ciri*), the soil is largely sandy, with occasional scatterings of pebbles at the juncture with the lower savana level 12 to 15 feet below it. Grasses are course, tough, long-rooted, and sparse, giving a barren, yellow appearance even in mid-rainy season. Only a few scrubby trees are seen on the open moors, mostly in wetter spots. These sandy savanas have long since been leached of practically all mineral content, as soil tests show.[2] The savanas constantly tend to lose their finer particles of soils, which are deposited near the streams where the latter have cut down a few feet into the surface of the savana. Thick and rich soil layers are, thus created. It is in such layers that soils mechanically more suitable for horticulture combine with a water supply which suffices not only in the wet season, but also provides a dry-season water table accessible to long-rooted flora. This combination fosters the growth of gallery forests, here, which constantly add humus to the very limited areas of better soils provided in this habitat. The width of these layers depends on the depth of the stream's incision and the amount of flow as well as on the presence and relative distance of the dunes and the high and low savanas from the streams, and on the slope and width of the low savana next to the stream. Maximum width of these layers occurs where the streams are more incised and the slope from the higher savana to the streams is a steady descent, so that drainage occurs without flooding and waterlogging, while the dry-season water-table is not too far below. Under any other conditions, these places are narrow, or may almost disappear. Thus, the mouths of *caños* have narrow or no strips of gallery forest since the level of the savana is little above that of the stream, and little soil accumulates at the same time that flooding is heavy. On the upper reaches of streams, *caños* are little incised, the slope from the high savana is insufficient to have deposited much soil, and the forest again disappears. Thus only the median stretches of streams are well-forested and it is only in these areas that horticultural soils are available. Only the *montes*, those depressions in the savana surfaces, which, though above permanent water, nevertheless are nearer the water table than the surrounding savana, provide other suitable, if dry, areas for planting. Here too are found tall tropical hardwood forests which somewhat enrich their own soils by a very thin layer of humus. 137 134 [133]

[2] [for footnote see category 116, p. 42--Analyst]

area is only such in reference to the presence of a given technology. The presence of such a technology is not guaranteed in any particular culture by any historical, evolutionary, geographical, or ecological necessity. Its presence may entail a particular historical explanation or a general evolutionary one. In any case, its absence entails the absence of the use of certain resources whose presence we can observe only in retrospect. 311

Other resource areas besides those utilized because of the presence of horticulture among the Yaruro become available by their possession of hunting, gathering, and fishing technologies, as well as recently acquired animal husbandry in the form of pig-herding. Hunter animals include deer, armadillo, capybara, paca, peccary (?), iguana, and a number of birds (see Table II, p. 4)[1]. These are variously distributed spatially according to the specific ecological niches for which they are adapted. Thus deer are apparently usually found dispersed in the somewhat damper, low-lying savanas where grass is greener and water more available away from the scene of human activity. Armadillo are found distributed throughout the savana. Other species, however, such as the capybara, live near the edge of permanent waters, mainly the rivers. Alligators also live only in the rivers. The faunal carrying capacity of the savanas appears to be quite low in the Cinaruco llanos since foraging foods for larger game animals are sparse. It is important to note that not only is the overall carrying capacity governed by the minimum average food supply of the savanas in the florally more restricted dry season,[1] but the distribution of animals varies considerably from the wet to the dry season. In the latter, animals tend to cluster nearer the rivers or the widely dispersed water holes. Consequently, the locus of hunting must also shift seasonally (see Maps)[2]. Savana hunting techniques are neccessarily different from those used in procuring food in the rivers, whether hunting alligators or capybara, or, of course, fishing. There is some seasonal variation in the locus of fishing, too, although this is much less marked on the Cinaruco than on the freely-flooding streams of the flatter, more north-easterly savanas of the Apure llanos. In the rainy season, fish move up the larger streams into somewhat shallower waters where more plant and insect food is available to them. However, they are apparently unable to move up smaller streams which often have rapids-like stretches interrupting their course. Thus fishing in the rainy seasons is directed towards the larger creeks and away from the smaller creeks and the river itself, where the water has become too deep for successful fishing since the fish are scarcer and more difficult to see in the deep, swift currents of winter. In respect to animal husbandry, recently introduced pigs are pastured anywhere in the savanas but preferably next to the village or quite a distance from it, in either case far from the nearest gardens (Sp. *conuco*, Y. *tadó*), an effort which is rarely successful, since the pigs, in their wisdom, are among the main predators on the garden crops. Gathering may be carried out in the dry or the wet savana depending upon the plant food to be gathered, or it may be carried out near the creeks especially for the fruit of the moriche palm. The rivers do not appear to be used in gathering. 224 137 [221] 226 133 231 [241] 222

[1] [See pp. 35-37, category 116 --Analyst]
[2] [See pp. 40-41, category 102 --Analyst]
[17] [for footnote, see p. 42, category 116 --Analyst]

desert-like conditions in the other, temperature, sun, soil, and water-table conditions are such that plants will grow all year round, supplying a steady flow of vegetable foods to the people. The change of the water level in the rivers and in the water-table and the sharp increases and decreases of rain strongly affect the patterns of animal and plant life in the Yaruro environment. Annual cyclical variations in wind, humidity, and temperature are also quite marked. Plants and most especially animals, experience a kind of seasonal pulsation. As the rivers fill during the rainy season, the larger animals, such as the cayman, alligator, manati, and dugong, move upstream to somewhat shallower waters, where their food supply is easier of access. Fish also move upstream and even up small brooks, where this is possible. If the savannas flood, many fish swim out into the savannas where numerous insects and other foods are now to be found. The insects themselves multiply and are distributed farther and farther back from the rivers as the rains progress and the savanna floods widen. Meanwhile, foraging animals move farther from the rivers and ponds, and range over greater distances as the rains and the elevated water-tables foster greater plant food resources. Insects in part follow the animals, in part the vegetation as it wakens to winter life in the interfluves. As the dry season begins to return, the reverse process takes place, and all life concentrates nearer and nearer the permanent waters such as the big rivers and some lakes, or at points where the land surface is near enough the permanent water-table to maintain some vegetation, notably the gallery forests and the woodlots, called *montes* in Spanish. Thus one may ideally describe a summer and a winter organization of the habitat. The incidence of resources varies accordingly, and consequently so do the technological activities and tasks to be done. In the dry season, there is a marked increase of gathering, particularly of roots and seeds which appear to store starches for dry season use in the wet season, whereas fruits appear mainly in the rainy season. Hunting increases in the dry season when animals are more highly concentrated in and near the rivers and tributary brooks and streams. Fishing also increases in the dry season as the waters become shallower, less grass-choked, and no longer laden with muds from upstream erosion which makes it impossible to see the fish. Garden production appears to decrease in summer as the dry season precludes growing some crops, such as pineapples, altogether, and reduces the possibility of growing sugar cane and corn.

Despite this marked seasonality, the habitat conditions of both seasons resemble each other in certain formal respects vital to our argument.[10] First, at any given moment of either season, from the point of view of work organization, the resources are what we may call dispersive. Thus, in mid-rainy season, swiddens are to be found dispersed along the streams and brooks flowing into the rivers and these adits are distributed irregularly over the land within a distance of 4—5 miles of the river. Even low slip-off slopes of the river may be used for growing sugar cane in the wet season, though they are too dry in the dry season. Game, such as tortoise, armadillo, deer, birds, and occasional other animals, are to be found throughout the savannas and about the river banks. Fish are found in most streams and in the rivers including those which have no useful banks for horticulture.

[10] Cf. Leeds, 1961, for further details and maps of the seasonal resource locations.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

[P. 1]

Antropológica

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THE IDEOLOGY OF THE YARURO INDIANS IN RELATION TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Anthony LEEDS

121

It is the purpose of this paper to show the correspondence between the principles of socio-economic organization of the Yaruro Indians and their ideology and to isolate some dimensions of ideology which may be used for comparative purposes. It is hoped that by further isolation of such categories it will eventually become possible to compare the structure and content of widely different ideologies, as we today are able to compare kinship systems, so that we may be able to recognize synchronic regularities of a functional order and diachronic regularities of an evolutionary sort. Yaruro religious and philosophical beliefs are reduced to a series of postulates or axioms about the nature of the universe and man in an analysis somewhat like Kluckhohn's study of Navaho philosophy and Opler's of Apache themes. (1). No Yaruro would be able to express the axioms nor see them in the logical series as presented here, yet each would recognize them, when couched in the phrasings of his own language, as referring to his particular *Weltanschauung*. The postulates are derived from direct statements by informants about the cosmos or about human living, from other verbal materials such as discussions of disease and social organization, and, more occasionally, from observed behavior. The generalized titles introducing each of the summarized postulates appearing at the end of the paper comprise the dimensions, here inductively arrived at, which may serve for cross-cultural analysis.

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The Yaruro Indians have been living in the savannas or llanos of Southern Venezuela for an unknown number of centuaries. They have developed a socio-economic life well-articulated to the geographical conditions of life.

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The gross geographical characteristics of the alternately desert-like and flood-covered llanos cause all the best economic resources to be concentrated

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(1) Kluckhohn (1949); Opler (1945).

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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137 along the west-to-east flowing rivers in ribbons some kilometers wide. Most significant fauna and flora of economic use occur in these ribbons. This ecological distribution of resources governs subsistence activities whether they be mainly hunting, fishing, collecting, or horticulture.

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433 Yaruro subsistence comprises all these activities. (2). Horticulture in the rainy season appears considerably to outweigh all other sources of food together, but in the dry season, hunting, fishing, and collecting perhaps equal or outstrip horticulture. In any case, slash and burn gardening of manioc, corn, plantains, and a number of lesser crops is by far the single most important economic activity. The technology is exceedingly simple in all aspects of
[442] production, the main tools being the machete and digging stick. The most elaborate technology occurs in the conversion of food into edibles and in the manufacture of hammocks, pottery, objects of wood such as canoes, and woven containers of all types.

462 The economic organization displays a sharp division of labor between men's and women's work. Men do all hunting and fishing, make all objects of wood, haul lumber and householding materials, make hammocks, and carry out the heavy labor of gardening. Women do most of the collecting of roots, seeds, and fruits. Since collecting contributes a substantial portion of the food
[222] supply in summer, woman's contribution, here, is of considerable communal importance. Women's work, a continuous activity from dawn to dusk, is, first, the conversion of raw foodstuffs into edibles. Second, women make all pottery, mats and baskets, the manioc squeezers, and much of the cord used to make hammocks. Another important contribution of women is their help in harvesting in the gardens. Men sometimes help the women with the cookery.

[476] Men may work alone, in groups of 2 or 3, or in larger groups on rare occasions. No occasion exists for all men to work at a single task since there is no technological need for it. Women's work groups for collecting or household-
[592] ing are of similar size. Work group alignments are often based on choice or accident but in other instances coresidence and kinship are determinants. The household, however, constitutes the only really necessary cooperative group for production. The mān is a funnel for produce which the woman converts to

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[122]

(2) The present description applies to the Cinaruco River Yaruro where the major part of the writer's field work, supported by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, was done. The Capanaparo River Yaruro were reported by Petrullo (1939) and Le Besnerais (1948) as being hunters and gatherers, although Le Besnerais observed small horticultural patches which he claimed were diffusions from Venezuelan farmers which had occurred recently. Le Besnerais in 1954 states directly that they were horticulturalists, omitting any mention of possible diffusions from Venezuelans. The passing mention of horticulture by Fissoon (1947) confirms the present writer in his opinion that, although horticulture may be more restricted on the Capanaparo than on the Cinaruco and Cunaviche-Arauca (where the writer also spent several weeks) which are not discussed at all by Petrullo or Le Besnerais, nevertheless, the absence of horticulture is probably not aboriginal with the Yaruro as has been suggested by Kirchhoff (1948, p. 456). Rather the restricted gardening is a result of ecological conditions on the Capanaparo which are less favorable to horticulture than on the neighboring rivers, combined with extremely violent acculturation, including large-scale massacres of natives. The only other possibility, in my opinion, is, that horticulture was introduced by the missionaries in the early part of the
[797 Eighteenth Century, which is certainly the period when the Yaruro first became
177] acquainted with iron tools (cf Lodares, 1922).

/8 cont./

114 174 [177 241 197]

5. This paragraph had been published when we learned of Anthony Leeds' articles (see "infra" IV List...42 and 43). The latter considers that agriculture, which exists among the Yaruro, as we acknowledge further along, was introduced by missionaries at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

descendants of the first inhabitants, hunters and gatherers who invaded South America at the beginning of the Neolithic Age, as Father Cooper suggests, or are they groups of Indians who after diverse vicissitudes have degenerated and adapted their civilization to a new way of life, as Levi-Strauss insists?"

121 Immigrants or not, hunters, fishers, and gatherers who evolved, or agriculturists who regressed, we shall not make a choice here between these alternatives and shall limit ourselves to presenting two observations which, gone into more deeply, will eventually permit opting in favor of one of the theses before us.

[137 241] 1) The tropical savanna inhabited by the Yaruro, as a consequence of the absence of extensive forests, is hardly propitious for primitive agriculture. The latter could, however, be carried out there on a small scale.

114 121 241 The Yaruro, in fact, and contrary to Vicenzo Petrullo's observations, are not only gatherers, fishers, and hunters, but also practice agriculture, in general on land cleared in the forest corridors. Petrullo probably did not observe this aspect of their way of life (6) because he carried out his investigations

6. We made, moreover, the identical error in the course of our first investigations (see "infra" IV List...40).

at the height of the dry season--when the soil /9/ is no longer

/11 cont./
773 out of reach of the waters, having refused to shelter themselves
825 on an elevated knoll as Ijiai ordered them to do. The latter, to punish them, condemned them and all their family to become "monos and araguatos who will eat henceforth," he told them, "leaves, fruit, chiga (18), etc...."

[137] [252]

18. Chigo grain (Campsiandra comosa), from which the Yaruro apparently extract flour.

The origin of the chiglíre is illustrated on its part by the text reproduced next:

1st version (literal translation)

"Once upon a time, when the Kuma still lived on earth, an old Otomaco pume (19). The Kuma had a little gourd

19. In Yaruro: man or Yaruro.

full of mosquitos (20) and plaga (21) and one day the Otomaco

[137]

20. Diurnal wounding gnats (Similium haemapotum Malloch), in Venezuelan.

21. Nocturnal mosquitoes, in Venezuelan.

asked her: "What is this, grandmother?" "No, son," she answered him, "do not try to uncork it because they are Ijiai's sons. If you uncork it, /12/ the little beasts will eat you." The Otomaco, the old pume, was stubborn and in an inattentive moment of the Kuma uncorked the little receptacle near a river. In an instant he was covered with bites and threw himself into the water. Then Ijiai said to him that for

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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142 and if not jet black, chestnut in color. The following table gives the measurements of practically every adult Yaruro met with:

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

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EL BURON

● 141

Sex	Approximate age	Height	Sitting height	Head length	Head breadth	Cephalic index	Zygomatic breadth	Symbols refer to hair samples (unstudied)
		Cm	Cm	Cm	Cm		Cm	
F.	20	144.5	75	17.3	15.2	87.9	13.3	F1a.
F.	25	153.5	78.5	16.5	14.6	78.9	13.1	F2a.
F.	25	146	75	16.7	14	74.9	13.6	F3a.
F.	13	149	77	17.2	15.2	88.4	13.2	F4a.
F.	40	151.5	83.5	17.7	14	79.1	13.2	F5a.
Average	28.6	148.9	78.0	17.9	14.6	81.8	13.2	
M.	30	164.5	85	17.8	15	84.3	13	M1a.
M.	30	158.6	80.3	17.7	15.3	86.4	13.8	M2a.
M.	30	158.6	81	18.7	14.7	78.6	13.9	M3a.
M.	30	162.5	81	19.3	15	77.7	13.8	M4a.
Average	30	160.6	81.8	18.4	15.0	81.8	13.6	

LAGUNOTE

F.		153	73.8	19	14	77.8	12.7	F1b.
F.		146.8	73.4	16.3	13.6	83.4	13.6	F2b.
F.		142	71	17.5	14.5	82.9	13.1	F3b.
F.		147	72.7	17.7	14	79.1	13	F4b.
F.		150.3	74.4	17.4	13.8	79.3	11.6	F5b.
F.		157	79.4	18.4	14.2	77.2	13	F6b.
F.		150.3	81.4	17.6	14	79.5	12.5	F7b.
F.		150.5	78.2	17.8	14.5	81.5	13.7	F8b.
F.		144.3	78.4	18.6	14.4	77.4	12.7	F9b.
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M.		162.4	84.2	18.5	14.4	77.8	13.9	M1b.
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M.		163.9	83.1	16.2	14.7	90.7	14.5	M3b.
M.		166.2	81.5	18.7	15	80.2	13.4	M4b.
M.		159.4	79.3	18.8	14.3	76.1	12.8	M5b.
M.		154.5	76	18.7	15.1	80.7	13.7	M6b.
M.		152.	73.6	18	14.2	78.9	13.2	M7b.
Average		159.3	79.6	18.2	14.6	80.4	13.5	

MERCEDES

F.		153.6	81	18.4	13.4	72.8	12.4	F1c.
F.		146.5	77.4	18	14.9	82.8	13	F2c.
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F.		147.9	72.5	17.7	13.7	77.4	13	F6c.
F.		136.6	70.2	17.6	13.8	78.4	11.9	F7c.
Average		148.4	76.5	18.3	14.2	77.7	12.9	
M.		167.4	84.1	19.9	15.7	78.9	14.7	M1c.
M.		168.4	87.7	19.9	17.3	86.9	15	M2c.
M.		160.2	83.2	18.5	16	86.5	15.2	M3c.
M.		164.4	87.7	18.5	15.2	82.2	14.1	M4c.
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M.		160.2	83.1	18.4	15.4	83.7	14.6	M6c.
M.		164.8	81.4	18.7	15.2	81.3	15.2	M7c.
M.		162.5	77.6	18.7	14.4	77.0	13.6	M8c.
Average		163.2	83.2	18.8	15.6	83.0	14.6	

N. B.—Hair samples of children.

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Measurements

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LAGUNOTE

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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> The color of the peoples of the Orinoco commonly is dark, but somewhat reddish. It is true that some tribes, for example the Otomachi[1] and the Guami[1], incline toward black. But they are of such a color, nevertheless, that there is no one among them who can be said to be similar to the Negroes, whose color they abhor. Generally the tribes close to the Orinoco like the Zaruri (Jaruros), and the Quaquari[1] are brown; even more whitish are the inhabitants of the interior, and of the forests. Whitish are the Maipuri, some Tamanachi, and above all the Macchiritari, and the Oji.[1]

The most striking thing in the appearance of the Yaruros is the skin condition referred to by the Racionales as "pintado," painted. When a Yaruro is first afflicted, some patch of his skin will become dry and almost sooty black in color. This will gradually lose all pigment and become as light as the skin of a white man. Practically every individual of the band I met at El Buron showed this patchy skin. The appearance is analogous to that of being profusely covered with [146] freckles. This condition does not affect the health of the individual in any way. By the Racionales it is attributed to the habit of eating crocodile meat and crocodile eggs. The Yaruros give no explanation for it.

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516 The Yaruros seemed to be ambidextrous. In a group of approximately 150, I counted 6 cases of definite left-handedness, but generally, the left hand is used with a certain amount of dexterity. In addition to using the hands, the toes are used to pick up objects; for instance, if the man wishes to pick up his bow from the ground he will not stoop, but will pick it up with his toes and raise it to the level of his hands.

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. Yaruro bowman. The arrow is held to the string between the forefinger and thumb. The middle and fourth finger help pull the string back. 2. Crocodile meat is a staple food. The legs and tail have been cut off to make carrying easier. 3. Yaruros of Laguneta wearing parts of author's towels for breechclouts.

(End Plate 2)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

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1, 2, 3. As soon as the night chill is dispelled the men leave to hunt and the women to gather roots and seeds. The equipment of the women consists of basket carried with a tump band across the forehead, and digging stick. Children are carried astride across the hip or in a carrying net. The aboriginal clothing of the Yaruro women is the girdle shown in these photographs, now worn even if the individual possesses a camisola.

(End Plate 8)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. The shaman Landaeta with daughter and wife. Note the embroidered breechclout on the man and paint on the face of the figure at the left. 2. Yaruro man making hammock string. Note the typical sitting posture of the Yaruro. 3. Two little girls wearing girdles. 4. Yaruro woman with aboriginal costume. 5. The figure on the left is a girl. The figure on the right is a boy. Note the difference between the girdle worn by the girl and the breechclout worn by the boy.

(End Plate 15)

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46 433 sacre, the labor force actually observed in "my" group was a little more than 25% of that number, or 18, and neighboring groups were generally still smaller. These 154, 67, and especially the actual 18 workers, even if, at any given moment, *all* were working at subsistence activities, would be distributed over various parts of the 110 square miles of territory under the kind of dispersive habitat and technological conditions described. They are in fact so thinly scattered as to preclude any sort of continuing managerial functions.

V

241 433 A consideration of the forms of the harvest surplus[29] is relevant to our discussion. Harvest surpluses must be considered with respect both to individual subsistence resources and to all subsistence resources taken together. In the annual cycle, there is considerable variation in the amount produced of any given crop, except for sweet and bitter manioc which together constitute perhaps 40% of the annual food supply of the Yaruro. Manioc produces throughout the year. Given that the manioc-growing areas are widely dispersed and that considerable labor is drawn from manioc areas by still more dispersed resources, it follows that most work units for manioc gardens will consist of only one or two men, each having their own swidden or sharing it with one or two others to supply themselves and their immediate families throughout the year. As might be expected, land tenure and land usage patterns are in accord with this inference. Occasionally small oscillations in the manioc crops may produce small harvest surpluses. These, at least nominally, belong to the man in whose swidden they grow and are his for disposal. The quantities, however, are exceedingly small, and present no problems of storage or disposal necessitating more centralized supervision and allocation. Most other resources display a similar pattern though to an even smaller degree.

262 Fish are obtainable, for the Cinaruco Yaruro, all year round with almost equal ease, though the Palmariteños have a more difficult time because of the grassy and muddy waters in the rainy season. Hunting windfalls and large pigs are the only animal sources which present harvest surpluses of any size. However, these are small enough so that they last at most two or three days, and they are so irregular both as to occurrence and as to personnel involved that no regular centralized [251] institutional mode of handling them is entailed. The virtual absence of meat storage

[171] For example, in the Trobriand Islands, in a good year, all the yams harvested cannot be eaten at once, nor can they be stored. Some portion of the crop is then lost by spoilage. We may construct, in terms of calories or other significant food values, two ratios:

[146 464] $\frac{C_h}{C_p}$ $\frac{C_c}{C_h}$

C — Calories
c — consumed
p — potential
h — harvested (= available for use)

The first may be used as a measure of the efficiency of the productive capacity of the technology; the second as a measure of the efficiency of the distributive capacity of the technology.

[29] The technological, producers, and harvest surpluses are defined in Harris, 1958, [114] and implied in Harris, 1959. They are dealt with in detail with respect to the Yaruro in Leeds, 1961. Other relevant discussions of surplus are found Sahlins, 1958; Jacobs and Stern, 1952, Ch VI.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

516 high and the hips carried well forward. As they walk along the soft sands they do not lean forward as a white man would to push against the yielding sands. The torso is held erect on the pelvis and the weight is shifted from hip to hip with the legs making a gliding motion beneath. In this way the walk is really a shifting of weight from one foot to another, the foot being planted almost flat on the ground. I noticed that on a hard trail the ball of the foot strikes the ground before the heel. They make a graceful picture as they walk about.

When sitting they double their legs under them, a position difficult to assume unless one has practiced it from childhood. The favorite sleeping posture is on the side with the knees drawn up close to the mouth. When sitting on the sands, if forced to pick up an object lying some distance away, the women especially would walk on all fours to it and bring it back without rising to a standing posture. In this manner I have seen women pick up firewood lying 50 yards away from the fire.

482 854 Loads are carried by men and women in nets suspended by a band from the forehead. Young children, who generally accompany their mothers on their food-gathering expeditions, are carried astride the hip, feeding at the breast as the mother goes about her work.

● 147 The physical endurance of the Yaruros is rather low. A day of hard paddling at a speed greater than their ordinary style, and they are exhausted. It is difficult to say whether this is due to their poor diet or simply to low racial vitality. It is certain that the American primitive is not as acclimated to the tropics as the Negro who, living on the same food as the Indian, will nevertheless outwork the latter.

177 The Yaruros today have been pushed to the Capanaparo and the Sinaruco Rivers. Rarely do they dare to wander far away from the banks of these two rivers. Since the days of the missions the indigenous tribes have been the victims of exploitation, even to the extent of enslavement. They are free booty for anyone who can catch them. The ranchers have sought to enslave the Yaruros, but an even more general sport has been the taking of the Yaruro women. Bandits and revolutionary groups sweeping along the llanos have not eased the Yaruro problem. Crocodile hunters, upon meeting with a band of Yaruros, will demand their women, and if the Yaruros should be reluctant to turn them over, death may be the price. I was told both by the Racionales, that is the peons, and the Yaruros, that about one month before I arrived in their midst about 150 Yaruros had been rounded up and killed by the local "Jefes Civiles." The Yaruros are a hunted people, and they know that their extermination is imminent.

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

252 462 successful if the men do not come back with a number of crocodiles, the men build larger fires, upon which the crocodiles are laid. As the hide cracks the animals are split open, the meat is stuck on spits and upon reaching a stage of being warm it is eaten. Contrary to popular ideas that crocodile eaters only consume the tail, the Yaruro eat the entire animal but stop short at the entrails, which are thrown to the dogs. However, they accuse the neighboring Guahibos of eating the entrails as a special delicacy. Turtle meat and eggs are often boiled. [261]

263 261 Salt is known to these people but it is by no means considered an indispensable condiment in their food. In the only historical reference we have to the Yaruros they are referred to as clay eaters. Today, even though they are in occasional touch with civilized communities, the salty clay banks are still their only source of supply for salt. The food is generally eaten saltless, since they have no means of purchasing salt from the Racionales and they do not know how to make salt from the clay. As a result, they obtain the amount of salt necessary to life by chewing clay which they pick up in their wanderings over the plains. Food which I prepared with salt was always left untouched by them as being unsavory. In this respect, therefore, they act like the cattle and the deer which can be seen over the plains licking salt clay banks. [317]

STORING OF FOOD

251 The only foods that can be kept for any length of time in the lowland tropics are the roots and seeds. In the rainy season even this is impossible. The Yaruros during the dry season leave caches of changuango on various sandbars. They dig pits into which they place the roots. The hole then is filled and soon the wind will leave no mark indicating that the sand has been disturbed. In some cases where the landmarks are plain, and the Yaruros expect to return in a day or two, no markers are placed anywhere. But if they expect to be delayed, or the sandbar is so large that they might forget the exact spot of the cache, they will thrust a stick into the ground at some distance away. Apparently by sighting with this stick and some other chosen point, they are able to locate the food store. However, on a number of occasions I saw the Yaruros march to a place on the sands with certitude and excavate changuango. In such cases I saw no markers. [151]

In similar fashion they may store turtle eggs, provided they expect to return within a few hours. Baskets and other objects may also be left in the sand, to be retrieved when they are needed. Asabache, which is found in certain localities, may be gathered in quantities and stored until it is to be used.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

There is little to be found in the literature on the Yaruros. Among the missionaries they had the reputation of being too wild to tame. They were accused of being parricides and were called eaters of clay. The Tamanachi and the Otomacos seemed to have had a more complex economic culture and received much more attention from the missionaries; but the Yaruros, due to their own shyness, were considered to be scarcely human, and little was done with them. They seemed to be especially sensitive to any scolding or maltreatment. Gumilla, writing in 1791, says "Their fear, completely beyond reason, is the root of their inconstancy and is the dismay of all the writers: more delicate than glass; if they feel that the missionary has looked at them fixedly, if they hear a word less gentle, it is sure that they will run away and, moreover, will take with them the entire family." This statement may be an indication of the early treatment received by the Yaruros at the hands of the soldiers and missionaries. It is a fear which has persisted down through the centuries and is no less intense today.

Linguistically the Yaruros do not seem to be connected with any other South American group. On the basis of a few limited vocabularies several attempts have been made to link the Yaruros to the Saliva or the Betoya. An examination of the text produced in this study will show no obvious affinity to other language families. However, this is a matter for future study.[1]

ARCHEOLOGY

The llanos of Apure have become legendary for many things, even archeologically. In the entire region no excavations have been conducted, but stories are current of the variety of archeological remains. The Calzada is probably the most famous of them all. According to verbal descriptions obtained from geologists and other visitors to the llanos, the Calzada has the appearance of an elevated roadbed running eastward for many miles from some point at the foot of the Andes. In it and in small mounds close by it has been reported that pottery and skeletal material have been found. There is no doubt that archeological remains are primitive. As we traveled about the country we found that most of the squatters had archeological pieces of varying degrees of interest. At La Trinchera there were even two amateur archeologists. One thing is certain, the archeological material which was uncovered, and which is being reported in another paper, has no relation to any of the Yaruro material. It is therefore certain that the Yaruros have not always occupied the region.

[1] See Bibliography.

1: Petrullo E-8 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

772 considered to be their ancestorial relatives; that once upon a time
[173] the Yaruros were very many and now very few; that the Yaruros had been visited with great calamities the preceding year, and many of their people had died through sickness and other destructive forces.

123 Also, I learned that, though I could gather inklings of a rich spiritual culture and a good cross section of the material phases from this band, I had to go farther down river to meet the spiritual leaders of the remnants of this race if I wanted to reach the heart of the Yaruros' religion, cosmology, mythology, and ethics.

791 In all of the primitive groups with which I have come in contact,
123 certain individuals are recognized as the leaders and authorities, especially on such matters as religion and social organization. The younger people hesitate and often refuse to discuss such matters altogether, but age alone is not enough to qualify an individual as the mouthpiece of the group. The Yaruros were no exception. As soon as they grasped that I wanted to know a great deal about their history and culture they urged me to talk to "Landaeta", their leader and great "musico" or shaman. He, with his family, was hunting on the lower Capanaparo. They offered to guide me to him. Accordingly, we journeyed downstream by moonlight to avoid the heat of the day, and as I subsequently discovered, to avoid meeting with crocodile hunters.

361 About noon the next day we sighted several empty canoes drawn up
482 on the bank, and knew that there must be more Yaruros nearby. We
462 landed on the sandy beach and awaited their return. They came early in the afternoon, the men carrying turtles and crocodiles slung on poles, the women with baskets filled with changuango, leaning forward as they walked, looking not unlike grotesque apes under their heavy loads; and also, little children carrying their share of food,
● [152] straggling behind. Upon seeing me they were frightened, but did not run away.

123 My Yaruro paddlers acted the part of mediators perfectly, for soon afterwards we were all embarked and moving downstream to join the main body of Landaeta's band which, I was told, was encamped
[152] several miles downstream. Their good humor almost amounted to
462 gaiety. The three canoes moved steadily down the river, the men paddling hard, and the women sitting quietly and casting shy inquisitive glances in my direction.

361 We found Landaeta and his people on a large exposed wind-swept beach. There was the white sand, the strong wind blowing from the east raising it into dust clouds, and the intense glare from river and sand; a few water jars, a few baskets, several refuse heaps with buzzards feeding at them, canoes drawn up on the beach, and some

1:Petrullo E-4 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

Without the aid of the Yaruros the crossing of the Orinoco would have been impossible. They are expert canoeists and safely ferried our baggage to the other side. Believing that I could handle a canoe, for by this time according to the Yaruros there wasn't anything that I could not do, since their gods had told them that I was one of them, I was asked to cross in an empty canoe, with the help of a 12-year-old boy. The canoe had several gaping holes in stern and bow about 10 inches in diameter. With serious misgivings, I embarked with the youngster paddling in the bow. Cross-currents, winds, and whirlpools made the half hour a very exciting one. Several times I gave up hope of crossing safely or of returning to our starting point, only to be encouraged by the laughter of my young companion who, when we were in extreme danger, would turn and grin happily at me. However, we crossed safely and soon afterwards we hoisted sail, which consisted of my mosquito net tied to an improvised mast, and with the east wind behind us and with gunwales even with the water, we went flying up the Capanaparo. Our sailing was far from being monotonous, for every few minutes it was necessary to use strength and skill to keep the canoe upright. Three days later we reached Landaeta's camp.

The trip to Urbana had been exciting and interesting, but I brought back with me ulcers on my feet which incapacitated me for the rest of my stay with the Yaruros. My feet, swollen to immense proportions and with open sores, refused to support my body, and I was forced to forego any further trips, short or long. My life consisted from now on, for about six weeks, of lying on the sand or in a hammock, surrounded by my affectionate friends, talking about the universe, the Yaruros, and their ideas.

In order to make it possible for Landaeta and his people to stay with me on this particular beach rather than move about in search of food, I turned over all of my food stock to them, which was consumed in two days, and thereafter they shared equally with me the products of the hunt. From that day on, I was completely in their care and Landaeta never left me. The burden of hunting fell on the younger men who went out every morning in search of crocodiles and turtles, of honey, palm nuts, roots, and fish. My illness was of great concern to the Yaruros. They did what they could to make me comfortable and they went to special trouble to bring titbits, such as honey and nuts. Landaeta and a woman shaman sang over me often. This illness was a fortunate event in a way, for it permitted an uninterrupted intimacy between us.

There is a sharp contrast between the simple primitive material culture of the Yaruros and the wealth and poetic intensity of the spiritual. The casual visitor would see merely a naked people plying

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19 sia RC

521 performances would be given which would last until sunrise. Therefore there was an intense exchange of ideas for relatively long times with no rest.

361 The time came when Landaeta became a little restless. He was not accustomed to camping on one spot for more than two or three days at a time and he himself had done no hunting since I had joined them. Besides, the men and women had to forage farther and farther away for food. If my physical condition had permitted, it would have been well to continue living with them, moving from place to place, as is normal.

123 152 However, I knew I had to return to civilization quickly. The effect of my announcement on my hosts was interesting, and touching. It will be recalled that I had appeared in their midst as a stranger and a potential enemy and it was through a fortuitous event that I was accepted by them, not only as a friend but as a relative who worshipped the same gods. Since then I had actually been given an affectionate place in their emotional lives and they were sorry to see me go. They understood the reasons that were making it urgent for me to leave, especially understandable was the fact that my "wife and child" who had not seen me for many months were waiting for me to return. Nevertheless, they expressed sorrow, a certain amount of listlessness began to appear and they would come to me and sit by my side, telling me that they would be a rather lonesome people after I had gone; that they liked to talk about religious matters, and that when I would no longer be there with them they would have no one to talk things over with. This attitude affected the men and women in a very curious way. We had very little food in the camp, but still they would not go out and gather fresh quantities. And when I urged them to do so they answered that the knowledge of my coming departure made them very sad, and consequently they did not have the proper spirit to gather food, or even to eat.

609 511 These people have very little in the way of excess goods. Each family has a few baskets, perhaps a water jar, a mat or two, scraps of clothing and their tools, nothing more. And these generally were in very poor condition from long use. Knowing that I wanted to take back with me some of these things, they became busy weaving hammocks, making basketry and even pottery, so that I would take back to my "wife and child" objects new and well-made. This reaction on their part was spontaneous and they all expressed the idea that I should take back with me only new, well-made articles to remember them by; so for about a week before my departure there was intense activity around camp.

The day of my departure finally arrived and I said good-bye. There was no ceremonial wailing as had attended my departure from the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Life Cycle

BIRTH

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773 Biological conception is clearly understood. One of the myths tells of Kuma's desire to have a child. She asked Puaná to impregnate her in the thumb, but Puaná, who in these myths appears both as trickster and wise man, told her that such impregnation would result in an overpopulation and advised her to allow herself to be impregnated in the ordinary way. She allowed herself to be persuaded, and Hatchawa was born. It may be worth noting that though Hatchawa was the issue, he is referred to as the grandson of Kuma. Whether this inconsistency is to us merely an unexplainable situation, or whether it has greater significance, I was not able to find out.

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262 When delivery is imminent a shelter is built for the prospective mother, apart from all other people. Her husband's moiety brothers build a similar structure for him also apart from the camp. The woman is tended by the women of her family and moiety and the husband by the men belonging to his moiety. Both abstain from eating fish, turtle, and crocodile. Iguana and deer meat and the usual vegetable diet are allowed. During delivery and for 10 days after the husband lies in a hammock and engages in no physical activity. Ordinarily he would sleep on the ground. His moiety brothers bring him food. After 10 days he visits his wife but continues to live alone and apart for a month. Now he hunts in the company of other men and is expected to supply his wife with food. The food taboos continue in effect for the full month for both husband and wife. Strict continence is practiced by the husband. When the month is over the family is reunited.

MENSTRUATION

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841 The Yaruro's actual attitude toward menstruation is not one of fear or wonder. The phenomenon is accepted much as it is among us, as a disturbing but unavoidable event. In the literature on primitive peoples it is often reported that menstruation is held to be a dangerous period for the woman and for the people. One may question the correctness of this observation, if observation it be, with the suspicion that because certain taboos are observed fear is the motivating response. I have found the observance of taboos among a dozen South American tribes with whom I have had personal contact but there has been no indication of actual fear. One wonders if such events have not been too highly dramatized and rationalized by the civilized visitor rather than by the primitives.

841 Among the Yaruros the first period in a girl calls for special treatment at the hands of the women. The girl's face is covered with a

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

LIFE AFTER DEATH

761 775 To the modern Yaruro death is a desirable event. It holds great promise rather than terror for him. He believes that the dead will continue to live in the Land of Kuma. That is, in the land of the Mother Goddess, where he will be restored to a life of pristine happiness in the world which is identical with that which existed before the coming of the white man. In that world, in the Land of Kuma, he will have freedom to hunt if he pleases, he will have an abundance of food, he will have horses, cattle, and tobacco. He will lead a life of eternal bliss, watching over the affairs of his relatives and descendants on this earth, visiting them occasionally through the shaman and conversing with them. Apparently his only wish is that his people will die and join him in the Land of Kuma at the earliest possible time. A better idea of this life after death can be obtained by turning to the chapters on the shamanistic performances and legends.

PLAY

522 ●152 The spirit of play is known to the Yaruros. In fact, they laugh so much and so often that one might get the impression that they take life very lightly. For instance, their response to any accident is laughter. A man may fall out of his canoe or hurt himself in some way, or a woman may break a pot; any such accident is taken as a fine joke by everyone else.

616 606 There is inner-moiety and joking relationship, but members of one moiety do not play pranks on members of the other moiety. In fact, even in camp the mother-in-law will keep aloof from any levity engaged in by the son-in-law, and vice versa.

533 535 524 In the dancing and singing there is gaiety, especially when Puaná visits his people. Then is a time for much laughter and joking. However, there is no formalized play among the Yaruros. Anciently it is reported that the Otomacos had a ball game. Gilii has given us a description of it.[6]

857 462 861 The most common form of play among the children is an imitation of the activities of the grown-ups. The little boys will pretend that they are hunting and fishing or canoeing; the little girls will pretend that they are making pottery, basketry, or painting their bodies. The toys which the children use are miniature implements of hunting and food gathering. The only objects made differently for children to play with which are not an imitation of anything used by the adults are small clay figures representing human beings. These are arranged by the child in imitation of human beings dancing around

524 323 532

[6] If the Yaruros knew this ball game they have forgotten it since then.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

The first fact that holds our attention is that Yaruros are strongly ethically conscious. Every shamanistic performance is the means for the propagation of ethical teachings. The shaman, or as the Yaruros believe, the gods and their dead ancestors speaking through the shaman, admonish various individuals and lay down the law for proper conduct. They hold the threat also that misconduct will be displeasing to the mother goddess and as a result life with her will not be as pleasant as it would be if they followed her precepts in this world.

According to the Yaruro philosophy the world is, by its nature, good and it was created by Kuma as a good thing. If any evil exists it has been introduced by man, who have forgotten or come to disregard the laws laid down by the goddess. The world, if unsullied by men, is a perfect integration of the elements which function for the good of mankind. Unfortunately, at times men will disturb the structure. There is implied in this the existence of free will for mankind, since it can change or disturb what was created by Kuma. And if we have recourse to the legends, we find that perhaps the lower animals have free will also, although it is exercised by them much more rarely than by mankind.

Kuma appears also as the teacher of ethical laws. She told the people, told Hatchawa, and now tells the shamans: to live in peace with each other; to respect each other; to help each other; to live good lives; to take care of the parents-in-law and the children-in law. When the wife is ill or otherwise the mother-in-law should look after the needs of her son-in-law, although they do not speak to each other. The Yaruros will find recompense for such moral living after death. They are poor on this earth but will be rich like Kuma in the other world.

During my stay the women remained bashful, never speaking directly to me, and when I approached generally looking away. In the latter days they would laugh merrily as they fled. Their culture does not permit free social intercourse with man, but any request on my part relayed to them through their husbands or brothers was eagerly complied with, and with better than good humor.

All were helpful toward each other and there did not appear to be any dissension. Extreme care was taken that a person's rights and prerogatives were not infringed upon. The husband never seemed to request anything of his wife that did not lie in her province, and when strange demands were made to please me, entire freedom was given to the wife, or daughter, to do as it pleased her. Any misfortune, however slight or serious, that would produce some expression of anger among white people was met by the Yaruros with merry laughter. At night each family group lay on the sands

Most direct

622 [191 177] commands, in so far as I was able to observe, were made in Spanish![4] — essentially in acculturation contexts. In general, they concerned village care, small services, and the like. No occasion was observed of commanding older men, except for a married youth of 19, who was the youngest adult male in the village. The two or three commands he received during my stay went unnoticed, and, in one or two instances, were even directly contravened. The capitans of the Cinaruco river group and of Palmarito de Guachara both consistently complained that no one paid enough attention to them, and the Palmarito chief complained that he never was kept [571] sufficiently informed of events by his people. The fact is that people do pretty much as they choose in all important decision-making situations which do not involve the community at large, or the relationship of some member of the community or the entire group to outsiders.[5] In the former situation, the chief serves as a consultative funnel through which the community discussion pours back and forth until the community achieves some clear but unstated consensus upon which 622 community members can act, individually of course. Only in the situations dealing 648 with outside groups does the Yaruro capitanship emerge as a more developed [354] status which might metaphorically be described as a position similar to that of a minister of foreign relations. In behalf of his group, he talks with any representatives of outside groups, especially if they are non-Yaruro, and acts as gatherer of information and as channel of communication between the community and the outside entity. Even this is weakened, however, since it applies more by courtesy than by fact among the Yaruro themselves, and other members of the community may perform the same function even if to a somewhat smaller degree. It is also weakened in that no Yaruro is prevented from acting on his own with respect to non-Yaruro outsiders, and, in fact, many Yaruro do establish their own relationships with outsiders as a number of instances attested. Indeed, the rights of the individual members of the society to make their own decisions, at least internally if not also [682] externally, is insisted on. In one instance, a chief who took it upon himself to

[4] Commands and other stress situations, which generally appear to be uncongenial to the Yaruro and more overt as the people have been more subject to acculturation, seem [578] to elicit from the Yaruro Spanish responses rather than Yaruro ones. It is as though it [152] were not fitting to utter commands or express anger in Yaruro. Thus, the few times [191] noisy altercation was heard among the Cinaruco Yaruro, the language used was Spanish. The chief's commands and his overt anger were always expressed in Spanish, even if he had just before been speaking in Yaruro. Though anger may often be felt, it is not shown if the participants are expressing themselves in Yaruro. Thus, the chief scolded one of the village boys for riding one of the recently acquired burros — in Spanish; he ordered a 19-year old young man to do some task — in Spanish; he complained of the actions of one of the village elders in taking on the job of guide without first consulting him (though he would certainly have permitted it) — in Spanish.

[5] Cf. Leeds, 1960 a, with respect to the place of individual action in Yaruro society. [181] Though there is individual action, choice, and responsibility, these are all carried out as an [114] aspect of community organization and essentially with community affirmation. A person is not an individual set in counterpoint to his society — there is no polarity of individual-society, as we, in our culture, generally seem to conceive. Individualism in the latter sense does not exist among the Yaruro. The Yaruro should not be mistaken for an individualistic culture, as, I suspect, several of the cultures described as individualistic in Mead, 1937, should not have been.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

culture or themselves against a superior culture and ruthless "civilized" bandits. Their only consolation is Kuma and the Land of Kuma.

Nevertheless, being realists they not only continue their daily activities of hunting and gathering foods, but also in finding daily solace through their environment and the shamanistic contact with Kuma. The Yaruro is nature conscious. Perhaps his lonely existence has made him ecstatically responsible to the world about him, for often they talked of the beauty of various phenomena; but stronger than any such feeling is their sense of intimate relationship with the sun, the moon, the stars, their animal life. The falling stars at night are interpreted by them to be messengers sent by Kuma to encourage her people, the Yaruros; the moon is friendly, and on moonless nights the stars represent the crowds of their ancestors who live with Kuma. The wind blows incessantly and it blows to them the roar of the araguatos (the howlers), which, to them, represent distant relatives once human beings, but changed into monkeys by life in the trees at the time of the great flood; the toninos, frolicking at night in the water, are also another race who failed to climb the rope which Hatchawa let down to bring his people to the surface. It is in such a friendly world that the Yaruro literally sits, listens, and looks, almost communing with his environment. Perhaps it is not out of place to mention at this point that this reaction on the part of the Yaruros is not difficult to understand, that perhaps we ought not to rationalize this attitude of the Yaruro entirely on the basis of superstition or religious ideas; anyone who has lived on the plains, exposed day and night to nature, soon loses any feeling of lonesomeness. This response on the part of the Yaruros is shared by the llaneros, who do not seem to be so perfectly at ease as when they are alone in the plains.

THE YARURO UNIVERSE

According to the Yaruros the world has experienced a series of metamorphoses. Some of the events which have transformed the world from its original form are attributed to the direct intervention of the various gods and races of mankind, but others remain unexplainable.

How much of Yaruro cosmic ideas have been borrowed from the missionaries it is difficult to say at this point. Missionaries have been among them from time to time but the Yaruros have been abandoned so completely so many times that the result and confusion is difficult if not impossible to unravel—a thing which can be done only when we have thorough descriptive studies of the various tribes of the Columbian plains and the tribes of Guiana. The comparative ma-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

criticism of Kuma, and there is even an implication that she always acts with the greatest wisdom.

THE LAND OF KUMA

Kuma lives in the west, apparently beyond the horizon. In the month of March and in early April, about 9 o'clock in the evening, there is a glow in the western sky, a beautiful phenomenon, which the Yaruros explained is the reflection from Kuma's land. Its exact geographic position does not seem to be known and is as hazy as a Catholic's idea of the position of Heaven. For instance, we are told that the stars are both the lights from Kuma Land and the people from that land walking about at night, and yet the Land of Kuma is localized somewhere in the west.

This land is described sometimes as a vast and clean savanna, treeless and full of game, and at other times as a savanna with a huge town in which Kuma and her people live. This latter conception springs from the association the modern Yaruros have between wealth, comfort, power, and those material things which the civilized peoples possess. Towns are included among the products of the civilized. In the same way we find that although the Yaruros are a horseless people, Kuma and her people seem to have an abundance of horses. Apparently those things which are denied the Yaruros in this land are to be found in the next and shamanism is the means of expressing the longings of the living Yaruros.

THE LAND OF KIBEROH

In contrast with the beautiful world in which Kuma lives and to which all Yaruros expect to go, Kiberoh rules over a dark land inhabited by those unfortunate races of mankind left in the hole when the rope dropped by Hatchawa was broken by a too-heavy pregnant woman. Not much is known, nor is there much interest on the part of the Yaruros about this unpleasant region. However, this must not be taken that they have a belief in hell as Father Gumilla reported. According to this author the Yaruros believed in an evil spirit called Tighitighi. On the contrary, my informants identified Tighitighi merely as a large hawk which has no relation to the devil.

PUANÁ

Puaná stands out as the indulgent parent and teacher of Hatchawa. He is also the artisan who invented all of the implements now used by the Yaruros. He is conceived of as the great snake, and in fact is so portrayed on the gourd rattles of the shamans, yet there is a

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

the community may do the shaman's work if he chooses, just as any can travel to the other-world or commune with the gods, although, because of age, temperament, or individual taste, not every one does so. There were, in fact, two shamans among the nine men of the writer's village, as well as a number of men who cured and who occasionally sang verse intonations in the *tonghés* although they were not shamans. The shamans are no more than respected community members outside the ceremony. Here again we observe the egalitarianism and individual self-determinism which is so much a pattern of this culture.

The *tonghé* also clearly shows the relationships which prevail between men and gods. The shamans and the other adults of the village converse with the gods in great mutual respect. They do not manipulate them nor minister to them, nor implore them. Before the gods, they are in a position corresponding to active and adept junior members of the village before their elders and especially their lineal ascendants. Furthermore, in a very real sense, no individual person, *qua* person, deals with the gods. The community, with its religious catalyst, the shaman, is the unit of action. The only individual relations with the gods occur in dreams, unconsciousness, and death. Dreams about gods are made public by singing aloud in sleep, the experience of unconsciousness is recounted publicly, and death, too, becomes public because the dead man is accessible through the *tonghés*.

The directness of contact between man and gods again emphasizes the unity of cosmos, society, and man. Within this unity, the sharp division of a male sphere from a female sphere is found. These quite coordinate spheres, in the other-worlds as in the hither-world, in religion as in socio-economic life, are linked through the household.

In conclusion, I would like briefly to review the major dimensions of Yaruro ideology. We may state these as a set of propositions, each presenting a major dimension of the ideology.

1. Cosmic structure. ***The cosmos is static, limited, concrete, and internally continuous in that no barriers separate man and his society in the physical world from the nonphysical world.*** The parts of the universe together form a rather rigid, symmetrical, architectonic structure, although each individual Yaruro may vary the description of the whole to suit his particular taste. All parts are of roughly coordinate importance. The major motions of nature, such as thunder and lightning, the revolutions of sun and moon, are often embodied, personalized, and independently operating entities, moved by semi-human motivations.

2. The good. ***Goodness inheres generally in the cosmos as a system. The goodness manifests itself in understood causes and concretely and describably known parts of the cosmos which, whether places, persons, or things, are given exact locations.*** Conversely all known and localizable objects, persons, or places and understood causes are generally good.

3. The not-good. ***Evil, which is not polar to good, finds its locus in specific persons, things, or events inside or outside the cosmos, and is manifest in specific results. The underlying causes of evil, however, are inac-***

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

838 572 among ourselves. Also, it is true that these acts are never to be seen between man and woman. For instance, I remember young men loafing at my camp with their arm around each other's necks, and even clasped in a tight embrace face to face in each other's arms, though standing up. I never observed any physical sexual excitement, though.

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

861 858 There is no direct and organized teaching of the children. They learn from example and from the precepts laid down by the adults in discussions, generally held at night. Certainly the child is not made to feel that he is the center of attraction; rather he is tolerated, though watched with fond eyes by the adults. The children are never admonished to do this or that or negatively. It may be said that they are put into a pattern of behavior, and the bonds of this pattern are indeed close and strong. There is no breaking them as long as life lasts. It must not be thought that these bonds are felt and 181 that there is resentment toward them. The Yaruro is in a sense tremen- 156 dously individualistic, in that each individual is forced to depend on his own resources, but when it comes to group life he is merely a part of the whole.

861 851 The children are free to play, but from infancy they also share in the adult activities. A mother may make a basket, with the little daughter constantly beside her. As soon as the child is able she will help in the digging of roots, or placing them in the basket, or will help in the making of a basket, or the cooking, her share of the work gradually increasing as she grows older. However, a child is never told to do any work, but does so entirely imitatory of the adults and the older children, with complete freedom as well as free desire.

The boy in like manner imitates the older boys and the men. His games consist of constant practice with bow and arrow, but this play is done only in the late afternoon and in the evening. During the day, as soon as the child is able to do so it will accompany the mother or father in hunting for food, doing its share of the paddling, loading and unloading of the canoe, helping to carry the food, taking care of the dogs, and watching and trying to make bows and arrows, string, etc.

GROOMING

Yerkes writes of grooming as follows:

182 515 Grooming is used in this report to designate a pattern of social behavior whose essential features are visual examination, search and manipulation of the skin and hair of a companion with fingers and lips, removal of dirt, dandruff, scabs, parasites, and other extraneous materials, and their conveyance to the mouth of the groomer, whose lips, tongue, and jaws meanwhile may have

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

SHAMANISM

791 157 Prerequisites to successful shamanism are temperament, knowledge, and experience. It has often been stressed by field investigators that in matters of religion, as in matters of artistic expression, only certain types of personalities can achieve any success. In the case of the Yaruros, by temperament is meant the inclination and desire to become a shaman which perhaps is reducible to other factors of personality, and a neurotic make-up which will permit the tyro to experience religious phenomena. Since there is no set test which has to be passed in order to be recognized as a shaman the pretender can try to achieve recognition by his people until his very death, but if he lacks the necessary temperament his attempt is hopeless. A 791 554 shaman must have knowledge above that of his fellow tribesmen. He must know and understand thoroughly the history of his people and their mythology, he must be able to solve and settle ethical points that may come up on the basis of ancestral customs, he must know all the medicinal practices of his people, and the magical also. In short, he must be a savant and a leader, a person who will be morally respected. This knowledge he can acquire only through experience. The Yaruros say that he must acquire it through personal teaching from the gods, not through an intermediary but in actuality he learns, of course, from the older shamans whose place he will take eventually and from the rest of his people. He is supposed to sing behind a shaman for many years before he can hold performances of his own.

791 533 He must, of course, learn all the tricks of the trade, though by this is not implied that the shaman is conscious of practicing any legerdemain among his people, but there is a certain ceremonial pattern which must be mastered by the neophyte and which can only be mastered by practice over a long period of time. For instance, in singing there are undoubtedly a number of standardized songs, but what is more important is to learn the musical pattern and the pattern of phraseology that must be fitted to the music. Since in a shamanistic performance the shaman does not sing set songs but spontaneous ones which he composes, or as the Yaruros claim the gods compose, and sing through the shaman, it is essential that he have many years of experience. The importance of this is fully understood when it is considered that the shaman must sing without any pause or hesitation some six thousand stanzas in the course of a night's performance, varying his tune and words again and again. It seems reasonable to suppose that there must be form given to such performances which can be mastered by one following closely the performances of a particular shaman.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

791 Shamanism is not socially inherited, but we may suspect that biologically it is in many cases. There is no attempt made to train any particular child for shamanism except that naturally those children who stand in a close relationship to the current shaman, such as sons, daughters, neices, and nephews, have a better chance to take up the profession than others, from their daily close association with the only person from whom they can learn. The performances are never secret and the children are permitted to be present until they are too tired and go to sleep. As they grow older they will tend to participate in the performances to a greater extent until they are able to stay up all night and take their proper place in adult society. Naturally among the children some will be attracted to singing and dancing with their elders more than others and these will tend to place themselves as close to the shaman as they can until they are of such age that they can be of actual assistance to him, when, if they make known their interest in becoming a shaman they may even become his understudies or disciples. One of them who shows the greatest interest and the greatest ability in singing, in remembering details and dancing, and a shamanistic temperament will always take his place behind the shaman and will take the lead in repeating the 791 stanzas of the songs composed by him. Gradually he may attempt 554 shamanistic performances of his own and gather followers as he is successful in obtaining religious experience. It is not uncommon to see a young man sitting on the sands facing east and to the east of the camp, at night, singing to himself and alone. Sometimes he has one or two others singing behind him, depending on his prestige. It is, of course, his great hope that some day he will be so successful as to win the approbation and confidence of the people, which will depend on his success with the gods themselves.

791 The shaman must be a rather highly imaginative type. The only 787 way he can impress his people with his knowledge and experience 157 is to visit and see the abode of the gods and ancestors and to be able to describe these in words and in song and graphically with etchings on gourd rattles, so that unless the performer is of such a temperament that he can live through such experiences he can never become a shaman. Nor is there any opportunity for the one who will pretend having had such experiences, for naturally tribal tradition patterns are a constant check on him and his visions must necessarily conform to those had by other shamans; nor can he pretend to have visions of the particular type since he has the entire body of people as his severe critics and any inconsistency will be immediately seen to his discredit. Actually, I do not think there is ever any pretense. In the first place, we must remove the suggestion that there is material gain to flow from attaining the position of shaman. The shaman is an

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

791 ordinary citizen, receiving no compensation except the respect given
787 to an old man and a moral teacher. In the second place, shamanism
157 is a lifetime activity, and it would seem improbable that one would create such a life for himself which he would have to live until death if he were not suited to it. I saw cases of men who were striving to be shamans, some young and some old, with great regret admitting that they could not see the religious visions that others more successful had seen. In a primitive society such as that of the Yaruros, where life values are simple and evident to every one, where the intimacy existing between its members is thorough, there is very little incentive and very little opportunity for pretense.

791 Landaeta, my chief informant among the shamans, claimed that
787 he did not remember the specific events that he "dreams" when he
115 sang and that he could not sing during the day, nor could he remember the songs. He himself had to be told by the others what happened during a shamanistic performance. Thus he could tell me neither the words nor the tunes. I had to wait for another performance to try to take down both. Since the words were conversations between the shaman and the spirit forces, and thus varied at each performance, he was right. Yet there is a musical pattern and undoubtedly a word pattern also.

791 In the matter of making the sacred objects, he claimed that only
787 those who have "dreamed", have had religious experience, can make
531 them. Thus he himself was carving the rattles, and claimed that no
778 one else among his people could carve them. Some, like his nephew and son-in-law Juan Garcia, were learning.

791 At Landaeta's death probably the shaman will be either Brigido
787 Tovar, his son, or Juan Garcia, his nephew and son-in-law. Legend
554 favors the son, but Landaeta looks to Garcia. However, it is the son who sang behind the shaman in this case, but Garcia has had religious experiences already.

Landaeta himself claims that he sang behind his uncle for a long time without a moracca. Finally he had a "dream" and he was permitted to use a moracca. This religious experience is absolutely necessary to a future shaman.

791 That the shaman follows certain patterns of song, ritual, dream,
533 and revelation is quite certain, and it is these patterns that are trans-
787 mitted to the neophyte. Both dreams and revelations always have some bearing on current problems, and in fact attempt to solve these problems.

During a shamanistic performance the first songs describe the journey of the shaman's soul to the Land of Kuma. Upon reaching the desired land the shaman shakes his rattle violently and the songs

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

136 Bats are plentiful, but they tend to be most abundant in the forests and hills close to the Orinoco. Armies of them fly nightly out of the caves of Guiana to feed on the fruit of the forests in the plains. One evening while crossing back from Guiana to the llanos we saw a stream of bats flying across the river. They seemed to come from a cave about 2 miles away. Though we watched them flying overhead for about half an hour, there did not seem to be any end to them.

174 Formerly the llanos were peopled by a number of tribes who have since disappeared, leaving behind them practically no knowledge of their societies. Only the Yaruros and the Guahibos inhabiting the Meta region have survived to this day. The Tamanachi, the Guamos, the Otomacos, which are best but meagerly known, have died or been killed off in recent years. I saw the last Otomaco survivors, an old woman and a boy of five, who had been saved from a reputed massacre. The Achaguas seem to have disappeared in recent years also.

177 What has happened to these people can be easily understood when it is considered that during the past 25 years the worldwide unrest has driven adventurers to many corners of the earth, and these people have been exposed to the marauding "revolutionary" bands and to the equally destructive cupidity of the crocodile hunter and the rancher.

161 There are 150 Yaruros left in the region of the Capanaparo and
101 on an island at the mouth of that river called the Linda Bara. It is claimed that on the Sinaruco there are other bands but no contact was made with them. Formerly the Yaruros occupied a large territory and perhaps roamed the plains, as well as the rivers, but since the land has been taken up by the ranchers they have been forced to the river banks.

136 The animals of greatest interest to the Yaruros are: jaguar, puma, wild pigs, capibara (the chiguire), armadillo, snakes, jivaro stork, vultures, manatee, tonino, crocodiles, iguana.

137 Plant life has great importance as a source of food, usable wood,
222 medicines, and narcotics. The moriche and macanilla palms supply the Yaruros with fibers and bow wood. The chigua supplies him with flour; the changuango and barbaco with edible roots.

101 The Yaruros call themselves "Pumeh." In the literature they are referred to as "Saururi" (Gumilla), "Zavuri" (Gilii), and more recently as Jaruros, Sayuros, etc. According to my informants Yaruro or Jaruro, is a Guahibo word by which they are known to that people. The Guahibos are known to the Yaruros as "Tciricoa," "people of the forest." The word Pumeh has no exact translatable meaning. The closest equivalent is the Spanish "gente." When a Yaruro uses it he implies "the people," "the chosen people." Only the Yaruros are Pumeh, but the term occasionally includes other tribes. All non-

/117 cont./

3. The Population.

a) Demography (see Tables III, IV, and V).

162 On the Capanaparo and the Riecito we have taken a census of 519 Yaruro (29 communities out of 30). Two-thirds (65.1%) of this population are adults (we do not have a breakdown by age) and the remainder (34.9%) prepuberal children. Among the adults the sexes are divided into two almost equal figures: 173 (51.2%) are men and 165 (48.8%) women. We have the /118/ /Table III appears here/ /119/ /Table IV and Table V appear here/ /120/ breakdown by sexes for children only in five communities; the totals for each of them gives us, there also, twofigures which are practically equal: 23 male children to 21 female.

163 165 Our statistics on births and mortality bear on only three communities with a total of 38 inhabitants in 1947; they are thus rather imprecise. During the period 1947 to 1950, i.e., during three years, we registered 6 births and 9 deaths (6 adults--2 men and 4 women--and 3 young children), that is, two births for three deaths (150% mortality) or, for the total population of the three villages, the respective percentages of 15.8% births and 23.7% deaths. The young children who died comprise one-third of the total of deaths (33.3%) and one half of the total births, which gives, for these 38 Yaruro, a 50% infant mortality.

161 On the basis of these statistics the Yaruro are on the way to extinction. This appears to be confirmed by the Indians themselves who state that they were formerly more numerous and that their number is going down each year. "We die with the first sickness," our old informant, Pedro Ramon Camacho (1)

[115] [756]

1. Head and shaman of community 6.

told us, "and that's why there are so few of us. We are disappearing."

[text continues on p. 16]

5:Le Besnerais--15 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19 Venezuela 552

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TABLE V

DENSITY

TERRITORY			YARURO		VENEZUELAN PEASANTS				
					Farms				
Sections	Nos. of the Communities	Kms.	Population	Density per 10 kms.	South bank	North bank	Total	Population 8 per Farm	Density per 10 kms.
Orinoco to Madre Vieja Basiliero	1 to 10	220	220	10.0	29	8	37	296	13.5
Madre Vieja Basiliero to Riecito	11 to 15	40	83	20.5	0	8	8	64	16.0
Riecito to Caribe	16 to 23	55	134	24.5	0	0	0	0	0
Riecito	24 to 30	89	82	9.0	0	0	0	0	0
Whole Territory	Totals and averages	404	519	13.0	29	16	45	360	14.0 (a)

(a) On 260 kms.

/120 cont./

Y 161 These 519 Yaruro live along 400 kilometers of river, which gives an average density of 13 inhabitants for 10 kilometers of river. This average conceals considerable variance from one place to another in this part of their territory. On the first 220 kilometers of the Capanaparo starting from the mouth, that is, up to the last Venezuelan farm on the south bank (Madre Vieja Basiliero), the density is 10 inhabitants to ten kilometers. From kilometer 220 up to the mouth of the Riecito (near which the last Venezuelan farm on the Capanaparo is located) the density doubles and goes to 20.5 per ten kilometers and to 24.5 between this latter point and the mouth of the Rio Caribe. On the Riecito the density drops back to 9 inhabitants per ten kilometers of river.

V 161 The density of the Venezuelans on the two banks, between the mouth of the Capanaparo and the Riecito, allowing an average of eight inhabitants for each farm, is 13.5 inhabitants per ten kilometers of river up to the Madre Vieja Basiliero and 16 from the Madre Vieja Basiliero up to the Riecito.

We shall consider the interpretations that these figures have been given in another article.

Y 161 [114] For the rest of the Yaruro population dispersed to the north and south of this region, whom we have not visited, we can only rely on some estimates. With reference to the Cunaviche, who appear to have ten communities, Pastor Juan Van Kompen(2)

2. Evangelical missionary established at San Fernando de Apure, Apure State, Venezuela.

has quoted us a figure of 300, which is without doubt higher than the reality. The Indians on their part have given us a figure of 64 for five communities located between the Capanaparo and the Cinaruco, and for two others, one located between the Capanaparo and the Riecito and the other /121/ on the Cinaruco, respectively 17 and 11. These last estimates are certainly more accurate.

/116/

162 621 342 Each community is comprised of ten to 30 individuals including children (average: 17.9), distributed in one or several habitations of which the type varies according to function and the nature of the terrain and the season (1).

[132] [133]

1. The Venezuelan llanos are huge savannas furrowed with watercourses running west-east and bordered with a corridor of forest, narrow but dense; they have a tropical climate characterized by two seasons: a rainy season, winter (June to September), during which the rivers overflow their beds and flood the savanna, and a dry season, summer (December to April), during which the latter become dry in part, uncovering long sandy shores.

342 The first type (I) is an upright house with a rectangular base (sometimes oval), three to four meters wide by five to seven long and three to four high, without walls and covered with a straw or palm roof with two sloping sides, open or closed at one or two ends and protecting from rain. It is built on the hard ground of high banks that the floods of the rainy season do not reach.

The second type (II) is a small, low hut (a man cannot stand in it) with a round base (II a) or oblong (II b), also without walls and covered with a roof of palms, either hemispherical (II a) or with two sloping sides (II b), protecting from rain; it stands on the soft ground of sand dunes and shores raised above the flood level (II 1), or shores freed by a drop in the water level (II 2).

/117 cont./

3. The Population.

a) Demography (see Tables III, IV, and V).

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1. Head and shaman of community 6.

told us, "and that's why there are so few of us. We are disappearing."

[text continues on p. 16]

TABLE III

CENSUS 1947-1948

162

No. of the Comm.	ADULTS ♂	ADULTS ♀	ADULTS Total	CHILDREN ♂	CHILDREN ♀	CHILDREN Total	General Total
1	6	7	13			7	20
2	11	5	16			9	25
3	12	14	26			14	40
4	4	5	9			6	15
5	4	5	9	5	6	11	20
6	3	6	9	6	3	9	18
7	1	4	5	2	4	6	11
8	3	2	5			4	9
9	28	16	44	10	8	18	62
10	9	9	18			5	23
11	4	5	9			8	17
12	3	6	9			7	16
13	5	4	9			4	13
14	6	3	9			5	14
15	7	8	15			7	22
16	11	12	23			10	33
17	7	7	14			4	18
18	—	—	—			—	—
19	3	3	6			3	9
20	5	3	8			4	12
21	13	13	26			14	40
22	4	4	8			4	12
23	6	6	12			2	14
24	1	3	4			4	8
25	4	2	6			3	9
26	2	0	2			0	2
27	4	5	9			5	14
28	7	8	15			8	23
29							
30							
Total	173	165	338	23 (c)	21 (c)	181	519
%	51.2 (a)	48.8 (a)	65.1 (b)			34.9 (b)	

EVALUATIONS 1947-1948

(1)	150	150	300				300
(2)	34	30	64				64
(3)	5	5	10			7	17
(4)	6	5	11				11
General Total	368 (5)	355 (5)	723 (5)			188 (5)	911 (5)

a) Of the "adult" total. — b) Of the "general" total. — c) Total from 5 /sic/ communities.

1) On the Cunaviche (6 communities). — 2) Between the Capanaparo and the Cinaruco (5 communities). — 3) Between the Capanaparo and the Riecito (1 community). — 4) On the Cinaruco (1 community). — 5) Census and evaluations.

5:Le Besnerais--14 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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TABLE IV

BIRTHS — DEATHS

No. of the Comm.	POPULATION 1947				BIRTHS 1947-1950	DEATHS 1947-1950					% Deaths/Births	
	Adults ♂	Adults ♀	Children	Total		Adults ♂	Adults ♀	Total	Children	General Total	General	Children
6	3	6	9	18								
7	1	4	6	11								
8	3	2	4	9								
Total	7	12	19	38	6	2	4	6	3	9		
%					15.8 (a)				33.3 (b)	23.7 (a)	150.0	50.0

(a) Of the total population of the three communities.

(b) Of the total deaths.

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Riecito	24 to 30	89	82	9.0	0	0	0	0	0
Whole Territory	Totals and averages	404	519	13.0	29	16	45	360	14.0 (a)

(a) On 260 kms.

/121 cont./

b) Somatology and Pathology.

113 Vincenzo Petrullo in his book Yaruros of the Capanaparo
162 River (1) has devoted one chapter to the physical characteristics

1. In Anthropological Papers, No. 11, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 123, pp. 161 to 290.

of the Yaruro. We refer the reader to this work, our own ob-
164 servations on this offering nothing very new. Let us add only that all the adults and some children of both sexes have their bodies and particularly the extremities of their limbs covered with white, painful plaques called carare, a fact already noted by Petrullo. According to the Yaruro, beginning with a certain, unspecified age—perhaps corresponding to puberty, for we have never observed it with the newborn and rarely with young children—the skin dries up in places and then loses its pigmenta-
164 tion. Again according to the Yaruro, this phenomenon, which
827 they seem to consider a blemish (they have frequently asked us if a remedy existed to get rid of it), is perhaps transmitted through the blood. When a wife is attacked by carare she infects her husband by pouring a drop of her own blood into his drink so that he will not abandon her.

164 Sanitary conditions among the Yaruro are on the whole extremely indifferent. Tests of blood from swords, carried out by Professor Mayer of the Institute of Hygiene in Caracas, and of blood previously drawn from some of the population reveal signs of severe anemia and very strong eosinophilia.

These Indians all suffer more or less, particularly during the rainy season, from colds, bronchitis, pneumonia, furunculosis, attacks of grippe with fever or marsh fever, headaches, caries and dental abcesses, pains which are doubtlessly rheumatic, and glandular inflammations. The colds, bronchitis, attacks

/117 cont./

3. The Population.

162 a) Demography (see Tables III, IV, and V).

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1. Head and shaman of community 6.

told us, "and that's why there are so few of us. We are disappearing."

[text continues on p. 16]

5:Le Benerais--14 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19

162 /119/ 163 165

TABLE IV

BIRTHS — DEATHS

No. of the Comm.	POPULATION 1947				BIRTHS 1947-1950	DEATHS 1947-1950					% Deaths/Births	
	Adults ♂	Adults ♀	Children	Total		Adults ♂	Adults ♀	Total	Children	General Total	General	Children
6	3	6	9	18								
7	1	4	6	11								
8	3	2	4	9								
Total	7	12	19	38	6	2	4	6	3	9		
%					15.8 (a)				33.3 (b)	23.7 (a)	150.0	50.0

(a) Of the total population of the three communities.

(b) Of the total deaths.

/121 cont./

b) Somatology and Pathology.

113 Vincenzo Petrullo in his book Yaruros of the Capanaparo
162 River (1) has devoted one chapter to the physical characteristics

1. In Anthropological Papers, No. 11, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 123, pp. 161 to 290.

of the Yaruro. We refer the reader to this work, our own ob-
● 164 servations on this offering nothing very new. Let us add only that all the adults and some children of both sexes have their bodies and particularly the extremities of their limbs covered with white, painful plaques called carare, a fact already noted by Petrullo. According to the Yaruro, beginning with a certain, unspecified age—perhaps corresponding to puberty, for we have never observed it with the newborn and rarely with young children—the skin dries up in places and then loses its pigmenta-
164 tion. Again according to the Yaruro, this phenomenon, which
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/121 cont./

● 164 of fever, and especially pneumonia frequently have fatal consequences. We also presume that the Yaruro are attacked by amoebiasis and by ancylostomiasis, the author of these lines having contracted these diseases while living among them. Finally, smallpox apparently attacks them periodically and commits ravages. It seems to have decimated all who lived on the Cinaruco about 20 years ago. Concerning tuberculosis and leprosy we have nothing to report.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

INHERITANCE OF WIVES

583 Monogamy is the usual rule, but occasionally both polygyny and polyandry exist. If no women are available, a man may share his young wife with his brother or parallel cousin whom he calls brother also. I saw two such cases. In a tribe whose total membership may not exceed 150 such situations may easily arise.

587 589 The more common situation is the inheritance of wives. If a man dies, his wife may be taken care of by her father, but more often by her former husband's brother. She takes her place as wife number two, especially if he is a good hunter. Other women whom a man may inherit as wives are his aunts on his father's side and even his paternal grandmother. I saw one case in which a man had inherited his daughter's child. Whether these cases represent the results of [616] deculturation of the Yaruros in recent years, or pure necessity, it is impossible to say. It is worth noting that the taboo on marrying a member of one's moiety is strictly observed.

512 605 Another relationship common among South American Indians which is present among the Yaruros is the hunting friendship between two men. Seldom does one meet a young Yaruro who does not have a hunting companion. Upon marriage this relationship may be weakened, though often the companionship persists. Generally the men are two parallel cousins. They show much affection toward each other, even in camp. For instance, such a pair standing with arms around each other's necks is a common sight. I have no reason to suspect any abnormal sexual relations between such couples.

124 582 [165] An attempt was made to collect genealogies, but no satisfactory results were obtained, due to the confusion that exists among the Yaruros. So many have suffered premature death, especially men, that the genealogies show a tremendous complexity. This complexity exists, of course, only for us. The Yaruro has his system, which is to guard against incest as he defines it. So long as members of the same moiety do not marry, everything else is permissible. One's cross cousin of the same, or nearly the same, age is the preferential choice, but the Yaruros cannot control birth and death, so that the preference is purely theoretical. I saw young boys married to old women and young girls married to old men. The answer was that there weren't any others to marry.

However, enough was gathered from the genealogies to verify the system as described: Members of the same moiety do not marry. Every one else can, except father and daughter, and, of course, father's brothers and daughter, whom she addresses as father anyway.

and socio-economic forms. Nor can any immediate desire or fancy of the Yaruro change the limitations which the ecological relationship imposes: the carrying capacity of the land for horticultural food plants has, with the given technology, a fairly fixed upper limit. That such limitations exist for their horticulture is recognized by the Yaruro themselves to some extent. First, they recognize that, given the types of soils extant in the habitat, only certain kinds of crops can be used in certain places. Their knowledge in this regard seems to be quite accurate, and, of course, determines where a garden will be prepared at any given time according to projected needs, existing resources, and past exploitations. Again, they know that a swidden lasts three years, a fact not only confirmed by the evidence of conditions in recently abandoned patches but also by the results of soil analyses.[9] After the three years, they say, the swidden must be allowed to fallow for a number of years. They use the word 'five', but the writer believes 'five' is intended to mean 'some' years. The conditions of abandoned gardens, with their rank growth of lush grasses, unmanageable with dibble or machete, and of the places chosen for preparing new gardens, all cut out of relatively large second growth, suggest that the fallow period is at least 10 years, and probably upwards. We shall use 10 years as a basis for calculations below, since after such a time, the shade has driven out the succulent grasses which are replaced by herbaceous plants or woody underbrush. In view of these considerations, it may be said that Yaruro horticultural practices have been well-adapted to the particular soil and water conditions of their habitat on the basis of explicit recognition of these conditions.

Without basic change in their technology, the balance between the Yaruro's present technology and the habitat conditions we have described set real upper limits both on production and on productivity, the latter defined as production per capita per year, and therefore sets limits on the absolute size and the form of the society. Let us suppose optimal population conditions unlike the present continuing depopulation due to western diseases and massacres by Venezuelans were present as an hypothetical ideal state. The tendency of any plant or animal population is to increase until it balances in a stable equilibrium with the available nutritional resources, other factors constant.[10] If the population increases beyond this point, either a portion of the population must seek elsewhere for its food, or a portion must die, or the population will exploit the resources so as temporarily or permanently to reduce them to lower potentials, as in the case of cattle overgrazing pastures. A new land-population equilibrium is then reached at a somewhat lower level. The only other possibility is to innovate new forms of exploitation, a point we return to below.

Under optimal conditions, then, we may estimate maximum Yaruro population within the boundaries of such a territory as presently occupied by the Caño Totúdoro Yaruro of the Central Cinaruco, a territory bounded for all practical purposes by walking-and-working distance from the village. Within this area of about 65 sq. mi. a maximum of about 800 acres, or that 2% of the total area which is wooded, contains all tillable land. However,

[9,10 [for footnotes see p. 42-48, category 116 -- Analyst]]

/117 cont./

3. The Population.

a) Demography (see Tables III, IV, and V).

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[text continues on p. 16]

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163
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/119/

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%					15.8 (a)				33.3 (b)	23.7 (a)	150.0	50.0

(a) Of the total population of the three communities.

(b) Of the total deaths.

50% of the diet or a little less. The ideal figures would again be reduced, on the other hand, by allowing for the predations on gardens of animals, especially the pigs, which eat manioc and corn, the Guahibo Indians who allegedly steal sugar cane, and insect losses. Our figures, then, will be modified only a few units by the additional sources of foods. We may thus revise our population figure to between 100 and 105 (or, if a 15-year fallow period is assumed, the figure would be 75-80), figures which correspond to the Yaruro's own ideal of what a proper population for this area should be. If the population increased beyond this number of people, the Yaruro would have to exploit their gardens at a rate greater than the rate of land reconstitution, and also expand hunting, fishing, and gathering beyond the average long-term carrying capacity of the savanas and the rivers, thus reducing their potential productivity. Adding together the maximum populations supportable by these food resources, as well as by the recently introduced pigs, a figure approximating 125-150 persons might be reasonable for this particular territory. This gives a density of 2 persons per sq. mile, a characteristic figure for tropical forest tribes.[15]

If the population rose beyond this maximum capacity of the land-technology relationship, groups would either have to fission off, go on the warpath, regulate population by any of a number of internal institutions such as infanticide, or die either from extreme famines or from steady nutritional deficiency. Under present population conditions none of these is necessary, yet both fissioning and population regulation by contraception occur. Fissioning appears to be fostered by the search for settlement locations requiring minimum labor for maximum return and also to establish community authority under the person leading the fissioning group independent of that excercised by the community from which fissioning took place. Contraception appears to be a matter of choice revolving about maintaining a certain freedom from the cares of motherhood until such time as the marriage partners are reasonably convinced that the marriage is permanent. Indirectly, this contributes to the distribution of more effective female producers among the more effective male producers in the most productive areas, since a second marriage often involves shifting to a generally more effective husband whereas a shift to a less effective husband is scarcely to be found. Both fissioning and contraception, however, give evidence of techniques which were developed to handle man-food balance in happier days.

A number of formal characteristics of any ecology may permit us to deduce the form of society which would be expected on the basis of such characteristics. In so far as the ecological forms were to remain essentially unchanged over great periods of time, no changes in the forms of the social order attached to the ecological conditions would be expected. An internal equilibrium is maintained until such time as a dynamic imbalance occurs because of changes from internal or external sources. It is essential to examine to what extent the internal equilibrium prevents or fosters the occurence of dynamic imbalances in any particular ecological setting. We shall return to this question after the following itemization of Yaruro ecological forms.

[15] [For footnote see p. 43, category 116 -- Analyst]

311 within these 800 acres, much is occupied by the streams, calculated at their
241 flood maxima which define non-gardenable areas, while other parts are inadequate in soils or water for use as gardens. Consequently, the actually tillable areas comprise a maximum of about 200 acres or about 0.5% of the land surface. It should be noted, of course, that all these 200 acres are not usable for crops since those in the *montes* cannot be used for cane and bananas, while the wet areas nearest the streams cannot be used for corn or manioc. Thus the maximum area for the staple crops, manioc, corn, and bananas, is about 145 acres (see Table I)[A]. [11A]

168 Using Carneiro's equations, [12A] we may estimate the maximum population
311 which would be in equilibrium with this acreage, estimating .5 acres as an approximate amount of land required to provide the average person with the food he ordinarily derives from cultivated plants per year. [13A] The calculation gives us 92 persons (see Figure 1). [14A] We may also estimate the number of years (L) the group may stay in the present locality with its present population of 24 before wearing out the available tillable land so that they would have to move (see Figure 2). This would be 50 years. Since the entire fallow and planting cycle of any piece of land is only 13 years, under present circumstances, the Totúdoro Yaruro will not have to move from their present territory at all, in view of their small and decreasing population.

[128]

Figure 1

$$P = \frac{\frac{T}{(R+Y)} \times Y}{A}$$

$$P = \frac{\frac{200}{10+3} \times 3}{.5}$$

P = 92 (=67 if R is 15)

Figure 2

$$L = \frac{\frac{T}{P \times A}}{Y}$$

$$L = \frac{\frac{200}{24 \times .5}}{3}$$

L = 50 years

R = year of fallow
Y = years of productivity
A = land used to provide plant food for one person a year
P = population
L = number of years group located in one place
T = acres of cultivable land within walking-working distance of village

The ideal figures given above would be somewhat modified upwards by the additional foods provided by fishing, hunting, and gathering which, [262] in the wet season, constitute about 30% of the diet and, in the dry, perhaps

[A] [for Table I see pp. 28-30, category 116--Analyst]
[11,12,13,14] [for footnotes, see p. 43, category 116--Analyst]

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[15] [for footnote see p. 43, category 116 -- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

524 323 532

a pole. In general, therefore, organized play for child or adult is hardly present.

WAR

926 173 175

The Yaruros did not speak much of war. None of their legends make any reference to it except in one case which says that they were killed by the "Racionales" and that they retaliated.[6] The known historical sources say nothing except Father Gumilla's account, which makes reference to the pacification of the "Saruri."

MORAL ATTITUDES

183 577

On the subject of conduct, the outlook on life and the organization of life values, we must distinguish between theory and practice. The former grows out of reflection and represents the intellectualization of the universe as seen without much reference to practical life. The second springs from the social and economic relationships and the fusing of individual ends and purposes into the purposes and ends of the group, whereas the first is not strictly controlled by custom and practical needs. Both exist among the [791] Yaruros. For the first we have to turn to the shaman, who in addition to being a religious leader, a savant, is also a moralist; and for the second we turn to the entire social group and need to watch it in its behavior.

175 171 114

In reading over the early account of the aborigines of the region, among which we must presumably include Yaruros, we gather that their moral concepts were different from those of the Christians, but perhaps neither better nor worse in practice. It must be doubted, however, whether a number of practices attributed to the Yaruros are authentic. We read, for instance, that a number of the aborigines were patricides, and we are given a picture of the male children, on reaching adolescence, rising against the fathers [682] through lust for the mother. Patricide is an abhorrent crime and [683] the motive behind it is equally abhorrent. It is to be doubted whether patricide, or even lesser acts, such as beating the father, were ever practiced, except in sporadic cases such as may occur in [684] any society. It hardly seems possible that women were the cause of it when it is known, as it is known today, that mating and extramarital relationships are very strictly controlled by tradition and social training. Disregarding, therefore, such allusions to the moral life of the primitive peoples of the Orinoco, let us turn to our informants for an understanding of their present mode of life. The

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[6] It would appear probable that the nomadic Yaruros were too weak to ever develop any warlike spirit.

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

YARURO INCIPIENT TROPICAL FOREST HORTICULTURE

Possibilities and Limits

Anthony LEEDS

The immediate concern of the papers in this symposium is the interaction between human populations and their habitats through the agency of horticulture insofar as factors in this interaction result in the evolution of culture. The present paper discusses an Incipient Tropical Forest Slash-and-Burn Horticultural group, the Yaruro of the south-central Venezuelan llanos, in order to show what kinds of upper limits were set upon its development by its technology and habitat, or both, and what sorts of factors within the relatively limiting conditions of incipient tropical forest horticulture might have provided a foundation for evolution to a more developed state. For any of the cultures which are examples of this class of horticulturalists, slash-and-burn horticulture plays a considerable, but usually not, by itself, a dominating role in the total food procurement process. The Yaruro fall between the Incipient and Intermediate Tropical Forest types discussed in the introduction, whereas the Sirionó, for example, represent a culture near the lower limits of cultures of the type. Despite their somewhat more advanced condition, what pertains to the Yaruro, in a general way applies to the rest of the type.

We shall consider first the habitat conditions in which the Yaruro find themselves and then describe the major dimensions of their swidden horticultural technology. With these aspects of the total ecology before us we shall show how its characteristics provide us a model for our incipient tropical forest stage and at the same time demonstrate how its special ecological conditions inhibited its further evolution into the more advanced stages of horticulture.

The Venezuelan llanos stretch as a low inland plain from the Orinoco delta, W by WSW, 750-800 miles inland, to the edges of the Andes in the far west of Apure State and into Eastern Colombia. The Yaruro are found between 450 and 600 miles from the mouth of the Orinoco, but still inside Venezuelan frontiers. They are found on all the rivers from the Arauca to the Cinaruco, inclusive, a distance of about 90 miles from north to south.

[probably should read: which--Analyst]

121 harvesting it, require no centralized authority and render it possible and
182 even probable that the management of production or distribution be carried
433 on without it. The same may be said, on the whole, for all the hunting,
[241] fishing, and gathering harvests, a notable and probably permanent feature
[22] of Yaruro ecology. Perhaps the only crop which has a marked seasonality is corn, but its absolute size in the total production, its geographical distribution in production, and its position relative to all other harvests renders it insignificant as an effective promoter of managerial functions and
[56] formal arrangements of social stratification. It is unlikely, given Yaruro ecology that the forms of surplus would change; consequently their concomitants in social structure would remain constant.

On the basis of the formal characteristics of the ecology and of the surpluses one may deduce an essentially egalitarian social organization,
[56] with minimal ranking and leadership and with dispersion of the acts of
[462] economic distribution among a number of adult males or females any one of whom may produce a small harvest surplus at any time. With a relatively steady and reasonably comfortable total subsistence base, and with ecological arrangements which are spatially repeated in identical form up
182 and down river, no necessity exists for stringent rules of local exogamy
[582] as an institution to regulate the labor force by redistributing its members. One would expect frequent marrying in the village according to the convenience of the contractants, and out-marriages to occur either as ecoomic opportunity offered elsewhere or lack of women at home urged one out. The
[562] combined biological and productive role of women, with their particularly important technical roles in gathering and in food preparation, suggest sedentary communities and a matrifocal emphasis in the rules of residence. However, the importance and location of the man's economic contribution
[591] might be expected to balance this to a degree so that one might deduce male uxorimatrilocal residence but with other, subsidiary patterns. This in fact occurs, occasional male matrilocality or patrilocality [19]A comprising the subsidiary residence rules. Political authority would be vested
[623] in the community, mainly among its elders, since little or no ranking or stratification is to be expected. In fact, Yaruro socio-political forms, in general, conform to all of these deduced conditions. They represent a model for any society based on the kinds of ecological conditions or form of ecology we have described. Where the ecology is even more restricted the deduced characteristics should be matched even more closely by the observed
● [171] data. In this respect, the Sirionó, for example, tend to confirm the hypothesis, in that their partial sedentariness which revolves about horticulture is associated with matrifocal social organization: matrilocality and matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. They also possess autonomous local communities. [19]A The Apinayé also tend to confirm the hypothesis. [20]A

Where our analysis permits us to predict about the course of the ecological conditions, we should also be able to extend this prediction to the social structure. Since, under the given ecology, we can establish a maximum population for each Yaruro socio-cultural unit, and under the given technology we would expect no significant change in the ecology, no significant

[18,19,20 For footnotes see pp. 43-44 category 116 --Analyst]

represent his people to the outside world without consultation and to make arbitrary decisions for them inside the community — mainly in his own interest — was, with the consent of the community, assassinated by one of the members, now in excellent standing in that community as a respected shaman. The chief in question had stepped beyond the bounds designated for his status. In sum, the position of chief, even though formally recognized by Yaruro society and reinforced by formal recognition and appointment by Venezuelan authorities, is feeble as an institution and as a status.[8] It is our hypothesis that ecological conditions of Yaruro life determine the form of the chieftainship in such a way that its stronger institutionalization would be impossible, and we turn to this question now.

III

Yaruro subsistence activities[7] comprise swiddening, gathering, pig herding, hunting and fishing, mentioned in the order of their importance as contributors to the total food supply as measured in calories.[8] Horticulture probably provides 60—70% of the total annual food supply. The horticulture practiced is characteristic of tropical forest slash-and-burn gardens, with a slow rotation of plots in order to permit soil renewal and weed control. Trees are cut, at present with steel axes and formerly, apparently, with axes of bone or shell, and then burnt. Occasional fences are roughly made of the logs to keep out pigs. Bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*),[9] in several varieties, is the main crop, though sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*), also in several varieties, is planted too, as are corn, bananas, sugar cane — each in several varieties — and a number of lesser crops such as melons, squashes, pumpkins, pineapples, sweet potatoes, and yautia or ocumo (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*). Crops are planted with a digging stick which may also be used in harvesting. Gardens are weeded, once only, early in the growth of the crops. Other than clearing, the only soil preparation is the construction of hills for planting bananas. This is done by burning hills made by a certain species of ants (*huachaquero*). The hills, which are quite wide and low, are filled with organic matter enriching the soil.[10] Harvesting is aided with baskets for carrying the crops. Baskets contain about half a bushel or less. No fertilization, no terracing, no drainage, no irrigation, no extensive turning of the soil is done.

The gathered resources include a number of roots, particularly changuango, changuanito, and guapo (*Maranta arundinacea*);[11] varied fruits, especially that of

[8] Professor Benjamin N. Nelson informs me that in medieval Spain, village communities had an official, also called *capitan*, whose function was to treat with state functionaries representing the world beyond the village community's frontier. It is possible that the Yaruro capitan, and many others in Venezuela, are an acculturative transfer of this office to tribal groups. In the case of the Yaruro, this would have happened some 250—300 years ago.

[7] The use, here, of the terms 'activity', 'tasks', 'techniques', 'tools', 'resources', and 'habitat' corresponds to the definitions given in Leeds, 1960 b.

[8] Cf. Leeds, 1961, which gives this data in detail and describes the habitat and horticulture *in extenso*.

[9] Native terms for these crops are given *ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, note 9, contains data on soil values.

[11] Identifications are from Pittier, 1926.

sacre, the labor force actually observed in "my" group was a little more than 25% of that number, or 18, and neighboring groups were generally still smaller. These 154, 67, and especially the actual 18 workers, even if, at any given moment, *all* were working at subsistence activities, would be distributed over various parts of the 110 square miles of territory under the kind of dispersive habitat and technological conditions described. They are in fact so thinly scattered as to preclude any sort of continuing managerial functions.

V

A consideration of the forms of the harvest surplus[49] is relevant to our discussion. Harvest surpluses must be considered with respect both to individual subsistence resources and to all subsistence resources taken together. In the annual cycle, there is considerable variation in the amount produced of any given crop, except for sweet and bitter manioc which together constitute perhaps 40% of the annual food supply of the Yaruro. Manioc produces throughout the year. Given that the manioc-growing areas are widely dispersed and that considerable labor is drawn from manioc areas by still more dispersed resources, it follows that most work units for manioc gardens will consist of only one or two men, each having their own swidden or sharing it with one or two others to supply themselves and their immediate families throughout the year. As might be expected, land tenure and land usage patterns are in accord with this inference. Occasionally small oscillations in the manioc crops may produce small harvest surpluses. These, at least nominally, belong to the man in whose swidden they grow and are his for disposal. The quantities, however, are exceedingly small, and present no problems of storage or disposal necessitating more centralized supervision and allocation. Most other resources display a similar pattern though to an even smaller degree. Fish are obtainable, for the Cinaruco Yaruro, all year round with almost equal ease, though the Palmariteños have a more difficult time because of the grassy and muddy waters in the rainy season. Hunting windfalls and large pigs are the only animal sources which present harvest surpluses of any size. However, these are small enough so that they last at most two or three days, and they are so irregular both as to occurrence and as to personnel involved that no regular centralized institutional mode of handling them is entailed. The virtual absence of meat storage

For example, in the Trobriand Islands, in a good year, all the yams harvested cannot be eaten at once, nor can they be stored. Some portion of the crop is then lost by spoilage. We may construct, in terms of calories or other significant food values, two ratios:

$$\frac{C_h}{C_p} \qquad \frac{C_p}{C_h}$$

C — Calories
c — consumed
p — potential
h — harvested (= available for use)

[49] The first may be used as a measure of the efficiency of the productive capacity of the technology; the second as a measure of the efficiency of the distributive capacity of the technology.

[49] The technological, producers, and harvest surpluses are defined in Harris, 1958, and implied in Harris, 1959. They are dealt with in detail with respect to the Yaruro in Leeds, 1961. Other relevant discussions of surplus are found Sahlins, 1958; Jacobs and Stern, 1952, Ch VI.

3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

distance of the gardens is too far from the village for effective or efficient exploitation. At this point a village or part of a village must move. Moving the villages involves decision-making with respect to time, new location, and so on. Plainly, moving a village involves a community decision. A community institution for handling the decision-making is necessary. Technologically speaking, the moving itself is not a community task and does not involve supervision and direction. Therefore, one would not expect the institution of decision-making to be a directive one, but a consultative one. Again this corresponds to the observed modes of action of the Yaruro chiefs. The chiefs' function is to facilitate the formation of the decisions of the community by funnelling and interpreting individuals' feelings and expressions to the rest of the members of the community.

In sum, I have presented a model of a form of ecology which, hypothetically, determines the limits within which any sort of chiefly functions may operate. This model, again hypothetically, is applicable to all cultures having the kind of technological and habitat characteristics and forms of surplus here described. I think the model applies particularly to cultures which grow root-crops such as manioc, which utilize no labor-concentrative techniques, such as irrigation, and for whose food resources notable seasonality is absent. Such cultures have been noted widely in tropical South America and also in Melanesia. In both areas, chiefly functions are notably limited as contrasted, say, with Circum-Caribbean corn-raising cultures with some irrigation and other intensive techniques[24] and with Polynesian high cultures with elaborate irrigation and other public works.[25] It should be noted, first, that the Yaruro were not far from these Circum-Caribbean chiefdoms and even show a number of trait similarities, and, second, that the Yaruro have been under Spanish acculturation, which has involved encouragement of chiefly functions, for probably 250 years. Yet, despite the pressures of both diffusion and acculturation to produce a more developed chieftaincy, the attenuated form described persists. The explanation of this persistence seems to me to be ecological. I suggest that the model of explanation presented here is based on a set of analytic dimensions — the characteristics of the technology, those of the habitat, those of the harvest surplus, and the interrelationships of these — which may be used for all cultures, but whose formal, systemic relations vary from culture to culture, or class of cultures to class of cultures, thus giving different models for different cultures or classes of cultures. By using such dimensions, one can account for cultural differences by means of a standard set of principles, thus facilitating genuine comparisons and generalizations.

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[24] Cf. Sturtevant, 1961; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961.
[25] Cf. Sahlins, 1958.

7: Leeds E-4, 5. (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

constitute incest. I believe one can show from Petrullo's own genealogies that either incest occurred, possibly as a result of the process of depopulation, or that clan exogamy did not exist at all, since there were no clans, and the marriages concerned were not incestuous.

A third important feature that Petrullo asserts existed among the Yaruro is matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. Aside from the fact that, associated with the matriliny Petrullo's matriclans would possess, one would theoretically expect patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, if preferential cross-cousin marriage existed at all, I was unable to confirm unilateral cross-cousin marriage preferences but got statements of preference for bilateral cross-cousin marriage as well as reports of bilateral cross-cousin marriage and bilateral marriages between an ego and a parallel cousin's offspring.[2]

A fourth important feature discussed by Petrullo is totemism. The clans are assertedly connected respectively with the snake god Poanã and the jaguar god, Tió. Not only was I unable to confirm this, but the ethnographic evidence, on the whole, appears to contradict it directly. Totemism, for example, would be quite inconsistent with the social organization of the *toŋ'be* ceremony, the central socio-religious institution of the Yaruro which I have described elsewhere (1960, 1961 *b;* cf., also, Le Besnerais, 1951, 1950 *b*, and, with Dreyfus-Roche, 1954).

Thus we have not only ethnographic disagreement among three observers, but also the theoretical improbability of the original description which attaches matrilineal clanship to hunting and gathering nomadism, and to matrliateral cross-cousin marriage. Virtually all further published anthropological material on the Yaruro has taken the Petrullo report at face value. Some of these publications include a caveat about the report, but, unfortunately, others have, explicitly or implicitly, assumed its correcteness since they have used it as the starting point for historical, functional, or evolutionary reconstructions.[3]

Specifically the assertion is repeatedly made by Steward, Kirchhoff, and Steward and Faron that the Yaruro are one of a series of marginal tribes left over from an earlier wave of settlement and occupying interstitial areas among more advanced peoples. Steward (1946-1950, in various passages, esp. Vol. 5, pp. 678 *ff.*) tries to justify the marginal classification generally by designating characteristic traits present as well as those that should be absent. The Yaruro possess a large number of the latter, including horticulture, basketry, canoes,

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[2] The theoretical expectation of *patrilateral* cross-cousin marriage with matriliny is discussed in Homans and Schneider (1955, especially pp. 56-57) and elsewhere. The preference for bilateral marriage with cross-cousins or with offspring of parallel cousins is also found among the Jivaro (cf. Steward and Métraux, 1948, especially p. 626). This fact, with a great many similar traits of social organization and world view shared by the two cultures, is of considerable interest to the cultural origin of the groups discussed later in the paper where other parallels are mentioned.

[3] Cf. Kirchhoff, 1948, *a;* Steward, 1946-1950; Vol. 3, pp. 827-899; Vol. 5, pp. 669-679, *et passim;* Steward and Faron, 1959; Layrisse, *et al.*, 1961; Needham, 1960; Murdock, 1957.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

significantly hunters and fishers. The distribution of these peoples suggests a geographical radiation from a common location that is implied as well by the relationships among the languages — probably from the west or southwest of present Yaruro country. Work on the centuries of separation, on the degrees of relationship of these languages among themselves and to other groups of the putative Andean-Equatorial family is urgently needed as is archeology in the supposed area of radiation.

Second, archeology would provide most interesting evidence. Petrullo (1939 *b*) collected a series of artifacts, mainly potsherds, which suggest a degree of culture well beyond minimal Tropical Forest level. Le Besnerais (Ms.) mentions not only the variety of potsherds to be found but also polished stone axes and funerary urns (cf., also, Vernau, 1901). I myself saw an immense number of crude, friable, slipped potsherds; many potsherds generally of the Arauquín type; a polished stone celt; a polished stone mano, beautifully made (cf. photo), and so on. None of these objects, except the crude potsherds, have been found in situ, but the Indians assert that they dig them up all the time.

The archeological items would suggest that cultures previously in the area, whether Yaruro or not, were horticultural. Though no archeology of any kind has been done in the South Venezuelan llanos, these meager indications suggest that the Kirchhoff-Steward hypothesis is erroneous since the Yaruro of our times could not be a remnant of aboriginal hunters and gatherers if the area was previously at a much higher cultural level. The general hypotheses of Cruxent and Rouse (1958-1959: 263 *ff.*) — especially that relating to a fusion between a western corn area and an eastern manioc area — would further tend to cast doubts on the whole Handbook scheme since the obvious routes for this fusion to have taken place are the great east-west llanos rivers. Archeological work is desperately needed here, and seems to me of central theoretical importance. It is hard to understand why so many workers have skirted the area.[5]

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

There is little to be found in the literature on the Yaruros. Among the missionaries they had the reputation of being too wild to tame. They were accused of being parricides and were called eaters of clay. The Tamanachi and the Otomacos seemed to have had a more complex economic culture and received much more attention from the missionaries; but the Yaruros, due to their own shyness, were considered to be scarcely human, and little was done with them. They seemed to be especially sensitive to any scolding or maltreatment. Gumilla, writing in 1791, says "Their fear, completely beyond reason, is the root of their inconstancy and is the dismay of all the writers: more delicate than glass; if they feel that the missionary has looked at them fixedly, if they hear a word less gentle, it is sure that they will run away and, moreover, will take with them the entire family." This statement may be an indication of the early treatment received by the Yaruros at the hands of the soldiers and missionaries. It is a fear which has persisted down through the centuries and is no less intense today.

Linguistically the Yaruros do not seem to be connected with any other South American group. On the basis of a few limited vocabularies several attempts have been made to link the Yaruros to the Saliva or the Betoya. An examination of the text produced in this study will show no obvious affinity to other language families. However, this is a matter for future study.[1]

ARCHEOLOGY

The llanos of Apure have become legendary for many things, even archeologically. In the entire region no excavations have been conducted, but stories are current of the variety of archeological remains. The Calzada is probably the most famous of them all. According to verbal descriptions obtained from geologists and other visitors to the llanos, the Calzada has the appearance of an elevated roadbed running eastward for many miles from some point at the foot of the Andes. In it and in small mounds close by it has been reported that pottery and skeletal material have been found. There is no doubt that archeological remains are primitive. As we traveled about the country we found that most of the squatters had archeological pieces of varying degrees of interest. At La Trinchera there were even two amateur archeologists. One thing is certain, the archeological material which was uncovered, and which is being reported in another paper, has no relation to any of the Yaruro material. It is therefore certain that the Yaruros have not always occupied the region.

[1] See Bibliography.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

the universe, his understanding of life and death, of the history of his people and their future, of morality, and of justice. Likewise he was anxious to hear what message I had to bring from my people in respect to these things. So, sitting under the shelter of some branches, we talked. As we talked we both worked. Pablo Reyes kept his hands occupied making string, fixing bows and arrows, and I, when not busy writing, pretended to carve little figures out of wood. The children played about us and Pablo's three wives kept shyly in the background, though listening carefully to what we said and often throwing inquisitive glances in our direction.

Profiting by our proximity to Guiana, I decided to visit Urbana where I could buy some goods for my friends and at the same time gather information about archeology. The wind blew so hard it proved necessary to drag the canoe along the shore of the island until we found the best place for a crossing. The sand was raised in clouds and our bodies were peppered with it so that we were forced to cover up closely. It finally proved impossible to continue and we were forced to stop and camp in the open with our backs to the wind and no shelter except what we could get from our hammocks. But holding them up was as much a hardship as to be bombarded by sand. We made one attempt to cross the Orinoco in the afternoon but we were forced to give it up. Finally, late in the afternoon, putting our trust in "God and the Virgin," as the Venezuelan canoemen say, we launched the canoe and reached La Urbana about midnight. Our stay there was necessarily short and we hastened back to Linda Bara the following day, but I gathered enough from the examination of collections at the Salesian Mission to determine that the archeology on that side of the Orinoco is quite different from that of the llanos.

At sunset as we were approaching the island we saw an army of bats in flight. The bats were coming as a cloud out of a Guiana hill in the far distance, and flew directly over us, and across to the other shore of the river, disappearing into the forest. We watched this vast army for about 15 minutes and then continued on our way, not because we had seen the last of the bats, but because time was short. I was told by my guide that this daily flight of the bats from the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco generally lasts two hours. How many thousands of them live in this cave and fly daily to forage for food in the forest is a matter of conjecture. The bat, so plentiful in this region, seems to have inspired the ancient potters of the llanos to use the head as a motif of decoration.

When we reached Pablo Reyes the next day we found there several other Yaruro families, relatives of Pablo, encamped with him. We talked some more, then departed several days later in order to return to Landaeta, who proved to be my best informant.

/9 cont./

productive and the Yaruro are living mainly on sandy shores, leading the life of fishers and nomadic gatherers--and limited them to the lower Capanaparo. There these Indians do not work the land, or at least very little; apparently for reasons linked with the proximity of Venezuelan peasants, such as: interdiction on the part of the latter who, with or without title, are masters of the land, the risk of being overrun by the free-roaming livestock, or simply work as peons on the farms, which would hardly allow them time to cultivate the land.

In fact, agriculture is only practiced on certain portions of their territory and particularly on those where they do not have contact with the Venezuelan peasants. This statement excludes at first sight the recent acquisition of it from the latter. Such a deduction is moreover corroborated by the accounts of the Jesuits (7) who lived for a while in the region in the eigh-

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

teenth century and who already described them as agriculturists--without specifying whether they had been before their arrival--and by the present Yaruro themselves, who affirm that they all formerly had conucos (8). But these points still do not

8. Kitchen gardens, in Venezuelan.

allow us to assert that they were in possession of the technique in the pre-Hispanic period.

2) The region, on the other hand, is rich in archaeological sites containing objects (pottery remains, figurines of baked clay and lignite, polished stone axes, funeral urns) which are of a completely different make from those made by the present-day Yaruro, who, moreover, do not recognize them as being of their making. Is it a question of remains of objects of forerunners or remains of objects of the Otomaco, who at the time of the Jesuits apparently lived in the present-day territory

/9 cont./
172 of the Yaruro (7), or even remains of objects of the Yaruro of

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

former times, whose descendants have forgotten the techniques of making them?

c) History

175 We hardly know much more about their post-Colombian
177 history. Some Jesuit missionaries, as we mentioned above, had contacts with them on the bank of the Orinoco toward the middle of the eighteenth century (7).

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

193 Did they leave some sort of imprint on their culture? This
177 we do not know. In any case the Yaruro do not seem to have
648 preserved any memory of it, if it isn't the fear of bearded men on the part of the children. They do remember /10/ on the other hand for a more recent period some battles which put in opposition in the course of a civil war on the Capanaparo even the Venezuelans against each other.

177 The important event of the last years (1920-1940) remains for them the installation of Racionales (9) on the Capanaparo,

9. Venezuelans

an installation the repercussions of which, as much on their way of life and the social, economic, and religious structure of their society as on their sanitary conditions and their demographic situation (illnesses and, at a certain period, repression), have been and continue to be considerable.

/12 cont./

budare (24), of tinaja (25), etc...which are found there are

24. Dish to cook flat manioc cakes, in Venezuelan.

25. Jar, in Venezuelan.

from the Otomaco women. But they often came this way--sometimes to dance or to buy canoes--to meet with the ancestors of the Yaruro of today. Like the former they were themselves good people. Yaruro and Otomaco each spoke in their dialect, which they mutually understood, which was not difficult. "Today," he added, "not a person remembers it."

Their relations must even have extended further, since they married among themselves without any obstacle /13/ placing itself in the way. Itiai in fact approved of these unions, as opposed to those with other Indians, the Piquero and Taparito included, Pedro Ramón Camacho specified, or with the Racionales, of which he disapproved.

They fed themselves, it appears, not only on fish, tortoise, deer, and vegetable produce grown in the conucos, but also on guiriguiri duck (26), a bird little in demand among the

26. Venezuelan name of the Dendrocygna automnalis.

present Indians because of the fishy taste of its meat. In addition, like the Yaruro, they appear to have lived in round huts built on the dunes, practiced a ball game, and made their pottery with the same technique and not with the aid of basketwork molds, contrary to what the remains with basketwork impressions which abound in the region where they apparently lived would lead us to suppose.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

significantly hunters and fishers. The distribution of these peoples suggests a geographical radiation from a common location that is implied as well by the relationships among the languages — probably from the west or southwest of present Yaruro country. Work on the centuries of separation, on the degrees of relationship of these languages among themselves and to other groups of the putative Andean-Equatorial family is urgently needed as is archeology in the supposed area of radiation.

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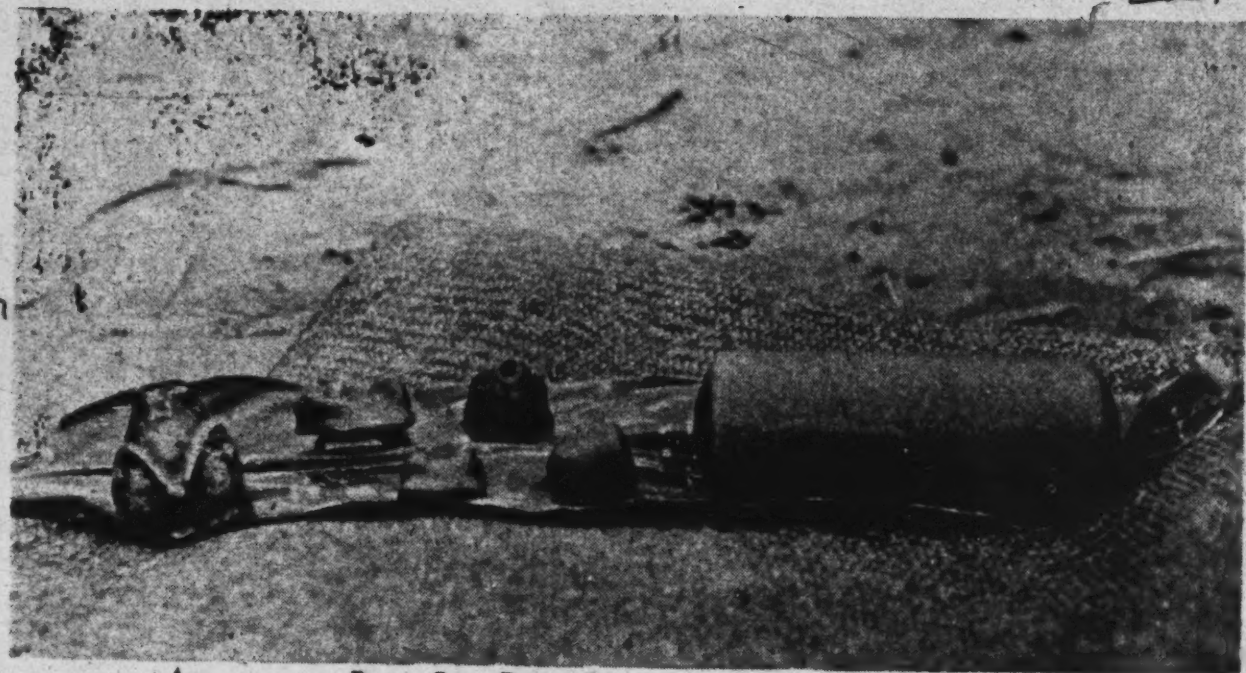

A B C D E F

Among the objects in the possesion of the El Gomal Yaruro (ca. 6° 42' N.; 67° 43' W.), about 70 miles west of the Orinoco River, Informants claimed to have dug them up during house-building. No objects of these kinds are made by the Yaruro today. *A*) Hollow ceramic bird-head object, open and broken at the top. *B*) Solid ceramic object, unidentified. *C*) Polished stone object, unidentified. *D*) Solid ceramic object with punctate design, apparently a conventionalized animal (frog or snake?) head. *E*) Highly polished black stone, unidentified, about 1.25 inches long, apparently broken at one end. *F*) Highly polished tan stone object (mano?), about 6 inches long. No stones of these kinds are to be found in the area.

[facing p. 166]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

considered to be their ancestorial relatives; that once upon a time the Yaruros were very many and now very few; that the Yaruros had been visited with great calamities the preceding year, and many of their people had died through sickness and other destructive forces.

Also, I learned that, though I could gather inklings of a rich spiritual culture and a good cross section of the material phases from this band, I had to go farther down river to meet the spiritual leaders of the remnants of this race if I wanted to reach the heart of the Yaruros' religion, cosmology, mythology, and ethics.

In all of the primitive groups with which I have come in contact, certain individuals are recognized as the leaders and authorities, especially on such matters as religion and social organization. The younger people hesitate and often refuse to discuss such matters altogether, but age alone is not enough to qualify an individual as the mouthpiece of the group. The Yaruros were no exception. As soon as they grasped that I wanted to know a great deal about their history and culture they urged me to talk to "Landaeta", their leader and great "musico" or shaman. He, with his family, was hunting on the lower Capanaparo. They offered to guide me to him. Accordingly, we journeyed downstream by moonlight to avoid the heat of the day, and as I subsequently discovered, to avoid meeting with crocodile hunters.

About noon the next day we sighted several empty canoes drawn up on the bank, and knew that there must be more Yaruros nearby. We landed on the sandy beach and awaited their return. They came early in the afternoon, the men carrying turtles and crocodiles slung on poles, the women with baskets filled with changuango, leaning forward as they walked, looking not unlike grotesque apes under their heavy loads; and also, little children carrying their share of food, straggling behind. Upon seeing me they were frightened, but did not run away.

My Yaruro paddlers acted the part of mediators perfectly, for soon afterwards we were all embarked and moving downstream to join the main body of Landaeta's band which, I was told, was encamped several miles downstream. Their good humor almost amounted to gaiety. The three canoes moved steadily down the river, the men paddling hard, and the women sitting quietly and casting shy inquisitive glances in my direction.

We found Landaeta and his people on a large exposed wind-swept beach. There was the white sand, the strong wind blowing from the east raising it into dust clouds, and the intense glare from river and sand; a few water jars, a few baskets, several refuse heaps with buzzards feeding at them, canoes drawn up on the beach, and some

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

524 323 532 a pole. In general, therefore, organized play for child or adult is hardly present.

WAR

726 173 175 The Yaruros did not speak much of war. None of their legends make any reference to it except in one case which says that they were killed by the "Racionales" and that they retaliated.* The known historical sources say nothing except Father Gumilla's account, which makes reference to the pacification of the "Saruri."

MORAL ATTITUDES

183 577 On the subject of conduct, the outlook on life and the organization of life values, we must distinguish between theory and practice. The former grows out of reflection and represents the intellectualization of the universe as seen without much reference to practical life. The second springs from the social and economic relationships and the fusing of individual ends and purposes into the purposes and ends of the group, whereas the first is not strictly controlled by custom and practical needs. Both exist among the [791] Yaruros. For the first we have to turn to the shaman, who in addition to being a religious leader, a savant, is also a moralist; and for the second we turn to the entire social group and need to watch it in its behavior.

175 171 114 In reading over the early account of the aborigines of the region, among which we must presumably include Yaruros, we gather that their moral concepts were different from those of the Christians, but perhaps neither better nor worse in practice. It must be doubted, however, whether a number of practices attributed to the Yaruros are authentic. We read, for instance, that a number of the aborigines were patricides, and we are given a picture of the male children, on reaching adolescence, rising against the fathers [682] through lust for the mother. Patricide is an abhorrent crime and [683] the motive behind it is equally abhorrent. It is to be doubted whether patricide, or even lesser acts, such as beating the father, were ever practiced, except in sporadic cases such as may occur in [684] any society. It hardly seems possible that women were the cause of it when it is known, as it is known today, that mating and extramarital relationships are very strictly controlled by tradition and social training. Disregarding, therefore, such allusions to the moral life of the primitive peoples of the Orinoco, let us turn to our informants for an understanding of their present mode of life. The

* It would appear probable that the nomadic Yaruros were too weak to ever develop any warlike spirit.

/9 cont./
of the Yaruro (7), or even remains of objects of the Yaruro of

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

former times, whose descendants have forgotten the techniques of making them?

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We hardly know much more about their post-Colombian history. Some Jesuit missionaries, as we mentioned above, had contacts with them on the bank of the Orinoco toward the middle of the eighteenth century (7).

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

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Y /12 cont./
773 having been disobediant he was going to serve as food for the
825 pumę's and be transformed into chigüíre. In the same instant
he was transformed into chigüíre."

2nd version (literal translation)

"The Kuma had a little receptacle filled with plaga and all kinds of zancudos (22). A pumę, the chigüíre, the

Y
[136] 22. Anopheles mosquitoes (Cellia argyritarsis), in Venezuelan.

Otomaco asked Kuma what kind of animal was in the receptacle. She answered that they were dangerous zancudos and that he must not open it because that would present danger. The Otomaco said: "I am going to open it." Then he opened the receptacle and thus the plaga came. If he had not opened it there would have been no plaga. When he had opened the receptacle, the mosquitoes began to bite him. The Otomaco threw himself into the water because he could not stand the bites and was transformed into chigüíre because he had disobeyed. Iɨiai said to him: "You did not want to obey, you will be transformed into chigüíre which the pumę's will kill to feed upon." The bristles of the chigüíres are the zancudos. The present chigüíres are the sons of those who have disobeyed."

O
101 Otomaco territory seems to have been situated north of
131 that of the Yaruro, around the place where they supposedly were created: Los Caballos, near the Río Cunaviche. "All these dunes," Pedro Ramón Camacho said to us word for word, and at the same time his hand made a one-quarter turn of the horizon toward the north, "were once covered with Otomaco
O villages. The remains of pimpina (23), of plates, of
172
415
Y
173 23. A pitcher of porous earthenware used as a water-cooler in Venezuelan.

/12 cont./

budare (24), of tinaja (25), etc...which are found there are

24. Dish to cook flat manioc cakes, in Venezuelan.

25. Jar, in Venezuelan.

from the Otomaco women. But they often came this way--sometimes to dance or to buy canoes--to meet with the ancestors of the Yaruro of today. Like the former they were themselves good people. Yaruro and Otomaco each spoke in their dialect, which they mutually understood, which was not difficult. "Today," he added, "not a person remembers it."

Their relations must even have extended further, since they married among themselves without any obstacle /13/ placing itself in the way. Ijiai in fact approved of these unions, as opposed to those with other Indians, the Piquero and Taparito included, Pedro Ramón Camacho specified, or with the Racionales, of which he disapproved.

They fed themselves, it appears, not only on fish, tortoise, deer, and vegetable produce grown in the conucos, but also on guiriguiri duck (26), a bird little in demand among the

26. Venezuelan name of the Dendrocygna automnalis.

present Indians because of the fishy taste of its meat. In addition, like the Yaruro, they appear to have lived in round huts built on the dunes, practiced a ball game, and made their pottery with the same technique and not with the aid of basketwork molds, contrary to what the remains with basketwork impressions which abound in the region where they apparently lived would lead us to suppose.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Bats are plentiful, but they tend to be most abundant in the forests and hills close to the Orinoco. Armies of them fly nightly out of the caves of Guiana to feed on the fruit of the forests in the plains. One evening while crossing back from Guiana to the llanos we saw a stream of bats flying across the river. They seemed to come from a cave about 2 miles away. Though we watched them flying overhead for about half an hour, there did not seem to be any end to them.

Formerly the llanos were peopled by a number of tribes who have since disappeared, leaving behind them practically no knowledge of their societies. Only the Yaruros and the Guahibos inhabiting the Meta region have survived to this day. The Tamanachi, the Guamos, the Otomacos, which are best but meagerly known, have died or been killed off in recent years. I saw the last Otomaco survivors, an old woman and a boy of five, who had been saved from a reputed massacre. The Achaguas seem to have disappeared in recent years also. What has happened to these people can be easily understood when it is considered that during the past 25 years the worldwide unrest has driven adventurers to many corners of the earth, and these people have been exposed to the marauding "revolutionary" bands and to the equally destructive cupidity of the crocodile hunter and the rancher.

There are 150 Yaruros left in the region of the Capanaparo and on an island at the mouth of that river called the Linda Bara. It is claimed that on the Sinaruco there are other bands but no contact was made with them. Formerly the Yaruros occupied a large territory and perhaps roamed the plains, as well as the rivers, but since the land has been taken up by the ranchers they have been forced to the river banks.

The animals of greatest interest to the Yaruros are: jaguar, puma, wild pigs, capibara (the chiguire), armadillo, snakes, jivaro stork, vultures, manatee, tonino, crocodiles, iguana.

Plant life has great importance as a source of food, usable wood, medicines, and narcotics. The moriche and macanilla palms supply the Yaruros with fibers and bow wood. The chigua supplies him with flour; the changuango and barbaco with edible roots.

The Yaruros call themselves "Pumeh." In the literature they are referred to as "Saururi" (Gumilla), "Zavuri" (Gilii), and more recently as Jaruros, Sayuros, etc. According to my informants Yaruro or Jaruro, is a Guahibo word by which they are known to that people. The Guahibos are known to the Yaruros as "Tciricoa," "people of the forest." The word Pumeh has no exact translatable meaning. The closest equivalent is the Spanish "gente." When a Yaruro uses it he implies "the people," "the chosen people." Only the Yaruros are Pumeh, but the term occasionally includes other tribes. All non-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

174 181 There is little to be found in the literature on the Yaruros. Among the missionaries they had the reputation of being too wild to tame. They were accused of being parricides and were called eaters of clay. The Tamanachi and the Otomacos seemed to have had a more complex economic culture and received much more attention from the missionaries; but the Yaruros, due to their own shyness, were considered to be scarcely human, and little was done with them. They seemed to be especially sensitive to any scolding or maltreatment. Gumilla, writing in 1791, says "Their fear, completely beyond reason, is the root of their inconstancy and is the dismay of all the writers: more delicate than glass; if they feel that the missionary has looked at them fixedly, if they hear a word less gentle, it is sure that they will run away and, moreover, will take with them the entire family." This statement may be an indication of the early treatment received by the Yaruros at the hands of the soldiers and missionaries. It is a fear which has persisted down through the centuries and is no less intense today.

152 177

197 Linguistically the Yaruros do not seem to be connected with any other South American group. On the basis of a few limited vocabularies several attempts have been made to link the Yaruros to the Saliva or the Betoya. An examination of the text produced in this study will show no obvious affinity to other language families. However, this is a matter for future study.[1]

ARCHEOLOGY

172 The llanos of Apure have become legendary for many things, even archeologically. In the entire region no excavations have been conducted, but stories are current of the variety of archeological remains. The Calzada is probably the most famous of them all. According to verbal descriptions obtained from geologists and other visitors to the llanos, the Calzada has the appearance of an elevated roadbed running eastward for many miles from some point at the foot of the Andes. In it and in small mounds close by it has been reported that pottery and skeletal material have been found. There is no doubt that archeological remains are primitive. As we traveled about the country we found that most of the squatters had archeological pieces of varying degrees of interest. At La Trinchera there were even two amateur archeologists. One thing is certain, the archeological material which was uncovered, and which is being reported in another paper, has no relation to any of the Yaruro material. It is therefore certain that the Yaruros have not always occupied the region.

[1] See Bibliography.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

174 It is well to note that the llanos form a sort of cul-de-sac from which there is only one escape, and that is by way of the Orinoco River. It is quite likely that the llanos have been the camping grounds and the highway for a number of tribes migrating northward, southward, or eastward. For peoples practicing agriculture, Guiana and the lower Orinoco region would be more suitable than the plains of Apure, where, on account of the strong winds and the sandy soil, it is difficult to carry on any cultivation of the soil. The mountainous regions to the north and west are also fit for agriculture. Therefore it was only the culturally poorer tribes that would remain in the llanos.

101 We have, therefore, in the following pages, a people who are primitive hunters, whose history is unknown, who do not seem to be linguistically related to any other group, and whose appearance is strongly mongoloid—who have been in contact not only with foreign indigenous culture but with some European culture, and who are facing

121 physical and cultural extinction. Perhaps this last fact should be allowed to dominate this study, because it can throw into relief much of Yaruro culture and will remind us that anthropology is not so much signs of things as the signs of man, and that his problems and the way he solves them is as important, if not more important, than purely historical problems and theories. The opportunity of studying religion, social organization, and general spiritual culture of a South American tribe was so strong that during my stay with the Yaruros I concentrated with these phases of their culture rather than on the material phases or linguistic problems.

My Journey To and Life With the Yaruros

122 177 Contact with the Yaruros is not easy. No one ever knows near what water hole or at what point on the river these nomads may be found. Several centuries of maltreatment have made them shy and suspicious of strangers and particularly of all "Racionales." Primitive and loosely organized, they could not and cannot today offer any effective resistance to civilized groups which may want to exploit them. At the time of my visit everyone along our route was indignant over the treatment that about 150 Yaruros had received at the hands of unknown local "jefes civiles" about a month before. They were seized and matcheted to death, reducing the total population of this tribe (excluding bands that may be hidden along the Sinaruco River) to one-half. My presence in their midst naturally aroused fears that some fresh calamity was about to befall them.

In the rainy season there is only one way of penetrating the llanos of Apure, and that is by boat. From the Orinoco one can sail or

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

311 177 In the case of the Yaruros all of these factors have played an important role and are currently active in reducing their territories and food supply to a degree that will mean imminent extermination of the people. It is true that since the first settler arrived in their country the Yaruros could have made readjustments in their culture which perhaps might have permitted them to survive. They could have learned, for instance, to raise horses, cattle, and to cultivate the soil as the [178] Guajiros, living in a country similar to the llanos, have done. But they have chosen to remain firm in their own culture, own traditions, and own universe, and as a result are expecting to pay the penalty. Why they have failed to make the readjustment which would have brought them into a livable relationship with the newcomers and have persisted in keeping to their primitive, nomadic existence may be answered in the pages that follow.

361 Dependency on hunting, fishing, and gathering of edible fruits and roots imposes nomadism upon a people and prevents living together in large groups. The degree to which a people have to wander, the extent of the territory over which they must roam, and the size of the group, is dependent upon the abundance of the food supply in the region. The Yaruro hunting groups are small and they stay in one camp not more than a few days; so, they are to be met plying up and down the river in their canoes or traveling over land to the water holes, ever hunting for food.

HUNTING TERRITORIES

224 621 596 Each hunting group has a territory over which it is free to roam. Over this region only its members are allowed to hunt and gather fruits and roots, but the rivers, the main streams, are open to all. The accompanying map shows the limits of the present hunting territory [174] of the Yaruros of the Capanaparo. It would seem that anciently, when the Yaruros were more numerous, they roamed over a vaster region cut up into small portions over which hunting rights were distributed among various hunting family groups. I was assured that the Yaruros of the Sinaruco also have divided their country into family units.

619 101 There is also a sort of division among the Yaruros which transcends family grouping. The Yaruros of the Capanaparo, for instance, consider themselves a unit, though loosely bound, as distinct from the Yaruros of the Sinaruco, so that they consider the land drained by the Capanaparo as theirs and the region drained by the Sinaruco as the land of the Yaruros of that river. And yet, above all this, there seems to be a tribal feeling as opposed to the tribal divisions. The real significance of this is that among the Yaruros there is permitted a degree of mutuality in the use of the hunting rights

6:Le Besnerais--1 E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Contribution to the Study of the Yaruro and Otomac Indians (Venezuela)

continuation II (1)

1. See "infra" IV List...36.

I. Notes on the origins, way of life, and history of the Yaruro.
II. Notes on the Otomaco /Otomac/.
III. Complementary observations on the habitat of the Yaruro.
IV. List of works and diverse documents relating to the study of the Yaruro and the Otomaco.
V. Corrections for the first part of this study /omitted in the translation of this second part, but incorporated in the translation of the first part/ (1).

1. See "infra" IV List...36.

I. Notes on the origins, way of life, and history of the Yaruro.

a) Origins

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We do not yet know all about the origin and the pre-Colombian past of the Yaruro. Have they lived since the most remote times on the territory which they now occupy (1) or,

1. See "infra" IV List ... 36.

on the contrary, did they come to settle there at a less distant period, and in this case, how and why? Were they formerly powerful, numerous, and masters of a vast territory--their present-day descendants let it be understood--and, if so, what vicissitudes have reduced them to the present small group? Are the excesses of their civilized neighbors and the epidemics

/7 cont./

121 carried by the latter the only causes for it, as was the case
174 for numerous tribes after the arrival of the Spaniards, or should one also search for other more distant ones?

/8/ Our investigations have not furnished us with any direct answer to these questions. We should not try to give any as long as there have not been carried out comparative studies of language--up to the present their dialect has not been linked with any of the known large linguistic families of South America --and culture with the other societies of tropical South America--and perhaps also of more distant regions. As for the ties which might have united them formerly with the Otomaco, for the same reasons we cannot say more about them than what they say themselves (see "infra": II Notes on the Otomaco) as a complement to Angel Rosenblat's study on the Otomaco and Taparita (2).

2. Id. 54.

b) Way of life

114 Relying on Vicenzo Petrullo's investigations (3), Alfred
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3. Id. 52.

Métraux (4) extends to the Yaruro the alternative he poses with

4. Id. 45.

regard to the way of life of certain tribes occupying the drainage basin of the Orinoco and the Amazon, which contrasts by its primitiveness--the absence of agriculture and nomadism--with that of the majority of the tribes of these same regions, who practice agriculture (5). He writes: "Are these Indians

/8 cont./

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5. This paragraph had been published when we learned of Anthony Leeds' articles (see "infra" IV List...42 and 43). The latter considers that agriculture, which exists among the Yaruro, as we acknowledge further along, was introduced by missionaries at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

descendants of the first inhabitants, hunters and gatherers who invaded South America at the beginning of the Neolithic Age, as Father Cooper suggests, or are they groups of Indians who after diverse vicissitudes have degenerated and adapted their civilization to a new way of life, as Levi-Strauss insists?"

121 Immigrants or not, hunters, fishers, and gatherers who evolved, or agriculturists who regressed, we shall not make a choice here between these alternatives and shall limit ourselves to presenting two observations which, gone into more deeply, will eventually permit opting in favor of one of the theses before us.

137
241 1) The tropical savanna inhabited by the Yaruro, as a consequence of the absence of extensive forests, is hardly propitious for primitive agriculture. The latter could, however, be carried out there on a small scale.

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241 The Yaruro, in fact, and contrary to Vicenzo Petrullo's observations, are not only gatherers, fishers, and hunters, but also practice agriculture, in general on land cleared in the forest corridors. Petrullo probably did not observe this aspect of their way of life (6) because he carried out his investigations

6. We made, moreover, the identical error in the course of our first investigations (see "infra" IV List...40).

at the height of the dry season--when the soil /9/ is no longer

7: Leeds E-4, 5. (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

constitute incest. I believe one can show from Petrullo's own genealogies that either incest occurred, possibly as a result of the process of depopulation, or that clan exogamy did not exist at all, since there were no clans, and the marriages concerned were not incestuous.

A third important feature that Petrullo asserts existed among the Yaruro is matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. Aside from the fact that, associated with the matriliny Petrullo's matriclans would possess, one would theoretically expect patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, if preferential cross-cousin marriage existed at all, I was unable to confirm unilateral cross-cousin marriage preferences but got statements of preference for bilateral cross-cousin marriage as well as reports of bilateral cross-cousin marriage and bilateral marriages between an ego and a parallel cousin's offspring.[2]

A fourth important feature discussed by Petrullo is totemism. The clans are assertedly connected respectively with the snake god Poanã and the jaguar god, Tió. Not only was I unable to confirm this, but the ethnographic evidence, on the whole, appears to contradict it directly. Totemism, for example, would be quite inconsistent with the social organization of the *toŋ'be* ceremony, the central socio-religious institution of the Yaruro which I have described elsewhere (1960, 1961 *b;* cf., also, Le Besnerais, 1951, 1950 *b,* and, with Dreyfus-Roche, 1954).

Thus we have not only ethnographic disagreement among three observers, but also the theoretical improbability of the original description which attaches matrilineal clanship to hunting and gathering nomadism, and to matrliateral cross-cousin marriage. Virtually all further published anthropological material on the Yaruro has taken the Petrullo report at face value. Some of these publications include a caveat about the report, but, unfortunately, others have, explicitly or implicitly, assumed its correcteness since they have used it as the starting point for historical, functional, or evolutionary reconstructions.[3]

Specifically the assertion is repeatedly made by Steward, Kirchhoff, and Steward and Faron that the Yaruro are one of a series of marginal tribes left over from an earlier wave of settlement and occupying interstitial areas among more advanced peoples. Steward (1946-1950, in various passages, esp. Vol. 5, pp. 678 *ff.*) tries to justify the marginal classification generally by designating characteristic traits present as well as those that should be absent. The Yaruro possess a large number of the latter, including horticulture, basketry, canoes,

[2] The theoretical expectation of *patrilateral* cross-cousin marriage with matriliny is discussed in Homans and Schneider (1955, especially pp. 56-57) and elsewhere. The preference for bilateral marriage with cross-cousins or with offspring of parallel cousins is also found among the Jivaro (cf. Steward and Métraux, 1948, especially p. 626). This fact, with a great many similar traits of social organization and world view shared by the two cultures, is of considerable interest to the cultural origin of the groups discussed later in the paper where other parallels are mentioned.

[3] Cf. Kirchhoff, 1948, *a:* Steward, 1946-1950; Vol. 3, pp. 897-899; Vol. 5, pp. 669-679, *et passim;* Steward and Faron, 1959; Layrisse, *et al.,* 1961; Needham, 1960; Murdock, 1957.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

114 thatched houses, pottery, etc., all of which are, according to Steward, Tropical
174 Forest traits, consistent with that possession of horticulture which Le Besnerais and I both found for the Yaruro. Kirchhoff (1948 *a*: 456) and Steward (1946-1950: Vol. 5, p. 680) try to reinforce this argument by stating that Gilij's Eighteenth Century mention of the Yaruro's practice of eating green corn is proof of their recently having acquired corn-planting.

One can, just as well, argue to the contrary that, had they borrowed corn-use from the Spanish or any tribe long-accustomed to the utilization of corn, they would never have thought of using it green at all but rather yellow in the manner of their cultural creditors. Judging by both historical and present-day reports[4] of raiding, a pattern which appears to have been substantially elaborated in the area, we may argue that the use of green corn was one way of saving the crop from neighboring human predators and possibly from animal ones as well. In other words, eating green corn can well be considered an adaptive use of corn, possibly in an old pattern, given the ecological relationships of the area.

The Layrisse, *et al.*, article (1961) dismisses the horticulture that Le Besnerais and I find as being of recent origin but gives no basis for this judgement except that it makes more consistent their correlation of a population having a low or absent Diego antigen frequency with an older culture-layer and with various asserted linguistic connections. Such a procedure is scientifically not valid as proof, however useful it may be to set up hypotheses.

II

174 Clearly the only *final* resolutions to the ethnographic discrepancies are historical ones, however much logic may convince us that the introduction of horticulture to all Yaruro groups and its integration even into their mythology and social life in the fifteen years between Petrullo's and Le Besnerais' visits is unlikely. As for the social organization problem, all possible documentary evidence must be brought to bear.

Three major sources of historical reconstruction are potentially available — archeology, lingustics, and written history — as well as several minor lines of evidence.

174 First, linguistic reconstruction of genetic relationships would provide us
197 with better hypotheses. If Greenberg's tentative classification (1956; cf., also, Steward and Faron, 1959: 22-23) is correct, the Yaruro are related to the Jívaro, the Cofan, the extinct Esmeralda speakers, and others, all of whom were, or are, actively horticultural peoples though the last named were also

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[4] Cf. both Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*, and the sources he cites; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961; also my own observations.

. 7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

significantly hunters and fishers. The distribution of these peoples suggests a geographical radiation from a common location that is implied as well by the relationships among the languages — probably from the west or southwest of present Yaruro country. Work on the centuries of separation, on the degrees of relationship of these languages among themselves and to other groups of the putative Andean-Equatorial family is urgently needed as is archeology in the supposed area of radiation.

Second, archeology would provide most interesting evidence. Petrullo (1939 *b*) collected a series of artifacts, mainly potsherds, which suggest a degree of culture well beyond minimal Tropical Forest level. Le Besnerais (Ms.) mentions not only the variety of potsherds to be found but also polished stone axes and funerary urns (cf., also, Vernau, 1901). I myself saw an immense number of crude, friable, slipped potsherds; many potsherds generally of the Arauquín type; a polished stone celt; a polished stone mano, beautifully made (cf. photo), and so on. None of these objects, except the crude potsherds, have been found in situ, but the Indians assert that they dig them up all the time.

The archeological items would suggest that cultures previously in the area, whether Yaruro or not, were horticultural. Though no archeology of any kind has been done in the South Venezuelan llanos, these meager indications suggest that the Kirchhoff-Steward hypothesis is erroneous since the Yaruro of our times could not be a remnant of aboriginal hunters and gatherers if the area was previously at a much higher cultural level. The general hypotheses of Cruxent and Rouse (1958-1959: 263 *ff.*) — especially that relating to a fusion between a western corn area and an eastern manioc area — would further tend to cast doubts on the whole Handbook scheme since the obvious routes for this fusion to have taken place are the great east-west llanos rivers. Archeological work is desperately needed here, and seems to me of central theoretical importance. It is hard to understand why so many workers have skirted the area.[5]

Before turning to written history I wish to take up some minor lines of evidence which are suggestive for the resolution of the ethnographic discrepancies. One has to do with the content of the ideology. Quite a number of items such as the earth mother, the ancestor cult, the serpent rainbow, the anaconda god, and so on (cf., Antolínez, 1939; Steward and Métraux, 1948, esp. p. 628; etc.), appear to connect the Yaruro with tribes to the west and southwest including the Chibcha and the Jívaro.

[5] No one has done systematic work in the llanos. Only sporadic finds have been made there (e. g., Petrullo, 1939 *b*; Vernau, 1901). The intensive archeological fieldwork has all been in the great circle around the llanos (cf. a great many works by Cruxent cited in Cruxent and Rouse, 1958-1959; Evans and Meggers, n.d.; Howard, 1943; Kidder, 1944; Marcano, 1893; Meggers and Evans, 1955; Osgood, 1943; Osgood and Howard, 1943; Rouse, 1956; Rouse and Cruxent, 1957, and many other Rouse articles listed in Cruxent and Rouse, 1958-1959. Cf., also, unpublished work by P. Gallagher, by M. Sanoja, and by E. Wagner.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Second is the rate of deculturation. It is quite clear from comparing the material culture items observed by Petrullo with those that I observed, as well as from the present distribution of culture traits, which shows a gradient of trait loss as one goes from less acculturated to more acculturated groups, that the Yaruro once had a more elaborate culture content than at present. Though temporal extrapolations backwards can of course only be securely made by means of the written historical sources, items gleaned here and there from sources so far examined tend to confirm the inference from spatial distributions.[6] The implication of this is that the Yaruro were formerly considerably more complex, at least in their cultural content if not also in their cultural structure, than at the periods of ethnographic observation.

Third, a series of arguments concerning the ecological relations of the Yaruro to the land, and of the various tribes to each other and the food supply, could be presented which would suggest ecological specialization by tribal or subtribal groups among the Yaruro, Sáliva, Guahibo, Kuiva, Achagua, and Otomaco, all in a complex system (cf. Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*).

Fourth, an interesting ecological argument can be made which would resolve the disagreement about horticulture: that Petrullo's statement regarding horticulture might possibly be correct for the small, highly special area he studied and — the Orinoco sand bars and the estuary of the Capanaparo River in which wet-season flooding appears to be exceedingly extensive, hence sharply limiting horticultural possibilities — but that they do not apply to other zones of the llanos which do not have the ecological peculiarities of the river-mouth area.[7] I have discussed some aspects of this in previous publications, especially with regard to the importance of flooding, the area of gallery forest available for horticulture, and the pattern of transhumance (Leeds, 1961 *a*, especially pp. 13-18). An ecological-geographical survey of the entire region between the Orinoco highlands and the Andean spurs to the west is needed.

III

We may now turn to the question of written historical evidences. No published work on the Yaruro or the llanos has made use of much more than a dozen

[6] Cf. Crévaux, 1883: 370; Carriazo, 1910: 39; Acosta Saignes, 1961: 97, etc., as well as the loss of culture traits observable between Petrullo's and my visits.

[7] That this area is rather unique is clearly indicated by many maps which represent it as entirely flooded or as a welter of water-ways (cf. Gumilla, 1791). Acosta Saignes, in a foreword to Carvajal, points out that it was quite simple to mistake one river for another since, at least during the rainy season, they all flowed into each other near the mouth. The flooding makes any ordinary gardening impossible for a large part of the year. The hypothesis tends, however, to be contradicted by Le Besnerais's findings (1954; also, Leeds, 1961 *a*). It may be noted that in the almost absolutely flat Guachara area, between the Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, at the Indian village of Palmarito- much of the llanos floods. The loamy-mud soils are excellent for crops, but crops are only grown in those areas which remain a few inches or a foot or two above highest rainy-season water-level.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

social features reported, ideological features reported, and relations with other tribes mentioned. The card sets will be arranged by geographical location of the tribe so that for any given time period one may pull out all the sets and arrange the tribes in their spatial order. Thus for any time period a picture of the trait distributions, cultural-ecological conditions, inter-tribal socio-ecological relations, and acculturational-social contacts and events should be obtainable.

V

Though, to date, I have been concerned mainly with collecting bibliography and documentary materials rather than with their analysis, I should like to hazard several very tentative conclusions, or perhaps guesses, with respect to the ethnohistory of the llanos, and particularly of the Yaruro, based on the geographic, ethnographic, archeological, linguistic, and historical data known to me now. Some, however, are presented more as hypotheses for proof or disproof through continued research.

First, Petrullo's description is erroneous at least as respects the subsistence economy. Late Nineteenth Century travellers like Crévaux and Vela and several persons in this century mention horticulture. Still earlier reports go back to the earlier Eighteenth Century when missionaries speak of horticulture. Their reports apply to the Yaruro, Otomaco, Guahibo, and other groups. It has not yet been possible to decide whether they introduced or found horticulture among these peoples. Petrullo's error appears to have several explanations:

A) That he was incapacitated for several weeks by sore feet and was unable to travel about the land away from the rivers. In my experience, a careful criss-crossing of the land on foot is an absolute necessity if one is to know how these peoples carry on their subsistence activities. I have paced off with a pedometer the entire area used by the group I worked with. In the course of so doing I discovered all kinds of gardens, houses, and other evidences of their land use. These would not otherwise have been discovered by an observer nor mentioned by the Yaruro, since mainly what is physically present is, to them, worthy of mention.[10] I should say a great portion of my most important data came from such accidental discoveries made while walking about.

[10] I would stand at a certain spot in a garden and ask "Whose garden is this?" "Juan's." Then I might walk perhaps ten feet and say, "Juan keeps his garden well." "But this is not Juan's garden." "You just said that this was Juan's garden." "That was over there on the other side of that row of corn." This happened a number of times. I also asked once, "Is there female shamanism here?" "No." Several days later, a group from an neighboring village came to visit. After an all-night session of the *tou'be*, several women performed shamanistic rites. I said, "I thought you said there is no female shamanism here?" "There isn't anyone here [i. e. in our locality] who practices — these women are from upstream." The same cleaving to locus was observed with respect to time. I was told that Miguel was a shaman ("musico"). I said "Miguel, are you not a musico?" "I am not a musico. I cannot sing." A few weeks later, he was singing. I said,

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

B) Petrullo restricted his visits to the sand banks along and in the river, and, after his first arrival, most of his travelling was done on the streams. Gardens are never to be found on the sand banks and bars, but rather, usually, on the affluent creeks which are just above flood level of the rivers in the rainy season. Therefore he was not in a position to see the gardens which Le Besnerais later saw in the same area when he explored back from the river.

C) Petrullo was in the llanos in the dry season when the Yaruro move nearer the rivers both to secure a water supply as the water table lowers and to avail themselves of the much more plentiful and accessible river fauna[11] at a time when vegetable harvests are reduced because of drought. He was therefore observing dry-season subsistence — and perhaps only a part of it.

D) The probability that he observed only a part of the dry-season subsistence pattern in his area is reinforced by two considerations:

1) He reports the fact that 150 Yaruro had been massacred by Venezuelans a month before his arrival (p. 181). Their response under such circumstances is, as fast as possible, to get off the land that the Venezuelans want and to move to the rivers. I myself had occasion to observe such a diaspora, occurring in response to a smaller massacre. In view of this sort of response, it is likely, therefore, that Petrullo's group was living off river resources and away from their gardens at the time of his visit.

2) Maps indicate that in the lower part of the Capanaparo River, the flooding is greater and the number and size of side creeks suitable for horticulture is smaller than upstream on any of the large rivers. In other words, the available area for garden plots is much smaller, and riverine subsistence proportionately more important. Upriver, and more especially on the Sinaruco and on the middle and upper Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, there is much more tillable ground.

"I thought you said you could not sing and were not a musico?" "Yes, that was true last week when I had the grippe, but now my grippe is better I can be a musico again." And many similar examples of the extreme caution one needed to exercise regarding negative responses in order to be sure they were not merely descriptive of the place and moment. If Petrullo asked "Do you raise crops?", his informants would most likely have said, "No, we have no crops here", under the circumstances in which he found them.

[11] The river fauna is more plentiful and accessible in dry season because, first, it is more concentrated, and, second, it is more visible. During the wet, flooding season, fish, and other animals spread even into smaller streams and out upon the watery llanos — we caught a small piranha on the grassy, watercovered plain itself. On the plains, the fish are lost among the grasses and are virtually impossible to spear or shoot with bow and arrow. The river turbulence of the rainy season, meanwhile, has brought so much mud from further upstream that many of the rivers are opaque, especially in those parts of the llanos constructed of mud rather than sandy soils. Fish and the water reptiles and mammals are well-cloaked by the murky stream. The waters and the plains clear in the dry season so that the fish are concentrated in the limpid, grassless waters of the rivers, while land animals and riparian fauna are all crowded together near the banks in their search for food and water.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Guahibo SC14

Y 174 ● 142 241

Petrullo's own linguistic data includes the words for corn, *(pwe)*, manioc *(pae)*, and other planted foods. The words for corn and manioc are certainly not word borrowings from Spanish. This tends to confirm the hypothesis of an aboriginal presence at least of these crops.

G Y 174 22 241

A second point is that Yaruro and Guahibo subsistence is transhumant, consisting of a wet-season gardening predominance and a dry-season hunting and/or fishing predominance. Guahibo, both presently and in various historical sources,[12] are described as being horticulturalists as well as hunters. It is of first importance to note which season is being discussed when the tribal subsistence is being described. With this sort of transhumance, one would expect the decriptions in the literature to disagree; as they do, according to the season of description. Similarly there is much local ecological variation, which appears to determine variations in the predominance of horticulture or hunting or fishing or collecting.

G 721 433

Third, the various tribes — Yaruro, Guahibo, Kuiva, Síliva, Achagua, and possibly the Otomaco, as well as more distant groups - - maintained a complex ecological relationship to llanos and extra-llanos resources by means of three major institutions, trade, war, and raiding. For example Kuiva, described by my Yaruro informants and others as being "muy brabos",[13] even today raid both Guahibo and Yaruro villages, but apparently only when these are well supplied, *after* harvesting (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961). That is, they drain off a certain amount of the harvest surplus (cf. Leeds 1961 *a*: 23) from the horticultural groups. With this food, they are able to maintain a larger population in the hunting areas away from the rivers, which they regularly inhabit. Presumably it also compels or encourages the groups concerned to produce more as a hedge against such depredations, thus contributing to overall population maximinization. The raiding pattern may also account for the use of green corn as remarked before.

G 174 721

At the same time, the Guahibo raid Yaruro gardens as the corn and manioc ripen, but are limited from so doing by the frequent presence of Yaruro in their gardens during the harvest period and by the distance of the gardens from the Guahibo villages. The Guahibo were also reported as formerly having carried on extensive warfare, which, it is my guess, had a subsistence foundation (cf. Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*). The peaceable Yaruro, on the other hand, have apparently always done a considerable amount of trading up and down river in their canoes. Trade is also reflected archeologically in the stone artifacts mentioned above, since the kinds of stones used are not found in the llanos and must come from extra-llanos sources.

Y [439]

Y 174 182

In short, the entire llanos area appears to me a complex ecological system involving hunting, gathering, fishing, and horticulture, with trade, raiding,

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[12] Cf. Crévaux, 1883; Marcano, 1883; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1944; Vela, 1889; Wilbert, 1957.

[13] Cf. Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961. He described the generally harsh behavior of the men, the raiding pattern, and the rough manhandling he received from the women.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

and warfare as supra-tribal distribution mechanisms. It is interesting to note that the cultural characteristics ascribed to each of the peoples — "warlike," "peaceable," "brabo" — are ecologically funcional, in that they mirror value orientations which tend to drive people to maximize the food resources in ways appropriate to their socio-ecological environments.

Fourth, the evidence seems to me at present to point to the existence throughout the area, of pre-hispanic horticulture, enjoyed by at least some groups within each tribe, if not by all groups in part of every year. The evidence comes from the reports of travellers, missionaries, and from the archeological remnants, such as they at present are. The main Spanish and Venezuelan acculturational effects with respect to subsistence appear to have been the introduction of iron tools; seeds and plants not of native origin, such as sugar cane and bananas; and, here and there, cattle, pigs, or chickens.

Fifth, the evidence suggests a steady deculturation in an area capable of maintaining a more elaborate level of culture. One may hypothesize either that groups like the Yaruro came into the area with a level of culture reflected by the Arauquín-style remants and then gradually deculturated both pre-hispanically and in post-conquest times, to their present level, or that they intruded into such a culture at a time when they themselves were at a more elaborate level, and then deculturated largely under Spanish influence. It will probably be possible to shed light on this question with the historical data.

In summary, if these hypotheses are correct, the entire interpretation of the llanos area between the Andes and the Orinoco highlands, as well as of other nearby areas assertedly inhabited by so-called marginal tribes, is quite different from that presented by the *Handbook of South American Indians*. The marginals of northern South America seem to evanesce, and a picture of a highly complex ecological system in which horticulture is of central importance, even if not quantitatively predominant in this ecologically restricted area, appears. This picture seems to conform better to the recent archeological hypotheses of Cruxent and Rouse (1958-1959), to the historical mentions of horticulture, to the presently scanty archeological and linguistic materials, and to more recent ethnological data.

I have not, as yet, been able to make any determination whatever with respect to clanship, totemism, or matricross-cousin marriage. I hope that with a study of the word lists discovered and with possible older ethnographic data that this problem may be resolved. My own field data suggests an organization into demes with bilateral marriages between cross-cousins or between an ego and his parallel cousin's offspring. This interpretation incidentally tallies with, or at least does not contradict, the data, such as the genealogies, kin terminology, and locality features described by Petrullo in all pasages where inferences and assertions as to the existence of these institutions do not occur.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

aboriginal peoples are called by the Spanish word "Racionales" which is the equivalent of "civilizado," civilized. It was only after they came to the conclusion that I was a Pumeh also, and quite different from the Racionales, that they accepted me and made this study possible.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Yaruros are small and dark with a strong mongoloid appearance. The faces are heavy, broad, with the eyes very often showing the mongoloid fold. The average stature of the men is about 5 feet 3 inches and of the women about 4 feet 10 inches. One gets the impression that the heads are larger than the ordinary in comparison with the body size. The frame is light, both men and women possessing small, beautifully shaped hands and feet. The body is relatively hairless, as is usual among pure Indian peoples. They have strong teeth and seem to keep them until a very old age.

The Yaruros have had some contact with Europeans or mixtures of Spanish, Negro, and Indians for several centuries. Herrara reached the Meta River in 1535, and subsequently missions were established along the Orinoco and its tributaries. About 1750 a mission was established at La Urbana for the Otomacos, and one was later established at Barinas. Apparently at that time these people inhabited the region between the Capanaparo and the Apure. No missions were established for the Yaruros, and, according to Gilii, the Yaruros came to the Otomaco missions to be baptized. Father Gumilla wrote:

> Here, between the Sinaruco and Meta rivers were established the colonies of Santa Barbara and of San Juan Francisco Regis at the end of 1739, having pacified the Saruro (Yaruro) nation; of which nation Father Manuel Roman, the Superior of those missions, in a letter of February 20, 1740, gives me excellent news of their good will and docility and, which is receiving our teachings anxiously; with the hope that with the good example of these first two other Reductions will be established. He adds that in the colony of San Francisco de Borja of the same nation Sarura, of which Father Francisco de Olmo is in charge, who has reduced their language to writing and a dictionary, Christianity is flourishing; and that already schools for writing, reading, and singing are attended by children (a short while ago they were wild); and that they sing the mass, litanies, etc., in a fair way. So much does careful and diligent effort accomplish in those wild regions! Father Rogue Lubian takes care of the Santa Teresa village with the same efficiency; Father Jose Maria Cervillini is in charge of San Ignacio; he, with Brother Agustin de la Vega, attend as best they can the rest of the new villages, and they are clamoring for workers with the firm hope that you will send them as soon as possible.

Since there has been contact with the white man and some Negroes for several centuries, one would expect a certain amount of race mixture. However, I never saw a sign of the slightest trace of Negro blood. The hair which, more than any other characteristic, seems to indicate Negro contact, in the case of the Yaruro is coarse and straight,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

a pole. In general, therefore, organized play for child or adult is hardly present.

WAR

The Yaruros did not speak much of war. None of their legends make any reference to it except in one case which says that they were killed by the "Racionales" and that they retaliated.[6] The known historical sources say nothing except Father Gumilla's account, which makes reference to the pacification of the "Saruri."

MORAL ATTITUDES

On the subject of conduct, the outlook on life and the organization of life values, we must distinguish between theory and practice. The former grows out of reflection and represents the intellectualization of the universe as seen without much reference to practical life. The second springs from the social and economic relationships and the fusing of individual ends and purposes into the purposes and ends of the group, whereas the first is not strictly controlled by custom and practical needs. Both exist among the Yaruros. For the first we have to turn to the shaman, who in addition to being a religious leader, a savant, is also a moralist; and for the second we turn to the entire social group and need to watch it in its behavior.

In reading over the early account of the aborigines of the region, among which we must presumably include Yaruros, we gather that their moral concepts were different from those of the Christians, but perhaps neither better nor worse in practice. It must be doubted, however, whether a number of practices attributed to the Yaruros are authentic. We read, for instance, that a number of the aborigines were patricides, and we are given a picture of the male children, on reaching adolescence, rising against the fathers through lust for the mother. Patricide is an abhorrent crime and the motive behind it is equally abhorrent. It is to be doubted whether patricide, or even lesser acts, such as beating the father, were ever practiced, except in sporadic cases such as may occur in any society. It hardly seems possible that women were the cause of it when it is known, as it is known today, that mating and extramarital relationships are very strictly controlled by tradition and social training. Disregarding, therefore, such allusions to the moral life of the primitive peoples of the Orinoco, let us turn to our informants for an understanding of their present mode of life. The

[6] It would appear probable that the nomadic Yaruros were too weak to ever develop any warlike spirit.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

772 177 terial existing in the literature at the present time is too scant to give us much of a lead. For the Llanos of Venezuela we have only the missionaries' accounts of the middle of the eighteenth century, meager accounts at best, and highly colored by the ideas of the missionaries themselves. But even these give us no idea as to how the Yaruros thought and behaved in those days. They give us notes only on the Otomacos and the Saliva. Perhaps material exists in unpublished form, but it must remain unknown for the purpose of the study.

● 175

773 In the mythology and in the shamanistic cult a number of figures stand out: Kuma, the mother goddess; Puaná, the great snake; Hatchawa, the culture hero; and Itciai, the jaguar. A more obscure figure is Kiberoh, who seems to be identified with a female evil spirit, but in one legend appears as the mate of Kuma. And an even more confused figure is India Rosa. It is known that the patron saint of the early Spaniards was Santa Rosa de Lima. If India Rosa is to be identified with Santa Rosa among the Yaruros, only the name has persisted. The confusion will become evident on reading the text.

773 177 The creation legend exists in various forms, but which of them represents the purely aboriginal one it is difficult if not impossible to determine. It seems best to give all versions. The myth of the flood appears also, and whether or not this is a foreign element in Yaruro mythology cannot be determined at this time. Of great interest to us are the ethical elements present in these stories. In the legend of the impregnation of Kuma, presumably by Puaná, the water snake, one may see a parallel to the story of Eve and the Serpent. Be that as it may, Puaná the Snake, Itciai the Jaguar, Kuma the Mother Goddess, and Hatchawa, the culture hero, are living spiritual forces among the Yaruros today, godheads who visit the Yaruro frequently during shamanistic performances and speak to the Yaruros through the mouth of the shaman. It would be too much to expect that all our facts should fit together into a logical pattern. The legendary world is never a well-ordered one and it speaks for the genuineness of Yaruro culture that we find such complex.

773 It will be noted that Kuma is definitely the Mother Goddess who gave birth to Hatchawa and to human beings. The latter were found by Hatchawa living under the ground. Hatchawa is always the culture hero. It is he who takes compassion on humanity and gives the fire, the bow and the arrow, and presumably a great many other things. Puaná, the Water Snake, is not only the shaper of the earth, but it is he who is given credit for great wisdom. Itciai, on the other hand, plays a very small role. In our legends he appears as a shaper or creator of the waters but plays no other part. But perhaps this [216] obscurity of Itciai is to be attributed to the fact that my informants belong to the Puaná moiety.

/9 cont./

172 of the Yaruro (7), or even remains of objects of the Yaruro of

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

former times, whose descendants have forgotten the techniques of making them?

c) History

175 We hardly know much more about their post-Colombian
177 history. Some Jesuit missionaries, as we mentioned above, had contacts with them on the bank of the Orinoco toward the middle of the eighteenth century (7).

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

173 Did they leave some sort of imprint on their culture? This
177 we do not know. In any case the Yaruro do not seem to have
648 preserved any memory of it, if it isn't the fear of bearded men on the part of the children. They do remember /10/ on the other hand for a more recent period some battles which put in opposition in the course of a civil war on the Capanaparo even the Venezuelans against each other.

177 The important event of the last years (1920-1940) remains for them the installation of Racionales (9) on the Capanaparo,

9. Venezuelans

an installation the repercussions of which, as much on their way of life and the social, economic, and religious structure of their society as on their sanitary conditions and their demographic situation (illnesses and, at a certain period, repression), have been and continue to be considerable.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Second is the rate of deculturation. It is quite clear from comparing the material culture items observed by Petrullo with those that I observed, as well as from the present distribution of culture traits, which shows a gradient of trait loss as one goes from less acculturated to more acculturated groups, that the Yaruro once had a more elaborate culture content than at present. Though temporal extrapolations backwards can of course only be securely made by means of the written historical sources, items gleaned here and there from sources so far examined tend to confirm the inference from spatial distributions.[6] The implication of this is that the Yaruro were formerly considerably more complex, at least in their cultural content if not also in their cultural structure, than at the periods of ethnographic observation.

Third, a series of arguments concerning the ecological relations of the Yaruro to the land, and of the various tribes to each other and the food supply, could be presented which would suggest ecological specialization by tribal or subtribal groups among the Yaruro, Sáliva, Guahibo, Kuiva, Achagua, and Otomaco, all in a complex system (cf. Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*).

Fourth, an interesting ecological argument can be made which would resolve the disagreement about horticulture: that Petrullo's statement regarding horticulture might possibly be correct for the small, highly special area he studied and — the Orinoco sand bars and the estuary of the Capanaparo River in which wet-season flooding appears to be exceedingly extensive, hence sharply limiting horticultural possibilities — but that they do not apply to other zones of the llanos which do not have the ecological peculiarities of the river-mouth area.[7] I have discussed some aspects of this in previous publications, especially with regard to the importance of flooding, the area of gallery forest available for horticulture, and the pattern of transhumance (Leeds, 1961 *a*, especially pp. 13-18). An ecological-geographical survey of the entire region between the Orinoco highlands and the Andean spurs to the west is needed.

III

We may now turn to the question of written historical evidences. No published work on the Yaruro or the llanos has made use of much more than a dozen

[6] Cf. Crévaux, 1883: 570; Carrizo, 1910: 39; Acosta Saignes, 1961: 97, etc., as well as the loss of culture traits observable between Petrullo's and my visits.

[7] That this area is rather unique is clearly indicated by many maps which represent it as entirely flooded or as a welter of water-ways (cf. Gumilla, 1791). Acosta Saignes, in a foreword to Carvajal, points out that it was quite simple to mistake one river for another since, at least during the rainy season, they all flowed into each other near the mouth. The flooding makes any ordinary gardening impossible for a large part of the year. The hypothesis tends, however, to be contradicted by Le Besnerais's findings (1954; also, Leeds, 1961 *a*). It may be noted that in the almost absolutely flat Guachara area, between the Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, at the Indian village of Palmarito- much of the llanos floods. The loamy-mud soils are excellent for crops, but crops are only grown in those areas which remain a few inches or a foot or two above highest rainy-season water-level.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

works at best. As of the present I have been able to discover at least 300 works, or more, with some relevance to the llanos area. Not all of these refer to tribal groups, and of those that do, not all refer to specific tribes, much less the Yaruro. However all give some picture of life and conditions on the llanos, much of which is helpful, and some of which is most enlightening.

The published sources may roughly be classified as follows:

A) Travel records such as those of Carvajal (1648, [1956]), Chaffanjon (1889), Crévaux (1883), Humboldt (1799 *ff.* [1941]), Marcano (1893), Vázquez de Espinosa (1628 [1942]), Vela (1889 [1935-1936]).

B) Collections of documents such as those edited by Friede (1957-1960) and Cuervo (1891-1894),

C) Histories of various sorts, especially mission histories,[8]

D) Books and articles on such topics as the climate or the insect and plant life of the llanos which make passing mention of human occupation, e.g. Ramia (1959), Fiasson (1947),

E) Administrative-political documents such as Indian laws, boundary commision reports, etc,[9]

F) Earlier ethnographic and linguistic articles and books, including missionaries' reports such as Gumilla's and Gilij's, but also works from this century by Antolínez (1946), Jahn (1927), Oramas (1940), Acosta Saignes (1961), and so on, some apparently based on direct contact with the groups concerned, others based on documentary and other research.

The unpublished sources are mainly to be found in the Archive of Indies in Seville which was the main depository of documents from the Indies during the entire Colonial period. Millions of documents are deposited there, a great portion of them unexploited. The documents are arranged by the areas from which they came. Documents of all kinds were sent back to Spain: letters from officials reporting on travels and many other affairs, soldier's reports, documents of legal cases, missions reports, and so on.

The archives also include documents *from* Spain regarding the area, such as royal orders to the administrative personnel in the region. Curiously, though we have found many references elsewhere to grammars and vocabularies of Indian languages and similar documents (cf. Viñaza, 1892; Chamberlain, 1910), we have found none of these in the Seville Archive. We have recovered several hundred documents comprising about 4-5 000 microfilm frames.

A second great archival source is the Colombian National Archive in Bogotá. Bogotá was, during most of the Colonial period, the regional center for

[8] Cf., among mission histories, Aguirre, 1941; Cassani, 1741; Lodares, 1736; Navarro, 1940; Rio Negro, 1929; Rivero, 1736. General histories are legion. Cf. Acosta, 1848; Aguado, 1580; Aguado, 1918; Ballisteros, 1936; Baralt and Díaz, 1887; Caulin, 1779; Herrera, 1534; Ojer, 1960; Oviedo, 1852; Simon, 1882, Zamora, 1930, etc.

[9] Cf. Aguirre and Montalbán, 1846; Calcaño, 1891; Great Britain, 1898; Ramos Perez, 1961; Recopilación, 1681; Maps to Accompany . . ., 1896.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

an area which included what is now Venezuela. There was a constant flow of documents to Bogotá many of which stayed there, instead of being sent to the higher level administrative center in Seville. The collections are particularly rich in legal cases concerning Indians or land rights of Spaniards where Indians were involved. I have recovered some 5 000 microfilm frames here without beginning to exhaust the resources. Further document search is needed there.

A third important source is the Vatican Library which contains materials concerning missions and their activities. This source has not as yet been explored.

It is reported that the Archivo del Cauca in Popoyán, Colombia, is also of great importance since it was the administrative center for the llanos area. This also remains to be explored.

Aside from these, there is a series of minor sources of documents. The Brinton collection in Philadelphia has a number of documents, particularly on linguistics, relevant to the llanos area. Yale University has some documents. The Library of Congress appears to be relatively poor in llanos materials. I was able to discover only a copy of the Lord's prayer in Yaruro, but little else.

In Spain, the Biblioteca del Palacio has a number of documents of interest but is not a source comparable to that of the major archives. Preliminary searches have been made here, and considerable material has been received. The Biblioteca Nacional may also have documents. Formely the Berlin Royal Library had some important documents, especially a grammar and vocabulary by Forneri (n.d.). Several colleagues in Germany have kindly attempted to trace this document, but the Royal Library has been so dispersed by two wars that no one knows where the material is. It is hoped to be able to track these down too.

Venezuelan archives appear to be rather thin, also, since most of the material was sent to Popayán, Bogotá, or Seville. Some material, however, appears to be available there and has been explored by Father Canedo of the Academy of American Franciscan History in Washington. With Father Canedo abroad, it has, as yet, been impossible to investigate the material. I understand he has collected, mostly in Caracas, 50 000 frames on Venezuelan history, focussing primarily on the Spanish aspects, rather than on Indian. There may also be small deposits of documents in the diocesan centers of the llanos area.

IV

A short description of the data handling will be of interest. Each tribal group will have its own file of 5" × 8" cards which will be arranged chronologically according to the date of contact with the Indians, and then grouped in equivalent periods for easy comparison. On each card, special attention to the following categories of information will be given: season of observation, conditions of observation, observer, location at the time, subsistence reported,

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

social features reported, ideological features reported, and relations with other tribes mentioned. The card sets will be arranged by geographical location of the tribe so that for any given time period one may pull out all the sets and arrange the tribes in their spatial order. Thus for any time period a picture of the trait distributions, cultural-ecological conditions, inter-tribal socio-ecological relations, and acculturational-social contacts and events should be obtainable.

V

Though, to date, I have been concerned mainly with collecting bibliography and documentary materials rather than with their analysis, I should like to hazard several very tentative conclusions, or perhaps guesses, with respect to the ethnohistory of the llanos, and particularly of the Yaruro, based on the geographic, ethnographic, archeological, linguistic, and historical data known to me now. Some, however, are presented more as hypotheses for proof or disproof through continued research.

First, Petrullo's description is erroneous at least as respects the subsistence economy. Late Nineteenth Century travellers like Crévaux and Vela and several persons in this century mention horticulture. Still earlier reports go back to the earlier Eighteenth Century when missionaries speak of horticulture. Their reports apply to the Yaruro, Otomaco, Guahibo, and other groups. It has not yet been possible to decide whether they introduced or found horticulture among these peoples. Petrullo's error appears to have several explanations:

A) That he was incapacitated for several weeks by sore feet and was unable to travel about the land away from the rivers. In my experience, a careful criss-crossing of the land on foot is an absolute necessity if one is to know how these peoples carry on their subsistence activities. I have paced off with a pedometer the entire area used by the group I worked with. In the course of so doing I discovered all kinds of gardens, houses, and other evidences of their land use. These would not otherwise have been discovered by an observer nor mentioned by the Yaruro, since mainly what is physically present is, to them, worthy of mention.[10] I should say a great portion of my most important data came from such accidental discoveries made while walking about.

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

THE YARUROS OF THE CAPANAPARO RIVER, VENEZUELA

By Vincenzo Petrullo

Introduction

121 The American primitive aborigines are rapidly becoming extinct. Some groups are dying out, and others are being assimilated in the lowest laboring classes of the various nations. In any case, the American aborigines, as first found by the sixteenth century explorers, are rarely met today. Only in a few spots, difficult of access or geographically undesirable to the Euro-American, can one find a few primitive peoples still eking out an existence as did their ancestors of four centuries ago. Some of these groups have had intermittent contact with European culture; others do not even know of it at first hand. It is these tribes which can furnish the key to many problems of American anthropology and to some extent to world anthropology, but there is need for haste in studying them, for they may not survive this generation.

511 A simple hunting and fishing culture is the most primitive economic existence. When such a culture has not been able to lift itself above the wood, shell, and bone stage, it should be ranked among the primary. The presence of the bow and pottery may lift a culture slightly above the Australian, but not very much so. The Yaruro culture described in the following pages can be classified as being on that level. Certainly it is as primitive as the Fuegian. The Yaruros, like most tribes of the South American tropical lowlands, have been handicapped by lack of stone in the country. Wood, shell, and bone were substituted until they came in contact with iron. Today they obtain scraps of iron, which they have learned to fashion into arrow points, from the cattle ranchers, but they would have done just as well without this new material.

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511 361 A people like the Yaruros are forced to economize in every aspect of their material culture. Literally they may have only that which they are able to transport with them. All the worldly possessions of each family must be crowded into one small dugout canoe. The

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superfluous needs to be dispensed with every time camp is moved, which occurs every few days. Only in thoughts and feelings can they be as rich as any other people; but this requires a particular kind of temperament possessed by only a few individuals in the tribe.

Their economic life, social organization, mythology, and religion form a well-knit pattern of existence. There are no loose ends, but a knot here and there appears in the form of vagueness or contradiction. But I think that the fault lies with us who would introduce our type of organization into their knowledge. We expect more from a primitive group than we ourselves could offer. Besides, it is doubtful whether we ever present the picture of their culture as they see it; if we did we might not understand or we might even be surprised at its orderliness.

Although the Yaruros have been in touch with Euro-American culture for several centuries they have borrowed remarkably little. What culture they possessed several centuries ago we do not know. There is practically no information about them in the literature. There is justification, therefore, in publishing this record, in spite of many apparent deficiencies. Since plans for another visit to fill in the gaps in my field notes have not materialized and the Yaruros may be gone before another ethnologist can live with them it seems advisable to make this material available.

Anthropology, among other things, is concerned with the interrelationships of groups of men and with the functions of social structures as developed by man and his environment. I have tried to keep in mind that in presenting a first account of an unknown people it may not be at all out of place to draw a general but intimate picture of the daily life of the Yaruros, their emotional, cognitive and conative responses to the world about them, and even their attitude toward the ethnologist who appeared among them with only the objective of holding friendly conversations about themselves. At first they were suspicious, but they soon caught the point and enjoyed the experience as much as I did. An attempt has been made to give these pictures, and to explain the series of events which made possible with these nomads the intimate association that followed the first few days of unfriendliness.

No attempt has been made to reconcile differences in the information obtained from various informants, not even if there is a contradiction. It was the first time that the Yaruros had been asked to organize their knowledge of their own culture; contradictions and vagueness were to be expected. My informants were exclusively men, even for those phases of culture which admittedly belong to the female world. A cultural obstacle which I respected prevented any direct social intercourse with the women. The women's domain is respected by the

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136 Bats are plentiful, but they tend to be most abundant in the forests and hills close to the Orinoco. Armies of them fly nightly out of the caves of Guiana to feed on the fruit of the forests in the plains. One evening while crossing back from Guiana to the llanos we saw a stream of bats flying across the river. They seemed to come from a cave about 2 miles away. Though we watched them flying overhead for about half an hour, there did not seem to be any end to them.

174 Formerly the llanos were peopled by a number of tribes who have since disappeared, leaving behind them practically no knowledge of their societies. Only the Yaruros and the Guahibos inhabiting the Meta region have survived to this day. The Tamanachi, the Guamos, the Otomacos, which are best but meagerly known, have died or been killed off in recent years. I saw the last Otomaco survivors, an old woman and a boy of five, who had been saved from a reputed massacre. The Achaguas seem to have disappeared in recent years also.

● 177 What has happened to these people can be easily understood when it is considered that during the past 25 years the worldwide unrest has driven adventurers to many corners of the earth, and these people have been exposed to the marauding "revolutionary" bands and to the equally destructive cupidity of the crocodile hunter and the rancher.

161 There are 150 Yaruros left in the region of the Capanaparo and
101 on an island at the mouth of that river called the Linda Bara. It is claimed that on the Sinaruco there are other bands but no contact was made with them. Formerly the Yaruros occupied a large territory and perhaps roamed the plains, as well as the rivers, but since the land has been taken up by the ranchers they have been forced to the river banks.

136 The animals of greatest interest to the Yaruros are: jaguar, puma, wild pigs, capibara (the chiguire), armadillo, snakes, jivaro stork, vultures, manatee, tonino, crocodiles, iguana.

137 Plant life has great importance as a source of food, usable wood,
222 medicines, and narcotics. The moriche and macanilla palms supply the Yaruros with fibers and bow wood. The chigua supplies him with flour; the changuango and barbaco with edible roots.

101 The Yaruros call themselves "Pumeh." In the literature they are referred to as "Saururi" (Gumilla), "Zavuri" (Gilii), and more recently as Jaruros, Sayuros, etc. According to my informants Yaruro or Jaruro, is a Guahibo word by which they are known to that people. The Guahibos are known to the Yaruros as "Tciricoa," "people of the forest." The word Pumeh has no exact translatable meaning. The closest equivalent is the Spanish "gente." When a Yaruro uses it he implies "the people," "the chosen people." Only the Yaruros are Pumeh, but the term occasionally includes other tribes. All non-

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aboriginal peoples are called by the Spanish word "Racionales" which is the equivalent of "civilizado," civilized. It was only after they came to the conclusion that I was a Pumeh also, and quite different from the Racionales, that they accepted me and made this study possible.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Yaruros are small and dark with a strong mongoloid appearance. The faces are heavy, broad, with the eyes very often showing the mongoloid fold. The average stature of the men is about 5 feet 3 inches and of the women about 4 feet 10 inches. One gets the impression that the heads are larger than the ordinary in comparison with the body size. The frame is light, both men and women possessing small, beautifully shaped hands and feet. The body is relatively hairless, as is usual among pure Indian peoples. They have strong teeth and seem to keep them until a very old age.

The Yaruros have had some contact with Europeans or mixtures of Spanish, Negro, and Indians for several centuries. Herrara reached the Meta River in 1535, and subsequently missions were established along the Orinoco and its tributaries. About 1750 a mission was established at La Urbana for the Otomacos, and one was later established at Barinas. Apparently at that time these people inhabited the region between the Capanaparo and the Apure. No missions were established for the Yaruros, and, according to Gilii, the Yaruros came to the Otomaco missions to be baptized. Father Gumilla wrote:

> Here, between the Sinaruco and Meta rivers were established the colonies of Santa Barbara and of San Juan Francisco Regis at the end of 1739, having pacified the Saruro (Yaruro) nation; of which nation Father Manuel Roman, the Superior of those missions, in a letter of February 20, 1740, gives me excellent news of their good will and docility and, which is receiving our teachings anxiously; with the hope that with the good example of these first two other Reductions will be established. He adds that in the colony of San Francisco de Borja of the same nation Sarura, of which Father Francisco de Olmo is in charge, who has reduced their language to writing and a dictionary, Christianity is flourishing; and that already schools for writing, reading, and singing are attended by children (a short while ago they were wild); and that they sing the mass, litanies, etc., in a fair way. So much does careful and diligent effort accomplish in those wild regions! Father Rogue Lubian takes care of the Santa Teresa village with the same efficiency; Father Jose Maria Cervillini is in charge of San Ignacio; he, with Brother Agustin de la Vega, attend as best they can the rest of the new villages, and they are clamoring for workers with the firm hope that you will send them as soon as possible.

Since there has been contact with the white man and some Negroes for several centuries, one would expect a certain amount of race mixture. However, I never saw a sign of the slightest trace of Negro blood. The hair which, more than any other characteristic, seems to indicate Negro contact, in the case of the Yaruro is coarse and straight,

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high and the hips carried well forward. As they walk along the soft sands they do not lean forward as a white man would to push against the yielding sands. The torso is held erect on the pelvis and the weight is shifted from hip to hip with the legs making a gliding motion beneath. In this way the walk is really a shifting of weight from one foot to another, the foot being planted almost flat on the ground. I noticed that on a hard trail the ball of the foot strikes the ground before the heel. They make a graceful picture as they walk about.

When sitting they double their legs under them, a position difficult to assume unless one has practiced it from childhood. The favorite sleeping posture is on the side with the knees drawn up close to the mouth. When sitting on the sands, if forced to pick up an object lying some distance away, the women especially would walk on all fours to it and bring it back without rising to a standing posture. In this manner I have seen women pick up firewood lying 50 yards away from the fire.

Loads are carried by men and women in nets suspended by a band from the forehead. Young children, who generally accompany their mothers on their food-gathering expeditions, are carried astride the hip, feeding at the breast as the mother goes about her work.

The physical endurance of the Yaruros is rather low. A day of hard paddling at a speed greater than their ordinary style, and they are exhausted. It is difficult to say whether this is due to their poor diet or simply to low racial vitality. It is certain that the American primitive is not as acclimated to the tropics as the Negro who, living on the same food as the Indian, will nevertheless outwork the latter.

The Yaruros today have been pushed to the Capanaparo and the Sinaruco Rivers. Rarely do they dare to wander far away from the banks of these two rivers. Since the days of the missions the indigenous tribes have been the victims of exploitation, even to the extent of enslavement. They are free booty for anyone who can catch them. The ranchers have sought to enslave the Yaruros, but an even more general sport has been the taking of the Yaruro women. Bandits and revolutionary groups sweeping along the llanos have not eased the Yaruro problem. Crocodile hunters, upon meeting with a band of Yaruros, will demand their women, and if the Yaruros should be reluctant to turn them over, death may be the price. I was told both by the Racionales, that is the peons, and the Yaruros, that about one month before I arrived in their midst about 150 Yaruros had been rounded up and killed by the local "Jefes Civiles." The Yaruros are a hunted people, and they know that their extermination is imminent.

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There is little to be found in the literature on the Yaruros. Among the missionaries they had the reputation of being too wild to tame. They were accused of being parricides and were called eaters of clay. The Tamanachi and the Otomacos seemed to have had a more complex economic culture and received much more attention from the missionaries; but the Yaruros, due to their own shyness, were considered to be scarcely human, and little was done with them. They seemed to be especially sensitive to any scolding or maltreatment. Gumilla, writing in 1791, says "Their fear, completely beyond reason, is the root of their inconstancy and is the dismay of all the writers: more delicate than glass; if they feel that the missionary has looked at them fixedly, if they hear a word less gentle, it is sure that they will run away and, moreover, will take with them the entire family." This statement may be an indication of the early treatment received by the Yaruros at the hands of the soldiers and missionaries. It is a fear which has persisted down through the centuries and is no less intense today.

Linguistically the Yaruros do not seem to be connected with any other South American group. On the basis of a few limited vocabularies several attempts have been made to link the Yaruros to the Saliva or the Betoya. An examination of the text produced in this study will show no obvious affinity to other language families. However, this is a matter for future study.[1]

ARCHEOLOGY

The llanos of Apure have become legendary for many things, even archeologically. In the entire region no excavations have been conducted, but stories are current of the variety of archeological remains. The Calzada is probably the most famous of them all. According to verbal descriptions obtained from geologists and other visitors to the llanos, the Calzada has the appearance of an elevated roadbed running eastward for many miles from some point at the foot of the Andes. In it and in small mounds close by it has been reported that pottery and skeletal material have been found. There is no doubt that archeological remains are primitive. As we traveled about the country we found that most of the squatters had archeological pieces of varying degrees of interest. At La Trinchera there were even two amateur archeologists. One thing is certain, the archeological material which was uncovered, and which is being reported in another paper, has no relation to any of the Yaruro material. It is therefore certain that the Yaruros have not always occupied the region.

[1] See Bibliography.

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It is well to note that the llanos form a sort of cul-de-sac from which there is only one escape, and that is by way of the Orinoco River. It is quite likely that the llanos have been the camping grounds and the highway for a number of tribes migrating northward, southward, or eastward. For peoples practicing agriculture, Guiana and the lower Orinoco region would be more suitable than the plains of Apure, where, on account of the strong winds and the sandy soil, it is difficult to carry on any cultivation of the soil. The mountainous regions to the north and west are also fit for agriculture. Therefore it was only the culturally poorer tribes that would remain in the llanos.

We have, therefore, in the following pages, a people who are primitive hunters, whose history is unknown, who do not seem to be linguistically related to any other group, and whose appearance is strongly mongoloid—who have been in contact not only with foreign indigenous culture but with some European culture, and who are facing physical and cultural extinction. Perhaps this last fact should be allowed to dominate this study, because it can throw into relief much of Yaruro culture and will remind us that anthropology is not so much signs of things as the signs of man, and that his problems and the way he solves them is as important, if not more important, than purely historical problems and theories. The opportunity of studying religion, social organization, and general spiritual culture of a South American tribe was so strong that during my stay with the Yaruros I concentrated with these phases of their culture rather than on the material phases or linguistic problems.

My Journey To and Life With the Yaruros

Contact with the Yaruros is not easy. No one ever knows near what water hole or at what point on the river these nomads may be found. Several centuries of maltreatment have made them shy and suspicious of strangers and particularly of all "Racionales." Primitive and loosely organized, they could not and cannot today offer any effective resistance to civilized groups which may want to exploit them. At the time of my visit everyone along our route was indignant over the treatment that about 150 Yaruros had received at the hands of unknown local "jefes civiles" about a month before. They were seized and matcheted to death, reducing the total population of this tribe (excluding bands that may be hidden along the Sinaruco River) to one-half. My presence in their midst naturally aroused fears that some fresh calamity was about to befall them.

In the rainy season there is only one way of penetrating the llanos of Apure, and that is by boat. From the Orinoco one can sail or

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hammock for me. They preferred to lie half buried in the sand, both for warmth and for protection from the mosquitoes.

Some of the bolder young men asked for rum. I had none with me. All along the road I had been told that rum was the only means of inducing the Indians to dance, but an ethnologist's work cannot be based on such an approach.

Through the diplomatic efforts of Maria, the Yaruros consented to sing and dance a little. I was able to arouse their interest in my flashlight, and to arouse their modesty and bewilderment when I flashed it upon them. My compass also drew an excited jabbering circle about me. But I was not able to engage them in conversation, and finally left them about midnight with the satisfaction that at least there had been no friction.

On the following day I sent them a pig, and later in the day again visited them. They were still shy and suspicious of me, but permitted me to go about the camp examining their artifacts.

There was not much to be done in this camp. The group was in a wretched state, still in mourning for their dead, living in fear of some fresh calamity, and although they were suffering hunger, too miserable to try to go back to the river where, at least, they would find food. Tribal customs prevented my engaging the old women in conversation and the men were too young and much too affected by llanero culture to tell me about their own people. Their advice, which I took, was to go farther south where we would find other Yaruro bands among whom I could find old men who could answer any questions.

I prevailed upon the leader of the band, Estaban, to accompany me. He was reluctant to go, not wanting to be separated from his young wife, and perhaps was afraid to trust himself alone with me. However, his desire for cloth and a mosquito netting was stronger than his fear. Estaban proved a loyal and faithful companion.

We found the next band encamped on a beach by the Capanaparo River. Here they were temporarily in the employ of a llanero engaged in building a house. For several days I had no more success with them than I had had with the other band, so during that time we studied whatever was on the surface. However, I was not doing all the studying. The Yaruros were watching me closely and weighing my statements carefully. During this time Estaban was busy building up my reputation. What impressed them most was that I did not ask for their women, and that all I wanted to do was to talk with them about themselves.

One night their attitude suddenly changed. I had been sitting for hours on the sands in the midst of these people, waiting for them to give me a sign of friendliness, but they were silent and apparently

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609 Yawalapiti village in Brazil; but the very silence was expressive of the mutual sorrow at our parting. Landaeta loaded me and my baggage in a canoe and we drifted slowly away, leaving on the vast beach a few human beings alone in a strange world, but not lonesome, since they live with their gods.

Economic Life

231 The Yaruros practice no agriculture and keep no domestic animals except the dog, even though they inhabit country over which roam wild horses and cattle, and they come in contact with the "llaneros," who are typically pastoral. Therefore, their daily dinner is dependent upon, and determined by, indigenous environment and their own
262 energy. The quality and abundance of their food supply depends upon seasonal variations of climate. A period of drought or a too prolonged period of rain may cause famine. They would be allowed a degree of freedom from the daily task of acquiring dinner were they able to store any food for future use. The tropics, however, offer special difficulties to this which are not present in more temperate climates. Their knowledge of what is edible in various localities, where to find it, how to gather it, and how to keep it and what is available at different times of the year are all factors important to the satisfaction of their most fundamental need. Technical knowledge in the making of tools and methods of hunting and fishing are also important.

262 784 As if not satisfied by the degree of their dependency on it, and on their technical knowledge, primitives often self-impose other limitations. There may be an abundance of a particular animal which could be hunted easily or a particular plant which could be gathered in quantity, yet the primitives very often raise barriers against such practices. The fact that they have religious and perhaps magical reasons for such attitudes explains but does not change the situation. Thus, for instance, among them deer may be plentiful in a region, the people may be starving, and yet no deer is killed and eaten.[3]

177 Limitations such as these are not entirely imposed by nature and by the culture of the people; often, the proximity and the attitude of other groups of mankind play their part. A weak tribe will be restricted in its lands over which it may wander, hunt, and claim ownership, and very often may be reduced to seeking a less desirable environment where food is even scarcer. Or a new people may seize its lands and they will be prohibited even from hunting on these lands. Or there may be an influx of peoples who will live partially on the hunt also, though their main source of food may be agricultural.

[3] The peoples of the Kuluene river, Matto Grosso, Brazil, will not hunt nor eat deer.

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In the case of the Yaruros all of these factors have played an important role and are currently active in reducing their territories and food supply to a degree that will mean imminent extermination of the people. It is true that since the first settler arrived in their country the Yaruros could have made readjustments in their culture which perhaps might have permitted them to survive. They could have learned, for instance, to raise horses, cattle, and to cultivate the soil as the Guajiros, living in a country similar to the llanos, have done. But they have chosen to remain firm in their own culture, own traditions, and own universe, and as a result are expecting to pay the penalty. Why they have failed to make the readjustment which would have brought them into a livable relationship with the newcomers and have persisted in keeping to their primitive, nomadic existence may be answered in the pages that follow.

Dependency on hunting, fishing, and gathering of edible fruits and roots imposes nomadism upon a people and prevents living together in large groups. The degree to which a people have to wander, the extent of the territory over which they must roam, and the size of the group, is dependent upon the abundance of the food supply in the region. The Yaruro hunting groups are small and they stay in one camp not more than a few days; so, they are to be met plying up and down the river in their canoes or traveling over land to the water holes, ever hunting for food.

HUNTING TERRITORIES

Each hunting group has a territory over which it is free to roam. Over this region only its members are allowed to hunt and gather fruits and roots, but the rivers, the main streams, are open to all. The accompanying map shows the limits of the present hunting territory of the Yaruros of the Capanaparo. It would seem that anciently, when the Yaruros were more numerous, they roamed over a vaster region cut up into small portions over which hunting rights were distributed among various hunting family groups. I was assured that the Yaruros of the Sinaruco also have divided their country into family units.

There is also a sort of division among the Yaruros which transcends family grouping. The Yaruros of the Capanaparo, for instance, consider themselves a unit, though loosely bound, as distinct from the Yaruros of the Sinaruco, so that they consider the land drained by the Capanaparo as theirs and the region drained by the Sinaruco as the land of the Yaruros of that river. And yet, above all this, there seems to be a tribal feeling as opposed to the tribal divisions. The real significance of this is that among the Yaruros there is permitted a degree of mutuality in the use of the hunting rights

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not allowed to the neighboring peoples, such as the Otomacos or the Achaguas. The social and linguistic bonds seem to be strong enough to cause the Yaruros to recognize themselves as a distinct people.

FOODS

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In the llanos food is not plentiful except in and along the rivers; but the foraging activities of the Yaruros are restricted to the banks of the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers for another reason. The hunting of land animals has practically stopped for fear that they will be accused by the ranchers of killing cattle. In recent years the activities of the crocodile hunters have ruthlessly destroyed the game, and since such hunters live on the country they have consumed a portion of the available quantity of game on which the Yaruros depended for a livelihood.

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In the dry season game is concentrated along the rivers and the water holes. It is considerably easier to hunt it then than in the rainy season, when it is dispersed over the plains. The turtle, which is found in great quantities in the waters of the Orinoco and its tributaries, suffers a yearly mass hunt and destruction which has its effect on the food supply of the Yaruros. It has been discovered that the turtle fat and eggs will produce a fine grade of oil which sells for a high price. The result is that the breeding grounds of the turtles become yearly a scene of great activity and destruction. No one knows how many thousands of turtles and turtle eggs are gathered and converted into this oil late in the month of April.

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The meat staple of the Yaruros is the *Crocodilus babu*, a small crocodile which grows to about 6 feet long. This animal is hunted daily and eaten in its entirety. Its meat is esteemed above that of any other animal. On the other hand, the cayman, sought for its hide, is not hunted as a rule by the Yaruros. Perhaps this meat is not as savory as that of the babu, but the Yaruros give the reason that the large crocodile represents a race of mankind to which they are related. So that although occasionally it may be hunted for the price that its hide may bring, it is never eaten and never hunted consistently.

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Next to the crocodile, turtles, including the matamata and tortoise, are to be found broiling over the fires in every Yaruro camp, and if they are not broiling they can be seen in shallow pools of water with their forelegs tied to their hindlegs. In this way they can keep alive but cannot walk away. The armadillo is seldom obtained and other meats appear occasionally on the diet of the Yaruros. Fishing is resorted to when neither crocodiles nor turtles are obtainable. The caribe, which is the piranha of Brazil, is esteemed but little. The tonino, which can be seen gracefully playing in the water or can be heard snorting in the rivers at night, is never hunted. It also is

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

CANOES

[481] 501 502 868 The Yaruros dislike to travel any distance afoot. The canoe, therefore, is practically his only means of transportation. As a result, they are extraordinarily good canoemen, learning both how to build and to manage one from childhood. It is not an uncommon sight to see little children of 5 or 6 years of age paddling furiously in midstream. Their expertness can best be illustrated by the following incident: The llanos are exposed to the trade winds in the dry season, which at times blow very hard. On our return from La Urbana we found the crossing of the Orinoco to the mouth of the Capanaparo a dangerous undertaking.

The Yaruro dugouts are clumsy affairs at best, but in addition to that, ours had a gaping hole about 10 inches in diameter in the stern and it was with some qualms that I stepped into it to negotiate the rather rough waters with the help of a 12-year-old boy. Since the Yaruro steers from the bow, that place of honor was allotted to the youngster, I furnishing the power. During the passage across I despaired several times of being able to hold the canoe in the right direction, but whenever we found ourselves caught in some especially difficult whirlpool this lad would turn and laugh, not in derision but in encouragement, which was calculated, I suppose, to bolster my spirit, but helped not at all in easing the strain on my arms. His knowledge of the currents and his proper timing in signaling to me to paddle one way or the other, as well as deft steering, finally got us across safely. When this incident was over and I looked back over the rough waters, my respect for Yaruro canoemanship increased manifold.

502 177 Sails are used on the Orinoco and its tributaries, both by the occasional traders and crocodile hunters. The Yaruros have had ample opportunities over several centuries to learn how to make use of them. In fact, some of the younger men who worked occasionally for the ranchers, or traders, do know how. However, in their daily plying up and down the rivers, hunting and fishing, they never employ the sail.

[181] Their conservatism is further illustrated by another fact. The Racionales will always pole their canoes when traveling upstream. The Yaruros know how to do this also, but only when they are working for someone else. In their everyday life they depend entirely on the paddle.

502 The steersman generally sits in the bow, especially when moving downstream and the paddler is alone, pulling the canoe after him. The paddler in the stern, if one is present, really furnishes the motive power. The Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

317 323 [302] [824] This same clay supplies the red and yellow ocher used for facial painting. The clay is tempered with the bark of the Mecla tree called "Toiin" in Yaruro. This bark is burned to an ash and the ashes are kneaded into the clay, which has been well moistened. Rolls of this clay are then made, coiled, and placed one upon another. They are then flattened and smoothed out by hand or with the help of a piece of shell, water being applied liberally. The clay rests on a dish of pottery which is revolved when necessary. After the pot has been built up and smoothed down it is left in the sun to dry for two days. At the proper time a base of wood is made,

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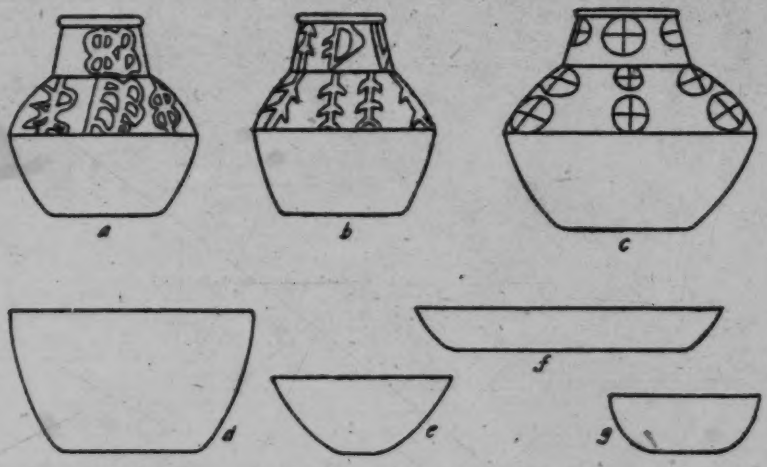

FIGURE 22.—Pottery forms and decorations. *a*, *b*, *c*, Water jars, showing painted designs. *d*, *e*, *g*, Bowls. *f*, Pottery plate used for toasting seeds.

the pottery placed on it and covered with other sticks, and then a hot fire bakes the pottery for about two hours. Such quick firing produces a poor quality of pottery, but leaves it porous. Since these pots are used only as water jars, this has the effect of keeping the water very cool (pl. 13, *2*; fig. 22).

CLOTHING

291 177 Most of the Yaruros whom I saw possessed some scrap of clothing which was worn both as protection against the weather and for social show. In many cases this clothing consisted of mere shreds, as can be seen in plate 15, *1*. The men wear coats and trousers or merely trousers. The women wear camisoles of the thinnest goods which in no way hides their nakedness. Most of this clothing is discarded when there are no visitors around camp, and

1 [see category 116, and plate 3 ----- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

291 after I had been among the Yaruros for a time the women often dis-
177 carded their camisoles, even though I were present.

The men would normally wear a breechclout which originally was
291 woven by the women from the fibers of the moriche palm leaf, but
286 now it consists of a piece of cloth. Formerly the women wove wide
462 belts of the same fiber for the men, but this is no longer done. The breechclout is held in place by a string tied around the waist.

The women, underneath their camisoles, still wear the old-fash-
291 ioned Yaruro girdle, which is made from the fibers of the moriche
287 palm. The fibers, which are about 2 feet long, are fastened together at one end. This end is slipped through a hair rope tied around the waist, and the whole mass of fibers passes between their legs and under the waist string. Plate 25, 4,[1] shows a Yaruro woman wearing one of these girdles. It is fastened in such a way that an enormous knot is formed in the rear, and when wearing their camisole the women have the appearance of sporting large tails.

562 The women on the whole seem to be more conservative than the
291 men in their clothing and body decorations. Below the knees and
301 around the ankles they wear a thin string, and often they have necklaces of carved asabache figures, which are shown in plate 21.

DELOUSING TOOL

412 An implement that is in great vogue is the delousing tool shown in
515 plate 20, 2. The serrated end is used as a comb to expose the lice, which are seized between the fingers and crushed between the teeth. The pointed end is employed to crush blisters raised on the body by
462 mosquito bites. These tools, also fashioned by the men, are used
302 exclusively by the women to groom their menfolk and each other.

CARRYING NETS

482 Carrying nets, of the knotless variety, are woven and used to
286 carry children and food. When carrying children the net is slung
854 across the chest from one shoulder; when carrying food it is supported by the head.

COOKING

252 The culinary art among the Yaruro is poorly developed. Much
462 of the fruit and the eggs are eaten raw. Fish is eaten half raw and the meat of the crocodiles and turtles is merely warmed over the fire. Sometimes the meat is boiled. In the afternoon the women who have gathered firewood are to be found in camp waiting patiently for the men. On the hot coals they will have eggs and changuango. If the hunt is successful, and no hunt is considered

1 [See category 116, and plate 15, Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Even if there were stronger interest in sex than seemed to exist, there would be little opportunity for the youngsters to indulge in any sexual relations, since their playmates tend to be parallel cousins and very often playmates are lacking altogether. In the small hunting groups often there may be only one or two unmarried young people. Under such conditions a boy would either have to seek sex relations with one of his moiety sisters or practice adultery with a woman of the opposite moiety living with his own hunting group. We may presume that neither incest nor adultery are unknown to the Yaruros. During my stay among them there was no evidence of that.

Another factor which tends to help the Yaruros live a strictly moral life is that upon reaching puberty both boys and girls marry if a mate is available, even though the wife or husband may be considerably older. Premarital romantic love life may be entirely absent on this account, but one suspects that another type of romanticism may be built on what is available. For instance, practically from babyhood the boy or girl knows whom he or she will marry and in waiting for the promised day one would suspect an emotional attitude is built up. It is certain that after marriage strong bonds of affection are developed between husband and wife. Strictly limited in choice, there can be no free play for one's desires.

In the Yaruro society prostitution is probably absent. I believe that today some degree of prostitution has been forced upon them by the peoples with whom they come in contact. Perhaps we should call it purchasing of sexual rights, with the Yaruros playing a docile if not hostile part. After all, they are forced to acquiesce in a great many practices foreign to their ideas.

The above is the sexual ambient. As a result the adults act in the following manner. Sexual intercourse is considered one of the numerous natural acts. It is not exaggerated, little talked or joked about, and judging from the sort of life they lead not over indulged in.

Among the men, woman is not discussed. Neither virtue nor sin is the subject of comment. She is let strictly alone and uncensored. Obscenity is rare.

If any homosexuality exists it must be established by inference. It is common among the hunting tribes for a man to have a companion with whom he hunts, travels, and with whom he spends most of his time. Such companionship seems to be closer before marriage than after.

I have observed two boys, unmarried because no girls were available, engaged in such acts as we are accustomed to impute to love making—holding hands, etc. Yet, lest we jump at hasty conclusions, it must be said that affection between men is demonstrated much more so than

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

185 775 culture or themselves against a superior culture and ruthless "civilized" bandits. Their only consolation is Kuma and the Land of Kuma.

781 821 Nevertheless, being realists they not only continue their daily activities of hunting and gathering foods, but also in finding daily solace through their environment and the shamanistic contact with Kuma. The Yaruro is nature conscious. Perhaps his lonely existence has made him ecstatically responsible to the world about him, for often they talked of the beauty of various phenomena; but stronger than any such feeling is their sense of intimate relationship with the sun, the moon, the stars, their animal life. The falling stars at night are interpreted by them to be messengers sent by Kuma to encourage her people, the Yaruros; the moon is friendly, and on moonless nights the stars represent the crowds of their ancestors 825 who live with Kuma. The wind blows incessantly and it blows to them the roar of the araguatos (the howlers), which, to them, represent distant relatives once human beings, but changed into monkeys by life in the trees at the time of the great flood; the toninos, frolicking at night in the water, are also another race who failed to climb the rope which Hatchawa let down to bring his people to the surface. It is in such a friendly world that the Yaruro literally sits, listens, 154 and looks, almost communing with his environment. Perhaps it is not out of place to mention at this point that this reaction on the part of the Yaruros is not difficult to understand, that perhaps we ought not to rationalize this attitude of the Yaruro entirely on the basis of superstition or religious ideas; anyone who has lived on the plains, exposed day and night to nature, soon loses any feeling of lonesomeness. This response on the part of the Yaruros is shared by the llaneros, who do not seem to be so perfectly at ease as when they are alone in the plains.

THE YARURO UNIVERSE

772 According to the Yaruros the world has experienced a series of metamorphoses. Some of the events which have transformed the world from its original form are attributed to the direct intervention of the various gods and races of mankind, but others remain unexplainable.

772 177 How much of Yaruro cosmic ideas have been borrowed from the missionaries it is difficult to say at this point. Missionaries have been among them from time to time but the Yaruros have been abandoned so completely so many times that the result and confusion is difficult if not impossible to unravel—a thing which can be done only when we have thorough descriptive studies of the various tribes of the Columbian plains and the tribes of Guiana. The comparative ma-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

terial existing in the literature at the present time is too scant to give us much of a lead. For the Llanos of Venezuela we have only the missionaries' accounts of the middle of the eighteenth century, meager accounts at best, and highly colored by the ideas of the missionaries themselves. But even these give us no ideas as to how the Yaruros thought and behaved in those days. They give us notes only on the Otomacos and the Saliva. Perhaps material exists in unpublished form, but it must remain unknown for the purpose of the study.

In the mythology and in the shamanistic cult a number of figures stand out: Kuma, the mother goddess; Puaná, the great snake; Hatchawa, the culture hero; and Itciai, the jaguar. A more obscure figure is Kiberoh, who seems to be identified with a female evil spirit, but in one legend appears as the mate of Kuma. And an even more confused figure is India Rosa. It is known that the patron saint of the early Spaniards was Santa Rosa de Lima. If India Rosa is to be identified with Santa Rosa among the Yaruros, only the name has persisted. The confusion will become evident on reading the text.

The creation legend exists in various forms, but which of them represents the purely aboriginal one it is difficult if not impossible to determine. It seems best to give all versions. The myth of the flood appears also, and whether or not this is a foreign element in Yaruro mythology cannot be determined at this time. Of great interest to us are the ethical elements present in these stories. In the legend of the impregnation of Kuma, presumably by Puaná, the water snake, one may see a parallel to the story of Eve and the Serpent. Be that as it may, Puaná the Snake, Itciai the Jaguar, Kuma the Mother Goddess, and Hatchawa, the culture hero, are living spiritual forces among the Yaruros today, godheads who visit the Yaruro frequently during shamanistic performances and speak to the Yaruros through the mouth of the shaman. It would be too much to expect that all our facts should fit together into a logical pattern. The legendary world is never a well-ordered one and it speaks for the genuineness of Yaruro culture that we find such complex.

It will be noted that Kuma is definitely the Mother Goddess who gave birth to Hatchawa and to human beings. The latter were found by Hatchawa living under the ground. Hatchawa is always the culture hero. It is he who takes compassion on humanity and gives the fire, the bow and the arrow, and presumably a great many other things. Puaná, the Water Snake, is not only the shaper of the earth, but it is he who is given credit for great wisdom. Itciai, on the other hand, plays a very small role. In our legends he appears as a shaper or creator of the waters but plays no other part. But perhaps this obscurity of Itciai is to be attributed to the fact that my informants belong to the Puaná moiety.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

criticism of Kuma, and there is even an implication that she always acts with the greatest wisdom.

THE LAND OF KUMA

Kuma lives in the west, apparently beyond the horizon. In the month of March and in early April, about 9 o'clock in the evening, there is a glow in the western sky, a beautiful phenomenon, which the Yaruros explained is the reflection from Kuma's land. Its exact geographic position does not seem to be known and is as hazy as a Catholic's idea of the position of Heaven. For instance, we are told that the stars are both the lights from Kuma Land and the people from that land walking about at night, and yet the Land of Kuma is localized somewhere in the west.

This land is described sometimes as a vast and clean savanna, treeless and full of game, and at other times as a savanna with a huge town in which Kuma and her people live. This latter conception springs from the association the modern Yaruros have between wealth, comfort, power, and those material things which the civilized peoples possess. Towns are included among the products of the civilized. In the same way we find that although the Yaruros are a horseless people, Kuma and her people seem to have an abundance of horses. Apparently those things which are denied the Yaruros in this land are to be found in the next and shamanism is the means of expressing the longings of the living Yaruros.

THE LAND OF KIBEROH

In contrast with the beautiful world in which Kuma lives and to which all Yaruros expect to go, Kiberoh rules over a dark land inhabited by those unfortunate races of mankind left in the hole when the rope dropped by Hatchawa was broken by a too-heavy pregnant woman. Not much is known, nor is there much interest on the part of the Yaruros about this unpleasant region. However, this must not be taken that they have a belief in hell as Father Gumilla reported. According to this author the Yaruros believed in an evil spirit called Tighitighi. On the contrary, my informants identified Tighitighi merely as a large hawk which has no relation to the devil.

PUANÁ

Puaná stands out as the indulgent parent and teacher of Hatchawa. He is also the artisan who invented all of the implements now used by the Yaruros. He is conceived of as the great snake, and in fact is so portrayed on the gourd rattles of the shamans, yet there is a

1: Petrullo E-8 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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533
789 that follow describe this land as well as the gods and the spirits of the Yaruros.

It is to be noted that it is the ornaments worn by Kuma rather than
776 the person of the gods which are described. We are told that she
301 wears golden necklaces, fine clothes, and belts and bands typical of the ancient Yaruro woman's costume. She is represented vaguely as being in the form of a human being, who, on the other hand, is never described. Try as I might, I was not able to obtain any idea of her appearance. Hatchawa, as we know, is a little boy, but Itciai again lacks any definite form.

787 The shaman claims that during his ordinary life he has no idea of what he sees in the Land of Kuma, therefore these descriptions can only be gathered from due sources through the songs which he sings in shamanistic performances and through the figures which he etches out on the shamanistic gourd rattle. Several of these rattles are reproduced on plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27.

The shaman does not claim special power to reveal anything, nor does he claim to have the power to cure. He is merely a vehicle or instrument through which the gods can visit the Yaruros by substituting themselves for the soul of the shaman. The only power that he claims is the ability to let his soul leave his body and travel to the Land of
787 Kuma. His soulless body subsequently becomes possessed by various
533 spirits who wish to communicate with their relatives on earth. As explained above, the shaman only sings the first songs hesitantly and in a poor voice which is in direct contrast to the violent and beautiful singing which the spirits exhibit when they are in possession of his body.

772 Kuma's Land is a perfect heaven for the Yaruro, who has endowed it with all the comforts and liberty denied to him in this world. In Kuma's Land food is abundant, the weather is ideal, there are no forests, no diseases, and most important of all, no civilized being to desolate them. We are confronted here with the creation on the part of the Yaruro of a superlative heaven which furnishes an escape for him from the woes of this life.

181 We have noted before that primitive peoples, when faced for a
177 time with a hopeless situation in this world, such as extinction, tend to seek and discover an escape by creating such a heaven. The Guarani sought a heaven in the West where there was no death and no persecution. More recently our own Indians on the reservations have turned to Peyoteism, which also supplies a heaven. In all these cases there is a renunciation of this world. The will to live is practically gone because there is no need to worry about maintaining life in this world, an impossible thing to do when in competition with civilization. But a heaven which cannot be touched by any civilized

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

invention offers a perfect refuge, even though it is only a philosophical one.

Mechanical aids to the shaman, in addition to his own psychological make-up, are: music and dance; tobacco, which he consumes in great quantities during his performance; tcuipah, a root with narcotic properties; caroto, which is a fermented or unfermented mixture of crushed maize and water, or manioc and water, and when obtainable, white rum. The extent to which these stimulants are used can be illustrated by the observations which are made in the course of one all-night performance: The shaman consumed 42 cigarettes which I offered him, about 100 cigars, which consisted of several strips of tobacco leaf wrapped in a thick green leaf obtained from one of the trees along the bank, about 6 inches of the tcuipah root, and about 2 quarts of the fermented maize-and-water mixture. Since these narcotics and stimulants were taken hurriedlly and in great quantities, it must have had a terrific physiological effect upon him. For instance, every cigarette and cigar was smoked completely through in 10 seconds. Each musical stanza lasted from about 10 to 15 seconds. He sang it first and then it was repeated by his people. It was during this repetition of his song that the shaman inhaled as much of the tobacco smoke as possible and then exhaled it just before commencing a new stanza.

In contrast with the rather violent shamanistic performance of the male shaman, the women do not seem to depend very much on narcotics. During the day the men are not permitted to sing or whistle, but the women may lie in their hammocks and sing. They may take small quantities of all of these narcotics, but as far as my observation went I never saw any of them consume any great quantity.

The spiritual world of the shaman is quite different from the everyday realistic world. A comparison of the carvings on the gourd rattles with the realistic carvings of the asabache made by anyone greatly demonstrates this. In the latter form of art expression, animals, birds, and scenes are copied with great accuracy and skill. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that if the shaman were to attempt the realistic representation of the spirit world he could do so, but he has chosen to portray the various gods and spirits almost symbolically. Kuma and Hatchawa were always represented holding up their hands. It is this position which is read into the western skies whenever at sunset there occurs a phenomenon described above. The rays of light emanating from the horizon represent the fingers of the hands of the gods.

The form of the dance has been described. It starts off as a simple walk around a pole and it may become a fast run in the evening,

1: Petrullo E-S (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

301 317 in small pieces on the banks of the Capanaparo. It is about as hard to work as coal. It has much the same appearance. The carving tool is the ordinary knife which, in some cases, may be a broken machete. 532 Yet, with such crude implements, they are able to produce exquisite realistic carvings of birds, fish, and other animals. 301 These are generally perforated and strung into a necklace. Each woman possesses at least a few of these carved figures, the number depending on the industry of her husband. No symbolical significance seems to be attached to either the painting, the carving, or to any of the designs appearing on the stamps. There may be some magical meaning to them, but all inquiries were answered in the negative.

791 787 532 534 The gourd rattles present an entirely different manifestation. In the first place, only the male shaman can use a rattle. It is, in fact, the badge of shamanism. All the designs appearing on the rattle represent what he sees during his visits to Kuma's land. These carvings are made with the point of any sharp instrument, which cuts in just deep enough to expose the lighter colored inner wood of the rattle.

To become a shaman one must dream of Kuma and the other gods, and show his people that he can communicate with the godheads when occasion demands. Perhaps looking at shamanistic practices objectively this may mean primarily that the would-be shaman has a fertile imagination and some artistic talent. I do not think that we ought to doubt that he believes that he actually sees and talks with Kuma, Itciai, and the rest of the spirit world.

791 787 532 776 He commemorates his dreams on the sacred rattle, carving out on its surface the figures which appear in his dreams. Kuma and Hatchawa dominate the decorations on the gourd rattles, and since those collected came from the Puaná moiety, Puaná is also portrayed. In plate 24 various views of one of these gourd rattles are shown. The large geometric figure dominating the first drawing represents Kuma; the smaller one Hatchawa. Rotating the rattle toward the left we discover Puaná, the Snake.

534 517 In connection with these rattles one of the most interesting aesthetic features is the filling in of space. All of the specimens collected and shown in figures 25, 26, and 27 demonstrate this. In watching Landaeta at work I asked him why he did so; his reply was that a properly decorated rattle must be "tsaimui", that is "good", "proper", "beautiful."

Music

534 177 One would suspect that the Yaruros would have borrowed some of the musical instruments employed by the Llaneros. Among the lat-

1[See category 116, end plate 14 --- Analyst]
2[See category 116, pp. 242-243 --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

534 177 ter the harp is very popular. Flutes and whistles are also made by the Llaneros, but the gourd rattle, which consists of a small gourd containing coarse grains of sand, or seeds, is the instrument employed by the Yaruro shaman. Music, therefore, is produced by singing to the accompaniment of the rattle if the singer happens to be the [512] shaman. Since the men are prohibited from singing and whistling during the daytime there is no freedom of expression in this way. During the entire time that I stayed with these people I never heard anyone begin a song except the shaman. Whenever, for purposes of recording, I asked some of the men to hum some of the tunes they refused to do so.

533 Although there are a variety of tunes, the music apparently consists of one phrase repeated four times for each stanza of the song. Each stanza is begun in a high falsetto. The second phrase is sung an octave lower, and the last phrase, therefore, is four octaves lower [462] than the first. The woman shaman, however, has a song slightly different than the male shaman's song and their pattern seems to begin at the lower end of the scale for each phrase and repeating each phrase in the same range as the first. In both cases, each phrase covers the entire scale of six notes. The tempo is 1–2 time, with the accent on the off-beat, but at the height of the ceremonies the songs are syncopated. The intensity of the songs, the melodious quality of the phrases, and the oral repetition produces an effect similar to the negro spirituals.

It is difficult, if not impossible, for one to sing in tune with the Yaruros. Their scale is different from ours and they seem to have quarter tones. In addition to this peculiarity, they never seem to sing in a full voice, not in a falsetto, but in a style of their own, difficult for one trained in European music to master quickly. Of course the theory is that it is the gods and the ancestral spirits who composed both the music and the words and the people singing behind the shaman merely imitate these inspired songs.

533 535 The Yaruros have only one word to signify dancing and singing: "tohiwahimerekidi". The shaman, who is the leader in both these arts, is called "dancer" or "singer." In actual practice dancing is subordinate to singing, much as gesturing is subordinate to speaking among ourselves. Perhaps the correct translation of this word would be closer if rendered as "singing."

Dancing as an independent art does not exist. When it is practiced it is almost an outflow of singing. Singing may be done without dancing but dancing without singing is impossible. Every dancer sings, though every singer does not necessarily dance.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Venezuela SS1

Y 105 SS1

were accustomed to. That is, they had to fall back on a life somewhat similar to that of the Yaruros. Today one finds close to some river bank a little hut, the home of one of these Llaneros. In such a household one may find a man, his wife, and children. Their only possessions are what they can gather and make from their environment. They may have a garden in which they raise plantains and bananas, a little maize, and yucca. But the soil of the Llaneros is not fit for fertile gardens, so these people have to depend on hunting and fishing for most of their food. These are the people with whom the Yaruro have most contact. There is nothing in their houses and nothing in their mode of living to attract the Yaruro. As a matter of fact the Yaruros themselves made the comment that a Racionale's house was dirty and full of vermin and insect life, whereas they, preferring to live on the open beaches behind no shelter, had the advantage of moving about from one clean camp site to another.

Y 186

Y 177

How much the Yaruros have borrowed from Spanish lore and religious ideas it is impossible to say on a basis of our knowledge. In their religious ideas one might guess that the conception of the existence of an evil spirit and the personality of India Rosa may be the two strongest elements. All these, however, were introduced a long time ago and with the breaking off of communication with the missionaries during the past century they have become weaker and weaker. Today India Rosa is confused with Kuma. The evil spirit appears in only one or two legends and plays hardly any part in the shamanistic performances.

The tenor of the Yaruro culture is typically conservative. Their reaction to any European idea is one of suspicion and fear. For instance, they will not raise domestic animals or learn to cultivate gardens. The Yaruros had their chance, they say, when the world was created, and refused to take it. Now there is only one thing left to them: to live as their ancestors have done and to die.

Y 181

This patient acceptance of their lot is the most characteristic attitude of the Yaruros. They have abandoned all hope of maintaining themselves against the destructive forces of the world around them, and even of dying out peaceably. Their only consolation lies in their firm belief that Kuma is waiting for them in the other world. In other words, not unlike many other American aboriginal groups, they have built for themselves an indestructible heaven, and one from which foreign peoples will be excluded. There they will recapture their ancient mode of life. They will have plenty of food, clothing, horses, and the companionship of their relatives. Kuma's land is a world of bliss, an expression, really, of the living Yaruro's yearning to be allowed to hunt, fish, and live peacefully with each

182 72 first place, the ecological conditions to the north, west, and south were, if anything, more severe than their own, so that there was little advantage to gain by warring in these areas. To the east were the Orinoco highlands, mountainous and heavily wooded country, an ecology quite different from, and probably as difficult as, their own.

182 We may conclude then, that, with the given technology, and under the given ecological conditions peculiar to the Yaruro region, the possibility of evolving to a more advanced tropical forest type like the Kuikuru, or even the Carajá, who in a number of ecological respects are like the Yaruro, was extremely limited. Second, there was little possibility of circumventing this development by directly taking on Circum-Caribbean traits from nearby groups. The Yaruro had to remain, under native systems of [177] subsistence, which did not include the European-derived cattle herding now found in the llanos, at a fixed level of technology, with a fixed ecology, and hence with a fixed form of social structure. Only the recent exposure to cattle herding is breaking up the fundamental form of their economy.

Under any conceivable native conditions, the basic ecological relationships and forms would have had to remain essentially unchanged. We may therefore deduce that the concomitant socio-cultural structure would have had to remain unchanged. Yaruro society was, for ecological reasons, substantially at an evolutionary dead end.

000 With this view of Yaruro ecology and cultural development, we may turn to the question of what conditions of incipient tropical forest horticulture might have provided a foundation for evolution to a higher level. The inhibition of Yaruro development is a result of certain specific ecological limitations. Consequently, where those limitations do not exist or could be removed, one would find, other factors being equal, conditions under which incipient horticultural groups would evolve to higher levels of organization.

Holding technology constant, a much greater per cent of tillable to total land, say up to 50%[21] instead of 0.5%, would allow for an enormous increase in population - up to a hypothetical 12,500-15,000[22] - which would permit or rather demand, a more elaborate social organization. A marked seasonal fluctuation in the productivity of these lands, that is, in the production of surpluses, would provide a situation in which forms of stratification could appear. A proportionally greater dependence on these food resources requiring intensive labor in order to maximize yield per acre, as in the case of corn or yams, would provide the basis for more elaborate socio-political organization. Thus, manioc which produces the largest tubers in relatively *poorer*, weakly nitrogenous, soils, requires much less effort to produce the several millions of calories per acre mentioned above than do corn and yams in better soils in order to push their productivity up to the maximum half-million calories per acre. Corn and yams appear to produce more with intensive care such as hilling and weeding, as well as the use of bird-watchers, and the like, as the papers on both the Taino and the Sub-Andean which follow clearly indicate. Where manioc will not conveniently grow

[21,22 [For footnotes see p. 44, category 116 -- Analyst]

Most direct

622 commands, in so far as I was able to observe, were made in Spanish![4] — essentially
[191 in acculturation contexts. In general, they concerned village care, small services,
● 177] and the like. No occasion was observed of commanding older men, except for a married youth of 19, who was the youngest adult male in the village. The two or three commands he received during my stay went unnoticed, and, in one or two instances, were even directly contravened. The capitans of the Cinaruco river group and of Palmarito de Guachara both consistently complained that no one paid enough attention to them, and the Palmarito chief complained that he never was kept
[571] sufficiently informed of events by his people. The fact is that people do pretty much as they choose in all important decision-making situations which do not involve the community at large, or the relationship of some member of the community or the entire group to outsiders.[5] In the former situation, the chief serves as a consultative funnel through which the community discussion pours back and forth until the community achieves some clear but unstated consensus upon which
622 community members can act, individually of course. Only in the situations dealing
648 with outside groups does the Yaruro capitanship emerge as a more developed
[354] status which might metaphorically be described as a position similar to that of a minister of foreign relations. In behalf of his group, he talks with any representatives of outside groups, especially if they are non-Yaruro, and acts as gatherer of information and as channel of communication between the community and the outside entity. Even this is weakened, however, since it applies more by courtesy than by fact among the Yaruro themselves, and other members of the community may perform the same function even if to a somewhat smaller degree. It is also weakened in that no Yaruro is prevented from acting on his own with respect to non-Yaruro outsiders, and, in fact, many Yaruro do establish their own relationships with outsiders as a number of instances attested. Indeed, the rights of the individual members of the society to make their own decisions, at least internally if not also
[682] externally, is insisted on. In one instance, a chief who took it upon himself to

[4] Commands and other stress situations, which generally appear to be uncongenial to the Yaruro and more overt as the people have been more subject to acculturation, seem
[578] to elicit from the Yaruro Spanish responses rather than Yaruro ones. It is as though it
[152] were not fitting to utter commands or express anger in Yaruro. Thus, the few times
[191] noisy altercation was heard among the Cinaruco Yaruro, the language used was Spanish. The chief's commands and his overt anger were always expressed in Spanish, even if he had just before been speaking in Yaruro. Though anger may often be felt, it is not shown if the participants are expressing themselves in Yaruro. Thus, the chief scolded one of the village boys for riding one of the recently acquired burros — in Spanish; he ordered a 19-year old young man to do some task — in Spanish; he complained of the actions of one of the village elders in taking on the job of guide without first consulting him (though he would certainly have permitted it) — in Spanish.

[5] Cf. Leeds, 1960 a, with respect to the place of individual action in Yaruro society.
[181 Though there is individual action, choice, and responsibility, these are all carried out as an
114] aspect of community organization and essentially with community affirmation. A person is not an individual set in counterpoint to his society — there is no polarity of individual-society, as we, in our culture, generally seem to conceive. Individualism in the latter sense does not exist among the Yaruro. The Yaruro should not be mistaken for an individualistic culture, as, I suspect, several of the cultures described as individualistic in Mead, 1937, should not have been.

3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

represent his people to the outside world without consultation and to make arbitrary decisions for them inside the community — mainly in his own interest — was, with the consent of the community, assassinated by one of the members, now in excellent standing in that community as a respected shaman. The chief in question had stepped beyond the bounds designated for his status. In sum, the position of chief, even though formally recognized by Yaruro society and reinforced by formal recognition and appointment by Venezuelan authorities, is feeble as an institution and as a status.[6] It is our hypothesis that ecological conditions of Yaruro life determine the form of the chieftainship in such a way that its stronger institutionalization would be impossible, and we turn to this question now.

III

Yaruro subsistence activities[7] comprise swiddening, gathering, pig herding, hunting and fishing, mentioned in the order of their importance as contributors to the total food supply as measured in calories.[8] Horticulture probably provides 60—70% of the total annual food supply. The horticulture practiced is characteristic of tropical forest slash-and-burn gardens, with a slow rotation of plots in order to permit soil renewal and weed control. Trees are cut, at present with steel axes and formerly, apparently, with axes of bone or shell, and then burnt. Occasional fences are roughly made of the logs to keep out pigs. Bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*),[9] in several varieties, is the main crop, though sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*), also in several varieties, is planted too, as are corn, bananas, sugar cane — each in several varieties — and a number of lesser crops such as melons, squashes, pumpkins, pineapples, sweet potatoes, and yautia or ocumo (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*). Crops are planted with a digging stick which may also be used in harvesting. Gardens are weeded, once only, early in the growth of the crops. Other than clearing, the only soil preparation is the construction of hills for planting bananas. This is done by burning hills made by a certain species of ants (*huachaquero*). The hills, which are quite wide and low, are filled with organic matter enriching the soil.[10] Harvesting is aided with baskets for carrying the crops. Baskets contain about half a bushel or less. No fertilization, no terracing, no drainage, no irrigation, no extensive turning of the soil is done.

The gathered resources include a number of roots, particularly changuango, changuanito, and guapo (*Maranta arundinacea*);[11] varied fruits, especially that of

[6] Professor Benjamin N. Nelson informs me that in medieval Spain, village communities had an official, also called *capitan*, whose function was to treat with state functionaries representing the world beyond the village community's frontier. It is possible that the Yaruro capitan, and many others in Venezuela, are an acculturative transfer of this office to tribal groups. In the case of the Yaruro, this would have happened some 250—300 years ago.

[7] The use, here, of the terms 'activity', 'tasks', 'techniques', 'tools', 'resources', and 'habitat' corresponds to the definitions given in Leeds, 1960 b.

[8] Cf. Leeds, 1961, which gives this data in detail and describes the habitat and horticulture *in extenso*.

[9] Native terms for these crops are given *ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, note 9, contains data on soil values.

[11] Identifications are from Pittier, 1926.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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along the west-to-east flowing rivers in ribbons some kilometers wide. Most significant fauna and flora of economic use occur in these ribbons. This ecological distribution of resources governs subsistence activities whether they be mainly hunting, fishing, collecting, or horticulture.

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Yaruro subsistence comprises all these activities. (2). Horticulture in the rainy season appears considerably to outweigh all other sources of food together, but in the dry season, hunting, fishing, and collecting perhaps equal or outstrip horticulture. In any case, slash and burn gardening of manioc, corn, plantains, and a number of lesser crops is by far the single most important economic activity. The technology is exceedingly simple in all aspects of

[442]

production, the main tools being the machete and digging stick. The most elaborate technology occurs in the conversion of food into edibles and in the manufacture of hammocks, pottery, objects of wood such as canoes, and woven containers of all types.

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The economic organization displays a sharp division of labor between men's and women's work. Men do all hunting and fishing, make all objects of wood, haul lumber and householding materials, make hammocks, and carry out the heavy labor of gardening. Women do most of the collecting of roots,

[222]

seeds, and fruits. Since collecting contributes a substantial portion of the food supply in summer, woman's contribution, here, is of considerable communal importance. Women's work, a continuous activity from dawn to dusk, is, first, the conversion of raw foodstuffs into edibles. Second, women make all pottery, mats and baskets, the manioc squeezers, and much of the cord used to make hammocks. Another important contribution of women is their help in harvesting in the gardens. Men sometimes help the women with the cookery.

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Men may work alone, in groups of 2 or 3, or in larger groups on rare occasions. No occasion exists for all men to work at a single task since there is no technological need for it. Women's work groups for collecting or household-

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ing are of similar size. Work group alignments are often based on choice or accident but in other instances coresidence and kinship are determinants. The household, however, constitutes the only really necessary cooperative group for production. The man is a funnel for produce which the woman converts to

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(2) The present description applies to the Cinaruco River Yaruro where the major part of the writer's field work, supported by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, was done. The Capanaparo River Yaruro were reported by Petrullo (1939) and Le Besnerais (1948) as being hunters and gatherers, although Le Besnerais observed small horticultural patches which he claimed were diffusions from Venezuelan farmers which had occurred recently. Le Besnerais in 1954 states directly that they were horticulturalists, omitting any mention of possible diffusions from Venezuelans. The passing mention of horticulture by Pinsson (1947) confirms the present writer in his opinion that, although horticulture may be more restricted on the Capanaparo than on the Cinaruco and Cunaviche-Arauca (where the writer also spent several weeks) which are not discussed at all by Petrullo or Le Besnerais, nevertheless, the absence of horticulture is probably not aboriginal with the Yaruro as has been suggested by Kirchhoff (1948, p. 456). Rather the restricted gardening is a result of ecological conditions on the Capanaparo which are less favorable to horticulture than on the neighboring rivers, combined with extremely violent acculturation, including large-scale massacres of natives. The only other possibility, in my opinion, is that horticulture was introduced by the missionaries in the early part of the Eighteenth Century, which is certainly the period when the Yaruro first became acquainted with iron tools (cf Lodares, 1922).

[797
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/8 cont./

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5. This paragraph had been published when we learned of Anthony Leeds' articles (see "infra" IV List...42 and 43). The latter considers that agriculture, which exists among the Yaruro, as we acknowledge further along, was introduced by missionaries at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

descendants of the first inhabitants, hunters and gatherers who invaded South America at the beginning of the Neolithic Age, as Father Cooper suggests, or are they groups of Indians who after diverse vicissitudes have degenerated and adapted their civilization to a new way of life, as Levi-Strauss insists?"

121 Immigrants or not, hunters, fishers, and gatherers who evolved, or agriculturists who regressed, we shall not make a choice here between these alternatives and shall limit ourselves to presenting two observations which, gone into more deeply, will eventually permit opting in favor of one of the theses before us.

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241 1) The tropical savanna inhabited by the Yaruro, as a consequence of the absence of extensive forests, is hardly propitious for primitive agriculture. The latter could, however, be carried out there on a small scale.

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241 The Yaruro, in fact, and contrary to Vicenzo Petrullo's observations, are not only gatherers, fishers, and hunters, but also practice agriculture, in general on land cleared in the forest corridors. Petrullo probably did not observe this aspect of their way of life (6) because he carried out his investigations

6. We made, moreover, the identical error in the course of our first investigations (see "infra" IV List...40).

the height of the dry season--when the soil /9/ is no longer

/9 cont./

172 of the Yaruro (7), or even remains of objects of the Yaruro of

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

former times, whose descendants have forgotten the techniques of making them?

c) History

175 We hardly know much more about their post-Colombian
177 history. Some Jesuit missionaries, as we mentioned above, had contacts with them on the bank of the Orinoco toward the middle of the eighteenth century (7).

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

193 Did they leave some sort of imprint on their culture? This
177 we do not know. In any case the Yaruro do not seem to have
648 preserved any memory of it, if it isn't the fear of bearded men on the part of the children. They do remember /10/ on the other hand for a more recent period some battles which put in opposition in the course of a civil war on the Capanaparo even the Venezuelans against each other.

177 The important event of the last years (1920-1940) remains for them the installation of Racionales (9) on the Capanaparo,

9. Venezuelans

an installation the repercussions of which, as much on their way of life and the social, economic, and religious structure of their society as on their sanitary conditions and their demographic situation (illnesses and, at a certain period, repression), have been and continue to be considerable.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

and warfare as supra-tribal distribution mechanisms. It is interesting to note that the cultural characteristics ascribed to each of the peoples — "warlike," "peaceable," "brabo" — are ecologically funcional, in that they mirror value orientations which tend to drive people to maximize the food resources in ways appropriate to their socio-ecological environments.

Fourth, the evidence seems to me at present to point to the existence throughout the area, of pre-hispanic horticulture, enjoyed by at least some groups within each tribe, if not by all groups in part of every year. The evidence comes from the reports of travellers, missionaries, and from the archeological remnants, such as they at present are. The main Spanish and Venezuelan acculturational effects with respect to subsistence appear to have been the introduction of iron tools; seeds and plants not of native origin, such as sugar cane and bananas; and, here and there, cattle, pigs, or chickens.

Fifth, the evidence suggests a steady deculturation in an area capable of maintaining a more elaborate level of culture. One may hypothesize either that groups like the Yaruro came into the area with a level of culture reflected by the Arauquín-style remants and then gradually deculturated both pre-hispanically and in post-conquest times, to their present level, or that they intruded into such a culture at a time when they themselves were at a more elaborate level, and then deculturated largely under Spanish influence. It will probably be possible to shed light on this question with the historical data.

In summary, if these hypotheses are correct, the entire interpretation of the llanos area between the Andes and the Orinoco highlands, as well as of other nearby areas assertedly inhabited by so-called marginal tribes, is quite different from that presented by the *Handbook of South American Indians*. The marginals of northern South America seem to evanesce, and a picture of a highly complex ecological system in which horticulture is of central importance, even if not quantitatively predominant in this ecologically restricted area, appears. This picture seems to conform better to the recent archeological hypotheses of Cruxent and Rouse (1958-1959), to the historical mentions of horticulture, to the presently scanty archeological and linguistic materials, and to more recent ethnological data.

I have not, as yet, been able to make any determination whatever with respect to clanship, totemism, or matricross-cousin marriage. I hope that with a study of the word lists discovered and with possible older ethnographic data that this problem may be resolved. My own field data suggests an organization into demes with bilateral marriages between cross-cousins or between an ego and his parallel cousin's offspring. This interpretation incidentally tallies with, or at least does not contradict, the data, such as the genealogies, kin terminology, and locality features described by Petrullo in all pasages where inferences and assertions as to the existence of these institutions do not occur.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

311 177 In the case of the Yaruros all of these factors have played an important role and are currently active in reducing their territories and food supply to a degree that will mean imminent extermination of the people. It is true that since the first settler arrived in their country the Yaruros could have made readjustments in their culture which perhaps might have permitted them to survive. They could have learned, for instance, to raise horses, cattle, and to cultivate the soil as the [178] Guajiros, living in a country similar to the llanos, have done. But they have chosen to remain firm in their own culture, own traditions, and own universe, and as a result are expecting to pay the penalty. Why they have failed to make the readjustment which would have brought them into a livable relationship with the newcomers and have persisted in keeping to their primitive, nomadic existence may be answered in the pages that follow.

361 Dependency on hunting, fishing, and gathering of edible fruits and roots imposes nomadism upon a people and prevents living together in large groups. The degree to which a people have to wander, the extent of the territory over which they must roam, and the size of the group, is dependent upon the abundance of the food supply in the region. The Yaruro hunting groups are small and they stay in one camp not more than a few days; so, they are to be met plying up and down the river in their canoes or traveling over land to the water holes, ever hunting for food.

HUNTING TERRITORIES

224 621 591 Each hunting group has a territory over which it is free to roam. Over this region only its members are allowed to hunt and gather fruits and roots, but the rivers, the main streams, are open to all. The accompanying map shows the limits of the present hunting territory [174] of the Yaruros of the Capanaparo. It would seem that anciently, when the Yaruros were more numerous, they roamed over a vaster region cut up into small portions over which hunting rights were distributed among various hunting family groups. I was assured that the Yaruros of the Sinaruco also have divided their country into family units.

619 101 There is also a sort of division among the Yaruros which transcends family grouping. The Yaruros of the Capanaparo, for instance, consider themselves a unit, though loosely bound, as distinct from the Yaruros of the Sinaruco, so that they consider the land drained by the Capanaparo as theirs and the region drained by the Sinaruco as the land of the Yaruros of that river. And yet, above all this, there seems to be a tribal feeling as opposed to the tribal divisions. The real significance of this is that among the Yaruros there is permitted a degree of mutuality in the use of the hunting rights

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

621 596 rarely is there need to enlist the services of persons outside the family group for it.

A typical hunting family will consist of the "old man," his wife, their unmarried sons, unmarried and married daughters, their sons-in-law, perhaps an unmarried brother or two, or without a father-in-law with whom to live, the parents-in-law unless they be dead, and the grandchildren, that is, the children of the daughters. To this nucleus there may be attached, temporarily, stragglers from other groups, old people and young children without relatives to take care of them, and visiting children of the man's sisters.

When two hunting groups meet very often they will camp together for a few days. If food is plentiful they may spend some of the time in merrymaking. Those bands which are in touch with the ranchers may gather together to perform a given piece of work for the meager pay that they may receive.

621 178 In actual practice it is almost impossible for a hunting group to consist of a theoretical family as described. This is especially true now that the Yaruros are disappearing so rapidly. The women may have a series of husbands, as if one dies, or is killed, and the men may have a series of wives. Any genealogical table, therefore, is very confused.

616 621 596 The group of El Burron consisted of the following: Two sisters who had been married to Fauste, a cross-cousin, but who was now dead; one of these women, Agapita, had two daughters, both of whom married. Isabel, one of these daughters, was dead at the time of my visit, but she had two children, a boy and a girl, who were still living. Her sister had married, lost her husband, but had four children, all living. The sister of the old woman, Agapita, had a boy and a girl, both of whom were living with the group. Fauste had a brother and a sister, now very old, and both living with the group. His brother had a daughter, Maria, who was also living with the group. On analysis we find, therefore, that, as the group existed at the time of my visit, there were twelve members of the Puaná moiety and three members of the Itciai moiety (fig. 23).

The other groups met show a greater confusion. So many individuals had died that there was no fixed form for any group. In some cases the groups would consist of several middle-aged men and women with wives and children and in other groups, such as Landaeta's and Pablo Reyes', they were led by old men—shamans. It is because of the breakdown of the social system under current conditions that the genealogies are not reproduced in this study at this time.

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606 604 This confusion affects the social relationships between various individuals. For instance, one Garcia was married to Landaeta's

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

YARURO INCIPIENT TROPICAL FOREST HORTICULTURE

Possibilities and Limits

Anthony LEEDS

The immediate concern of the papers in this symposium is the interaction between human populations and their habitats through the agency of horticulture insofar as factors in this interaction result in the evolution of culture. The present paper discusses an Incipient Tropical Forest Slash-and-Burn Horticultural group, the Yaruro of the south-central Venezuelan llanos, in order to show what kinds of upper limits were set upon its development by its technology and habitat, or both, and what sorts of factors within the relatively limiting conditions of incipient tropical forest horticulture might have provided a foundation for evolution to a more developed state. For any of the cultures which are examples of this class of horticulturalists, slash-and-burn horticulture plays a considerable, but usually not, by itself, a dominating role in the total food procurement process. The Yaruro fall between the Incipient and Intermediate Tropical Forest types discussed in the introduction, whereas the Sirionó, for example, represent a culture near the lower limits of cultures of the type. Despite their somewhat more advanced condition, what pertains to the Yaruro, in a general way applies to the rest of the type.

We shall consider first the habitat conditions in which the Yaruro find themselves and then describe the major dimensions of their swidden horticultural technology. With these aspects of the total ecology before us we shall show how its characteristics provide us a model for our incipient tropical forest stage and at the same time demonstrate how its special ecological conditions inhibited its further evolution into the more advanced stages of horticulture.

The Venezuelan llanos stretch as a low inland plain from the Orinoco delta, W by WSW, 750-800 miles inland, to the edges of the Andes in the far west of Apure State and into Eastern Colombia. The Yaruro are found between 450 and 600 miles from the mouth of the Orinoco, but still inside Venezuelan frontiers. They are found on all the rivers from the Arauca to the Cinaruco, inclusive, a distance of about 90 miles from north to south.

[probably should read: which--Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

men. A female ethnologist might get an interesting, and perhaps different, picture of Yaruro culture. I do know that there were many things, especially in the field of shamanism, from which I was shut off. The Yaruros saw this and the women relayed a pressing request that on my next visit to them I bring my "wife" (I have none!), with whom they could lie on the sands at night and tell things about their world similar to what their men told me.

My visit took place in the months of February, March, and April of 1934. Several species of intestinal parasites acquired in Brazil not only precluded my roaming about the countryside, but forced the Yaruros to attend me day and night for many weeks, giving ample opportunity—once it lasted for thirty-four consecutive hours—to talk. A sedentary life is so foreign to a nomadic people that this chance to corner them for "talk" was too good to miss. In fact, after a while it was becoming too much for them, and besides, hunting in the area became impractical. Everything considered, we reached a saturation point and I started on my way back. Many of these friends may be dead by now.

The Yaruros and Their Country

YARURO DAILY LIFE

Peaceful and mystical, the Yaruros, or Pumeh as they call themselves, wander up and down the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers (fig. 15) gathering their daily dinner and thinking about the life awaiting them in the Land of Kuma when they leave this world.

As dawn breaks over the hills of Guiana we may discover a Yaruro camp on one of the sandy beaches of the Capanaparo River about a day's journey by canoe from where it flows into the Orinoco. It appears as a dark blotch on the wind-packed white sands at a distance of some 50 yards from the water's edge and more than that from the wall of vegetation which marks the bank of the river during the rainy season and hides the open savanna country beyond. The camp gives no sign of life until the sun shows clearly in the sky. Then we see that it consists of some leafy branches and 3-foot sticks bare of bark thrust in the sands, casting long shadows in the early morning to where the vultures are fighting among themselves at the refuse heap located to the west of the camp; or the white vulture, the "king," may be seen feasting alone while his black brethren await disconsolately on the side.

As the light becomes stronger we make out under the branches piles of debris, recumbent human forms, and mangy dogs tied to the sticks. The debris consists of baskets and pots, with here and there small

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

There is little to be found in the literature on the Yaruros. Among the missionaries they had the reputation of being too wild to tame. They were accused of being parricides and were called eaters of clay. The Tamanachi and the Otomacos seemed to have had a more complex economic culture and received much more attention from the missionaries; but the Yaruros, due to their own shyness, were considered to be scarcely human, and little was done with them. They seemed to be especially sensitive to any scolding or maltreatment. Gumilla, writing in 1791, says "Their fear, completely beyond reason, is the root of their inconstancy and is the dismay of all the writers: more delicate than glass; if they feel that the missionary has looked at them fixedly, if they hear a word less gentle, it is sure that they will run away and, moreover, will take with them the entire family." This statement may be an indication of the early treatment received by the Yaruros at the hands of the soldiers and missionaries. It is a fear which has persisted down through the centuries and is no less intense today.

Linguistically the Yaruros do not seem to be connected with any other South American group. On the basis of a few limited vocabularies several attempts have been made to link the Yaruros to the Saliva or the Betoya. An examination of the text produced in this study will show no obvious affinity to other language families. However, this is a matter for future study.[1]

ARCHEOLOGY

The llanos of Apure have become legendary for many things, even archeologically. In the entire region no excavations have been conducted, but stories are current of the variety of archeological remains. The Calzada is probably the most famous of them all. According to verbal descriptions obtained from geologists and other visitors to the llanos, the Calzada has the appearance of an elevated roadbed running eastward for many miles from some point at the foot of the Andes. In it and in small mounds close by it has been reported that pottery and skeletal material have been found. There is no doubt that archeological remains are primitive. As we traveled about the country we found that most of the squatters had archeological pieces of varying degrees of interest. At La Trinchera there were even two amateur archeologists. One thing is certain, the archeological material which was uncovered, and which is being reported in another paper, has no relation to any of the Yaruro material. It is therefore certain that the Yaruros have not always occupied the region.

[1] See Bibliography.

1:Petrullo E-8 (1938-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro SS19

Without the aid of the Yaruros the crossing of the Orinoco would have been impossible. They are expert canoeists and safely ferried our baggage to the other side. Believing that I could handle a canoe, for by this time according to the Yaruros there wasn't anything that I could not do, since their gods had told them that I was one of them, I was asked to cross in an empty canoe, with the help of a 12-year-old boy. The canoe had several gaping holes in stern and bow about 10 inches in diameter. With serious misgivings, I embarked with the youngster paddling in the bow. Cross-currents, winds, and whirlpools made the half hour a very exciting one. Several times I gave up hope of crossing safely or of returning to our starting point, only to be encouraged by the laughter of my young companion who, when we were in extreme danger, would turn and grin happily at me. However, we crossed safely and soon afterwards we hoisted sail, which consisted of my mosquito net tied to an improvised mast, and with the east wind behind us and with gunwales even with the water, we went flying up the Capanaparo. Our sailing was far from being monotonous, for every few minutes it was necessary to use strength and skill to keep the canoe upright. Three days later we reached Landaeta's camp.

The trip to Urbana had been exciting and interesting, but I brought back with me ulcers on my feet which incapacitated me for the rest of my stay with the Yaruros. My feet, swollen to immense proportions and with open sores, refused to support my body, and I was forced to forego any further trips, short or long. My life consisted from now on, for about six weeks, of lying on the sand or in a hammock, surrounded by my affectionate friends, talking about the universe, the Yaruros, and their ideas.

In order to make it possible for Landaeta and his people to stay with me on this particular beach rather than move about in search of food, I turned over all of my food stock to them, which was consumed in two days, and thereafter they shared equally with me the products of the hunt. From that day on, I was completely in their care and Landaeta never left me. The burden of hunting fell on the younger men who went out every morning in search of crocodiles and turtles, of honey, palm nuts, roots, and fish. My illness was of great concern to the Yaruros. They did what they could to make me comfortable and they went to special trouble to bring titbits, such as honey and nuts. Landaeta and a woman shaman sang over me often. This illness was a fortunate event in a way, for it permitted an uninterrupted intimacy between us.

There is a sharp contrast between the simple primitive material culture of the Yaruros and the wealth and poetic intensity of the spiritual. The casual visitor would see merely a naked people plying

1r Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

181 up and down the rivers in their canoes, or lying on the sand, feasting on crocodile or turtle. He would see stolid fixed faces, uncommunicative, affrighted. But if this traveler were to stay he would discover that from sundown to sunrise the Yaruro lives in an intensive romantic world which he cannot and rarely would care to share with anyone else.

576 787 821 We returned from the trip to La Urbana at sundown when bars of yellow, blue, and white light streaked the western sky. The Yaruros were sitting on the sands watching this phenomenon with a certain rapture. They sat quietly and in silence facing the west until the lights had faded and merged into a subdued golden glow. Then Landaeta came and greeted me affectionately. He spoke of what we had just seen in the western sky, explaining that it represented a greeting from the mother goddess Kuma, to her children the Yaruros and to me. The other men came also, and the women too put their arms about me, but the latter kept their faces averted as is proper in Yaruro culture. We settled ourselves on the sands. Small fires were burning with remnants of turtles and crocodiles broiling over them. The sands glistened in the moonlight that soon came upon us. Araguato monkeys roared in the distance. An occasional bird sang. Insects hummed. Toninos frolicking in the water came up to blow lustily. And Landaeta explained that these animals were also children of Kuma and that everyone in Kuma's world was glad that I had returned.

553 123 We smoked and Landaeta talked, recounting what his gods had told him about me; that now I was one of their family, and he affectionately called me "adjimai oteh" (elder brother), which became the standard form of address by all of his people. In return I was asked to call them little brother and little sister.

791 791 533 At a point Landaeta rose and walked away into the darkness. His son and nephew followed him soon afterwards. He returned after an absence of half and hour, wearing his shaman's ceremonial cap and breechclout. He went to sit on the clean white sands to the east of the camp, where he remained still and quiet for a long time. His wife went to him with a lighted cigarette. He smoked this in silence and alone. Finally he made a sign and his son and nephew rose immediately to plant a pole a few feet in front of him, and then retired again into the darkness. After some time Landaeta rose, and facing the east in front of the pole, continued to smoke in silence. It seemed a long time before he began to sing, softly and hesitantly, which time was measured by the rising of the stars. After he had finished two songs his wife approached him again, thrusting into the ground, close to the pole, a stick from which hung a small basket. Landaeta continued standing, facing the east and singing, pausing briefly between

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

CANOES

[481] 501 502 868 The Yaruros dislike to travel any distance afoot. The canoe, therefore, is practically his only means of transportation. As a result, they are extraordinarily good canoemen, learning both how to build and to manage one from childhood. It is not an uncommon sight to see little children of 5 or 6 years of age paddling furiously in midstream. Their expertness can best be illustrated by the following incident: The llanos are exposed to the trade winds in the dry season, which at times blow very hard. On our return from La Urbana we found the crossing of the Orinoco to the mouth of the Capanaparo a dangerous undertaking.

The Yaruro dugouts are clumsy affairs at best, but in addition to that, ours had a gaping hole about 10 inches in diameter in the stern and it was with some qualms that I stepped into it to negotiate the rather rough waters with the help of a 12-year-old boy. Since the Yaruro steers from the bow, that place of honor was allotted to the youngster, I furnishing the power. During the passage across I despaired several times of being able to hold the canoe in the right direction, but whenever we found ourselves caught in some especially difficult whirlpool this lad would turn and laugh, not in derision but in encouragement, which was calculated, I suppose, to bolster my spirit, but helped not at all in easing the strain on my arms. His knowledge of the currents and his proper timing in signaling to me to paddle one way or the other, as well as deft steering, finally got us across safely. When this incident was over and I looked back over the rough waters, my respect for Yaruro canoemanship increased manifold.

502 177 Sails are used on the Orinoco and its tributaries, both by the occasional traders and crocodile hunters. The Yaruros have had ample opportunities over several centuries to learn how to make use of them. In fact, some of the younger men who worked occasionally for the ranchers, or traders, do know how. However, in their daily plying up and down the rivers, hunting and fishing, they never employ the sail.

[181] Their conservatism is further illustrated by another fact. The Racionales will always pole their canoes when traveling upstream. The Yaruros know how to do this also, but only when they are working for someone else. In their everyday life they depend entirely on the paddle.

502 The steersman generally sits in the bow, especially when moving downstream and the paddler is alone, pulling the canoe after him. The paddler in the stern, if one is present, really furnishes the motive power. The Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

838 572 among ourselves. Also, it is true that these acts are never to be seen between man and woman. For instance, I remember young men loafing at my camp with their arm around each other's necks, and even clasped in a tight embrace face to face in each other's arms, though standing up. I never observed any physical sexual excitement, though.

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GROOMING

Yerkes writes of grooming as follows:

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

791
533
789 that follow describe this land as well as the gods and the spirits of the Yaruros.

It is to be noted that it is the ornaments worn by Kuma rather than the person of the gods which are described. We are told that she 776 wears golden necklaces, fine clothes, and belts and bands typical of 301 the ancient Yaruro woman's costume. She is represented vaguely as being in the form of a human being, who, on the other hand, is never described. Try as I might, I was not able to obtain any idea of her appearance. Hatchawa, as we know, is a little boy, but Itciai again lacks any definite form.

787 The shaman claims that during his ordinary life he has no idea of what he sees in the Land of Kuma, therefore these descriptions can only be gathered from due sources through the songs which he sings in shamanistic performances and through the figures which he etches out on the shamanistic gourd rattle. Several of these rattles are reproduced on plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27.

The shaman does not claim special power to reveal anything, nor does he claim to have the power to cure. He is merely a vehicle or instrument through which the gods can visit the Yaruros by substituting themselves for the soul of the shaman. The only power that he claims is the ability to let his soul leave his body and travel to the Land of 787 Kuma. His soulless body subsequently becomes possessed by various 533 spirits who wish to communicate with their relatives on earth. As explained above, the shaman only sings the first songs hesitantly and in a poor voice which is in direct contrast to the violent and beautiful singing which the spirits exhibit when they are in possession of his body.

772 Kuma's Land is a perfect heaven for the Yaruro, who has endowed it with all the comforts and liberty denied to him in this world. In Kuma's Land food is abundant, the weather is ideal, there are no forests, no diseases, and most important of all, no civilized being to desolate them. We are confronted here with the creation on the part of the Yaruro of a superlative heaven which furnishes an escape for him from the woes of this life.

181 We have noted before that primitive peoples, when faced for a 177 time with a hopeless situation in this world, such as extinction, tend to seek and discover an escape by creating such a heaven. The Guarani sought a heaven in the West where there was no death and no persecution. More recently our own Indians on the reservations have turned to Peyoteism, which also supplies a heaven. In all these cases there is a renunciation of this world. The will to live is practically gone because there is no need to worry about maintaining life in this world, an impossible thing to do when in competition with civilization. But a heaven which cannot be touched by any civilized

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

invention offers a perfect refuge, even though it is only a philosophical one.

Mechanical aids to the shaman, in addition to his own psychological make-up, are: music and dance; tobacco, which he consumes in great quantities during his performance; tcuipah, a root with narcotic properties; caroto, which is a fermented or unfermented mixture of crushed maize and water, or manioc and water, and when obtainable, white rum. The extent to which these stimulants are used can be illustrated by the observations which are made in the course of one all-night performance: The shaman consumed 42 cigarettes which I offered him, about 100 cigars, which consisted of several strips of tobacco leaf wrapped in a thick green leaf obtained from one of the trees along the bank, about 6 inches of the tcuipah root, and about 2 quarts of the fermented maize-and-water mixture. Since these narcotics and stimulants were taken hurriedlly and in great quantities, it must have had a terrific physiological effect upon him. For instance, every cigarette and cigar was smoked completely through in 10 seconds. Each musical stanza lasted from about 10 to 15 seconds. He sang it first and then it was repeated by his people. It was during this repetition of his song that the shaman inhaled as much of the tobacco smoke as possible and then exhaled it just before commencing a new stanza.

In contrast with the rather violent shamanistic performance of the male shaman, the women do not seem to depend very much on narcotics. During the day the men are not permitted to sing or whistle, but the women may lie in their hammocks and sing. They may take small quantities of all of these narcotics, but as far as my observation went I never saw any of them consume any great quantity.

The spiritual world of the shaman is quite different from the everyday realistic world. A comparison of the carvings on the gourd rattles with the realistic carvings of the asabache made by anyone greatly demonstrates this. In the latter form of art expression, animals, birds, and scenes are copied with great accuracy and skill. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that if the shaman were to attempt the realistic representation of the spirit world he could do so, but he has chosen to portray the various gods and spirits almost symbolically. Kuma and Hatchawa were always represented holding up their hands. It is this position which is read into the western skies whenever at sunset there occurs a phenomenon described above. The rays of light emanating from the horizon represent the fingers of the hands of the gods.

The form of the dance has been described. It starts off as a simple walk around a pole and it may become a fast run in the evening,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Venezuela SS1

Y 105 SS1

were accustomed to. That is, they had to fall back on a life somewhat similar to that of the Yaruros. Today one finds close to some river bank a little hut, the home of one of these Llaneros. In such a household one may find a man, his wife, and children. Their only possessions are what they can gather and make from their environment. They may have a garden in which they raise plantains and bananas, a little maize, and yucca. But the soil of the Llaneros is not fit for fertile gardens, so these people have to depend on hunting and fishing for most of their food. These are the people with whom the Yaruro have most contact. There is nothing in their houses and nothing in their mode of living to attract the Yaruro. As a matter of fact the Yaruros themselves made the comment that a Racionale's house was dirty and full of vermin and insect life, whereas they, preferring to live on the open beaches behind no shelter, had the advantage of moving about from one clean camp site to another.

Y 186

Y 177

How much the Yaruros have borrowed from Spanish lore and religious ideas it is impossible to say on a basis of our knowledge. In their religious ideas one might guess that the conception of the existence of an evil spirit and the personality of India Rosa may be the two strongest elements. All these, however, were introduced a long time ago and with the breaking off of communication with the missionaries during the past century they have become weaker and weaker. Today India Rosa is confused with Kuma. The evil spirit appears in only one or two legends and plays hardly any part in the shamanistic performances.

The tenor of the Yaruro culture is typically conservative. Their reaction to any European idea is one of suspicion and fear. For instance, they will not raise domestic animals or learn to cultivate gardens. The Yaruros had their chance, they say, when the world was created, and refused to take it. Now there is only one thing left to them: to live as their ancestors have done and to die.

Y 181

This patient acceptance of their lot is the most characteristic attitude of the Yaruros. They have abandoned all hope of maintaining themselves against the destructive forces of the world around them, and even of dying out peaceably. Their only consolation lies in their firm belief that Kuma is waiting for them in the other world. In other words, not unlike many other American aboriginal groups, they have built for themselves an indestructible heaven, and one from which foreign peoples will be excluded. There they will recapture their ancient mode of life. They will have plenty of food, clothing, horses, and the companionship of their relatives. Kuma's land is a world of bliss, an expression, really, of the living Yaruro's yearning to be allowed to hunt, fish, and live peacefully with each

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

181 other. Since they cannot attain such a life in this world they are looking forward to the day when all of them can be together again in Kuma's land.

LANGUAGE

194 The Yaruros' phonetics do not seem to be different from the ordinary Spanish. It seemed quite easy to take down almost anything by using the ordinary Spanish alphabet. It is characterized by strongly accented final syllables. It seems to be strongly vocalized.

193 Much has been said about a man's language and a woman's language in connection with the various South American tribes. As will be shown, many words, especially the verbs, have a different final ending for each sex speaking. These sometimes may be only a simple change from an "e" to an "i", or may involve two or three syllables. The following notes and text are reproduced without any attempt at analysis.

GRAMMAR

dịbu'h mere'kidi' kode'h
speak I I

areke'ni keno'h oa' kode'h
I speak with this man

hanau' mene'h kede'h
you come here (imp.)

meani'bude'h kede'h kode'h
I speak with you

ᵇyutaerembudene'h ke
what did you say

ontara' ok'we
teach me

ontarakwe'
teach me (explain to me)

have drunk I

ᵇyuiri ko'deh ero' hętatih
I drunk (rum) much

hara'merikode'h ero'
drink I rum

harameri'mene'h ero'
you drink rum

harato'marikødeh abeko' ero'
shall drink tomorrow rum
(I shall drink tomorrow)

hurato' merikode'h abeko'
I eat tomorrow

abe pa'meri' kode'h
I work

abepa'to meri' kode'h abeko'
(I shall work tomorrow)

amerikode'h huraria'
I was eating

hurare' kodeh' no'mene'h
ate I yesterday

ameri' kode'h tibato' (huraria'
I shoot arrow to eat—
ábako)
tomorrow

podameh
turtle

ameri
("fine")

tainekøde'h abako'
I hunt tomorrow

gondeh po yej depo'h Yaruro
There came forth wife of Po Yaruro
pume'h
people

ndo'h
when there was nothing

ndiah mbuadedo ninye gondo'
sun setting night
or sun sets
jahe's

622 [191 177] Most direct

commands, in so far as I was able to observe, were made in Spanish![4] — essentially in acculturation contexts. In general, they concerned village care, small services, and the like. No occasion was observed of commanding older men, except for a married youth of 19, who was the youngest adult male in the village. The two or three commands he received during my stay went unnoticed, and, in one or two instances, were even directly contravened. The capitans of the Cinaruco river group and of Palmarito de Guachara both consistently complained that no one paid enough attention to them, and the Palmarito chief complained that he never was kept [571] sufficiently informed of events by his people. The fact is that people do pretty much as they choose in all important decision-making situations which do not involve the community at large, or the relationship of some member of the community or the entire group to outsiders.[5] In the former situation, the chief serves as a consultative funnel through which the community discussion pours back and forth until the community achieves some clear but unstated consensus upon which 622 community members can act, individually of course. Only in the situations dealing 648 with outside groups does the Yaruro capitanship emerge as a more developed [554] status which might metaphorically be described as a position similar to that of a minister of foreign relations. In behalf of his group, he talks with any representatives of outside groups, especially if they are non-Yaruro, and acts as gatherer of information and as channel of communication between the community and the outside entity. Even this is weakened, however, since it applies more by courtesy than by fact among the Yaruro themselves, and other members of the community may perform the same function even if to a somewhat smaller degree. It is also weakened in that no Yaruro is prevented from acting on his own with respect to non-Yaruro outsiders, and, in fact, many Yaruro do establish their own relationships with outsiders as a number of instances attested. Indeed, the rights of the individual members of the society to make their own decisions, at least internally if not also [682] externally, is insisted on. In one instance, a chief who took it upon himself to

[4] Commands and other stress situations, which generally appear to be uncongenial to the Yaruro and more overt as the people have been more subject to acculturation, seem [578] to elicit from the Yaruro Spanish responses rather than Yaruro ones. It is as though it [152] were not fitting to utter commands or express anger in Yaruro. Thus, the few times [191] noisy altercation was heard among the Cinaruco Yaruro, the language used was Spanish. The chief's commands and his overt anger were always expressed in Spanish, even if he had just before been speaking in Yaruro. Though anger may often be felt, it is not shown if the participants are expressing themselves in Yaruro. Thus, the chief scolded one of the village boys for riding one of the recently acquired burros — in Spanish; he ordered a 19-year old young man to do some task — in Spanish; he complained of the actions of one of the village elders in taking on the job of guide without first consulting him (though he would certainly have permitted it) — in Spanish.

[5] Cf. Leeds, 1960 a, with respect to the place of individual action in Yaruro society. [181] Though there is individual action, choice, and responsibility, these are all carried out as an [114] aspect of community organization and essentially with community affirmation. A person is not an individual set in counterpoint to his society — there is no polarity of individual-society, as we, in our culture, generally seem to conceive. Individualism in the latter sense does not exist among the Yaruro. The Yaruro should not be mistaken for an individualistic culture, as, I suspect, several of the cultures described as individualistic in Mead, 1937, should not have been.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

the community may do the shaman's work if he chooses, just as any can travel to the other-world or commune with the gods, although, because of age, temperament, or individual taste, not every one does so. There were, in fact, two shamans among the nine men of the writer's village, as well as a number of men who cured and who occasionally sang verse intonations in the *tonghés* although they were not shamans. The shamans are no more than respected community members outside the ceremony. Here again we observe the egalitarianism and individual self-determinism which is so much a pattern of this culture.

The *tonghé* also clearly shows the relationships which prevail between men and gods. The shamans and the other adults of the village converse with the gods in great mutual respect. They do not manipulate them nor minister to them, nor implore them. Before the gods, they are in a position corresponding to active and adept junior members of the village before their elders and especially their lineal ascendants. Furthermore, in a very real sense, no individual person, *qua* person, deals with the gods. The community, with its religious catalyst, the shaman, is the unit of action. The only individual relations with the gods occur in dreams, unconsciousness, and death. Dreams about gods are made public by singing aloud in sleep, the experience of unconsciousness is recounted publicly, and death, too, becomes public because the dead man is accessible through the *tonghés*.

The directness of contact between man and gods again emphasizes the unity of cosmos, society, and man. Within this unity, the sharp division of a male sphere from a female sphere is found. These quite coordinate spheres, in the other-worlds as in the hither-world, in religion as in socio-economic life, are linked through the household.

In conclusion, I would like briefly to review the major dimensions of Yaruro ideology. We may state these as a set of propositions, each presenting a major dimension of the ideology.

1. Cosmic structure. *The cosmos is static, limited, concrete, and internally continuous in that no barriers separate man and his society in the physical world from the nonphysical world.* The parts of the universe together form a rather rigid, symmetrical, architectonic structure, although each individual Yaruro may vary the description of the whole to suit his particular taste. All parts are of roughly coordinate importance. The major motions of nature, such as thunder and lightning, the revolutions of sun and moon, are often embodied, personalized, and independently operating entities, moved by semi-human motivations.

2. The good. *Goodness inheres generally in the cosmos as a system. The goodness manifests itself in understood causes and concretely and describably known parts of the cosmos which, whether places, persons, or things, are given exact locations.* Conversely all known and localizable objects, persons, or places and understood causes are generally good.

3. The not-good. *Evil, which is not polar to good, finds its locus in specific persons, things, or events inside or outside the cosmos, and is manifest in specific results. The underlying causes of evil, however, are inac-*

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

511 superfluous needs to be dispensed with every time camp is moved,
361 which occurs every few days. Only in thoughts and feelings can they be as rich as any other people; but this requires a particular kind of temperament possessed by only a few individuals in the tribe.

• 182 Their economic life, social organization, mythology, and religion form a well-knit pattern of existence. There are no loose ends, but a knot here and there appears in the form of vagueness or contradiction. But I think that the fault lies with us who would introduce our type of organization into their knowledge. We expect more from a primitive group than we ourselves could offer. Besides, it is doubtful whether we ever present the picture of their culture as they see it; if we did we might not understand or we might even be surprised at its orderliness.

177 Although the Yaruros have been in touch with Euro-American cul-
121 ture for several centuries they have borrowed remarkably little. What culture they possessed several centuries ago we do not know. There is practically no information about them in the literature. There is justification, therefore, in publishing this record, in spite of many apparent deficiencies. Since plans for another visit to fill in the gaps in my field notes have not materialized and the Yaruros may be gone before another ethnologist can live with them it seems advisable to make this material available.

121 Anthropology, among other things, is concerned with the interrelationships of groups of men and with the functions of social structures as developed by man and his environment. I have tried to keep in mind that in presenting a first account of an unknown people it may not be at all out of place to draw a general but intimate picture of the daily life of the Yaruros, their emotional, cognitive and conative responses to the world about them, and even their attitude toward the ethnologist who appeared among them with only the objective of hold-
123 ing friendly conversations about themselves. At first they were suspicious, but they soon caught the point and enjoyed the experience as much as I did. An attempt has been made to give these pictures, and to explain the series of events which made possible with these nomads the intimate association that followed the first few days of unfriendliness.

124 No attempt has been made to reconcile differences in the information
128 obtained from various informants, not even if there is a contradiction. It was the first time that the Yaruros had been asked to organize their knowledge of their own culture; contradictions and vagueness were to be expected. My informants were exclusively men, even for those
123 phases of culture which admittedly belong to the female world. A cultural obstacle which I respected prevented any direct social intercourse with the women. The women's domain is respected by the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

603 604 educate and to assist him. However, his grandchildren belong to his own moiety and the children of his daughters will be born in this camp and will live with him until the boys are old enough to seek wives in the other moiety. The bonds linking these nephews, uncles, grandparents, and grandchildren are morally strong and perhaps it explains why Kuma herself is thought of as being the grandmother of Hatchawa, rather than the mother. Several myths illustrate this uncle, nephew, grandfather, and grandchild relationship. It is curious to note that occasionally the uncle in these myths plays tricks on the nephew and may even be represented as being exceedingly wicked, but the grandfather is always benevolent.

[591] The children of a man's sons are brought up in a different hunting group, since the boys will live with their wives' groups, and although these grandchildren belong to the same moiety, the old man's contact with them is rather limited. It is different with the children of his daughter.

●182 582 The basis of Yaruro social organization is cross-cousin marriage. Each hunting group tends to consist of one family and other groups hunting nearby are probably closely related to it. The chance of a member of one group meeting members of a group hunting far away from his hunting grounds would be quite insignificant. It would appear, therefore, that a Yaruro man would have the option to marry

[584] his sister's cousins, aunts, grandchildren, and grandparents. Of these it is considered incest to marry his sisters, his mother, and the sisters of his mother, whom he calls mother also, the children of his father's brothers, whom he calls father, and the children of his mother's sisters, whom he calls sister also. The only two classes of women whom he can legitimately marry are the daughters of his mother's

[616] brothers and the daughters of his father's sisters. The latter, however, belong to the same moiety as himself and are therefore excluded. His choice is restricted to the daughters of his mother's sisters.

However, a number of factors may enter to allow a man a wife other than his cross cousins on his mother's side, and in fact in some cases he is forced to marry others than his cross cousins on his mother's side, who may not be available. Theoretically he may marry any of the following: His father's sisters, his father's mother's sisters, his daughters' daughters, his wife's sisters, his wife's mother's sisters, and his wife's mother's mother and her sisters. We find in actual practice that this is done. At Landaeta there was one young man married to a woman of about 40 whom we would call his aunt-in-law, that is, his wife's mother's sister.

587 This class of women whom he is allowed to marry he is also obligated to look after should their husbands die. For instance, should

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182 515

been in motion, with sound production, as if in anticipation of something to be swallowed. Commonly, swallowing ensues, if the object is not disagreeable. Such behavior is conspicuous in chimpansee, which for purposes of comparison will be used in this report as type. Such familiar expressions as fleapicking, hairdressing, skintreatment, toiletmaking, frequently are used to refer to forms or aspects of the pattern of primate behavior which has been described.

Grooming is a biological habit, and like all such habits can either be perpetuated by a culture or smothered, "repressed". Among the very primitive peoples of South America I have seen habits that approximate the definition given by Yerkes. Delousing is the most common form. The lice are generally picked off and crushed between the teeth. Ticks that cover one in great numbers are likewise taken off. In this the subject of the attention generally sits very quietly, while the performer acts with evident pleasure. He or she may talk and jest much more than the subject.

515 Among the Yaruros the most common forms of social grooming are the removal of lice, ticks, and the crushing of insect-bite blisters. For this latter function carved sticks are used. One end of it is used to search for the lice and to crush them and the other end is used for the blisters. This attention is generally given by the mothers to the children and the wives to their husbands, generally on the return from the day's hunt. I myself have been the recipient of such attention from Yaruro women. Not having a wife of my own, my sisters by courtesy, or adoption, took care of my body.

182 515 It is difficult to say that the talk, jesting, smiles, that accompany these attentions are a result of the biological instinct. I am inclined to think that the culture pattern is here at work with its attendant repressions. For instance, often I have seen grimaces on the faces of the performer, the subject, and even of those standing about when a louse is crushed or a blister is broken. Is this a purely biological reaction or does it follow the pattern of conduct? Even primitive peoples are slaves to culture.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

THE YARURO WORLD

185 775 Uppermost in the Yaruro consciousness is their conviction that they are faced with extinction—that Kuma exists and that she is waiting for them in her land. It was easy to prevail upon my informants to talk about Kuma and the world to which they will go upon dying. The other phases of their beliefs were difficult to bring to their attention, for the Yaruro life in this world has practically ceased. As a group, the desire to live and to continue has died. They see the hopelessness of any struggle to preserve their traditional

311 In short, the habitat conditions are as follows, given that the Cinaruco
22 Yaruro have a technology including hunting, gathering, fishing, and animal husbandry, and horticulture. All resources are found within a narrow band of about 4-5 miles between the Cinaruco river and the high sand dunes occurring in the interfluve to the north, in which only an occasional deer is found. Within this space there are three major resource areas distinguishable: 1) the open savanas for hunting and gathering, the former involving much greater dispersion of resources than the latter and consequently quite different techno-social conditions. Both activities change location markedly with the seasons.2) The rivers and *caños* are used for water-animal hunting and for fishing. Fishing also displays a seasonal shift between river and *caño*, whereas river hunting for alligator and turtle becomes totally impracticable in the wet season. 3) The wooded areas, themselves dispersed, include the gallery forests of smaller streams where flooding is limited but water
[241] and soil abundant and the *montes* occurring here and there in mid-savana. These areas provide the Yaruro with garden sites. Away from the streams, there are also occasional tiny patches of suitable soil not close enough to the water table for dry season use, but which get enough rain to be used for planting of seasonal crops in the wet season. Schematically, the situation is shown on Table II_1, a list of foods entering into Yaruro economy and their relative seasonal occurrences, and on Maps I and II_2 of the seasonal locations of these resources.

● 182 The particular relationship between a peculiar habitat, such as the one we have just described, and the technology operating within it, here preponderantly a swidden technology, sets upper limits to territorial, socio-economic, or cultural expansion, and limits to changes in socio-cultural forms. With regard to the habitat dimension of the relationship, we may
[121] say in Harris's words, "Limitations imposed by the manner in which plants and animals convert solar energy into comestible material in combination with the availability of land and water resources, the rate of reproduction of the natural biota, and the total ecological balance, furnish conditions unalterable by individual or collective whim", at least with the given level of technological development possessed by the Yaruro. The Yaruro are in no position to change the total ecological balance, to increase the carrying capacity of the land or water for plant or animal species. For
182 example, under the llanos conditions, the use of slash-and-burn horticulture exhausts arable land at a rate greater than it recovers. The proportion of
241 land held in reserve for future cultivation must be several times greater
311 than that under cultivation at any given moment, the proportion varying with such factors as the rate of fertility recovery, the type of weed and grass invasion, the rate of growth of the secondary forest, the rate of mechanical reconstruction of the soil, and so on. Thus of the total amount of land potentially available in a given expanse of territory, only a part can be horticulturally exploited at any one time. Where the total potentially arable land in a given expanse is itself only a small proportion of the total area, the amount of land available for cultivation at any one moment is, of course, minute. This ecological balance in turn limits the human population

1[1] [See pp. 31-39, category 116 -- Analyst]
1[2] [See pp. 40-41, Category 102 -- Analyst]
1[3] [for footnote, see p. 42, category 116 -- Analyst]

and socio-economic forms. Nor can any immediate desire or fancy of the Yaruro change the limitations which the ecological relationship imposes: the carrying capacity of the land for horticultural food plants has, with the given technology, a fairly fixed upper limit. That such limitations exist for their horticulture is recognized by the Yaruro themselves to some extent. First, they recognize that, given the types of soils extant in the habitat, only certain kinds of crops can be used in certain places. Their knowledge in this regard seems to be quite accurate, and, of course, determines where a garden will be prepared at any given time according to projected needs, existing resources, and past exploitations. Again, they know that a swidden lasts three years, a fact not only confirmed by the evidence of conditions in recently abandoned patches but also by the results of soil analyses.[9] After the three years, they say, the swidden must be allowed to fallow for a number of years. They use the word 'five', but the writer believes 'five' is intended to mean 'some' years. The conditions of abandoned gardens, with their rank growth of lush grasses, unmanageable with dibble or machete, and of the places chosen for preparing new gardens, all cut out of relatively large second growth, suggest that the fallow period is at least 10 years, and probably upwards. We shall use 10 years as a basis for calculations below, since after such a time, the shade has driven out the succulent grasses which are replaced by herbaceous plants or woody underbrush. In view of these considerations, it may be said that Yaruro horticultural practices have been well-adapted to the particular soil and water conditions of their habitat on the basis of explicit recognition of these conditions.

Without basic change in their technology, the balance between the Yaruro's present technology and the habitat conditions we have described set real upper limits both on production and on productivity, the latter defined as production per capita per year, and therefore sets limits on the absolute size and the form of the society. Let us suppose optimal population conditions unlike the present continuing depopulation due to western diseases and massacres by Venezuelans were present as an hypothetical ideal state. The tendency of any plant or animal population is to increase until it balances in a stable equilibrium with the available nutritional resources, other factors constant.[10] If the population increases beyond this point, either a portion of the population must seek elsewhere for its food, or a portion must die, or the population will exploit the resources so as temporarily or permanently to reduce them to lower potentials, as in the case of cattle overgrazing pastures. A new land-population equilibrium is then reached at a somewhat lower level. The only other possibility is to innovate new forms of exploitation, a point we return to below.

Under optimal conditions, then, we may estimate maximum Yaruro population within the boundaries of such a territory as presently occupied by the Caño Totúdoro Yaruro of the Central Cinaruco, a territory bounded for all practical purposes by walking-and-working distance from the village. Within this area of about 65 sq. mi. a maximum of about 800 acres, or that 3% of the total area which is wooded, contains all tillable land. However,

[9,10 [for footnotes see p. 42-43, category 116 -- Analyst]

182 241 361 First, through time, the gardens tend to radiate further and further from any given residence point since, given the 13-year planting-fallow cycle, plots near the village will be exhausted. Since the major garden resource areas lie in a crudely east-to-west direction, there will be a slow westward migration of the geographic center of garden activities, enough so that at some point, the village is suspended, as it were, among distant resource points (see Maps), and enhanced by the dispersed nature of the hunting and fishing, and to some extent the gathering, areas. If the "suspension" is weighted more in one direction than another, there will be some tendency either to move the village or to send out temporary or permanent branches of it, respectively in the form of work cottages in the swiddens or in larger long-term house groups which are intermittently occupied. This process is, in fact, easily observed among the Yaruro in existent and abandoned house and subsidiary village sites scattered over the whole territory. Similarly, the locus of gathering, so important in [221] summer, moves further and further from the village. This, together with the considerable shift to fishing and river-hunting in summer, as well as the need for water, causes an extensive seasonal transhumance to occur within the territory. These factors contribute to fissioning as well as to inhibiting the development of permanently located villages, let alone larger aggregations. Thus, with a radiating ecology, a degree of group dispersion and geographical mobility within the territory is to be expected and is indeed characteristic of the Yaruro.

512 Second, if one examines the location of all resources it will be seen that, taken together, they constantly enjoin a dispersal of the labor force in all directions, regardless of season, so that more or less equivalent quantities of labor are being used at the same time in many varying kinds of productive activity independently of each other -- at the peripheries of the territory, in the areas between, or in the village centers themselves, [462] where the women are constantly doing the significantly important work of [252] converting otherwise unusable food resources, like raw, bitter manioc or uncooked corn, into edibles.

476 Third, it will be noted that none of the Yaruro technological processes require cooperative work, even when they may permit it, if it were so desired. On the whole, the productive activities might be described as dispersive of labor, whether it is individuals or small groups of twos or threes who go out to keep each other company. Even the work of preparing [241] the swiddens is carried out individually, though two or three men may [463] work as neighbors in what appears as a single plot. Further, the technology [242] is such as to require no highly specific and difficult or esoteric skills. The most difficult skill to acquire is the knowledge of the soil types and appropriate planting procedures attached to each. Thus, each adult is in 462 a position to learn the inventory of technological knowledge appropriate 463 to his or her sex, and somewhat of that belonging to the other sex too, and to apply it by himself whenever he wants or must. A man, well-instructed in Yaruro technology, could probably subsist alone successfully for long periods of time. One divorced adult man, although he was largely fed by his

mother's and sister's households, nevertheless hunted and harvested for himself, and often cooked for himself meals of the type ordinarily cooked only by women. 462 463

The forms and characteristics of surpluses, as defined by Harris, [16] shed further light on the structure of the ecology. The technological surplus, defined as the difference between total calories annually produced by any definable group and the calories used to produce them, or as the ratio between these two figures, may be estimated at about 8 or 9 to 1 as compared with Harris's estimated figures of 2:1 for the Siriono or 33:1 for the Penetuyut Maya. [17] Since as Harris remarks, the degree of social stratification in a large number of cases correlates with the size of the technological surplus, we would scarcely expect to find social stratification among the Yaruro, nor even any significant ranking. Where the technological surplus is low, the producer's surplus, defined as the difference between total calories produced by any given group and the total calories used by the producers for all purposes must also be low. Therefore the number of persons other than producers who can be supported by the producers is also limited. The producers' surplus may provide an index of the degrees of specialization which might be expected. In the case of the Yaruro one would expect no, or very low, specialization. Again, with a low producers' surplus, one would expect to find a greater proportion of the group involved in production than where such surpluses are high, for otherwise there would be insufficient calories to support more than a few people other than the producers. With a low producers' surplus, one would expect, in general, to find a greater proportion of both sexes engaged in the food quest. This is, of course, born out in the case of the Yaruro. Finally, Harris's harvest surplus is defined as the difference between the amount produced at any given moment, especially at seasonal maxima, and the amount consumed at that time. The actual amount consumable is governed by the seasonal *minima*, since the population cannot rise higher than the food supply at minimum periods permits unless special technological features such as storage, are present. Where the harvest surpluses are of non-storable goods, the population level is in equilibrium with the absolute minima of the harvests. The greater the degree of storability through a nonproductive season, or the less marked a crop is by seasonality, the higher the level to which the minimum population can be raised as compared with the number of people supportable at levels of production comparable to those at the time of harvest. Storability, however, is only one dimension of the harvest surplus. Absolute size of the peak surpluses, their regularity over the years, their distribution in space and time in the annual cycle, their utility in raw form, and the proportion of labor needed to harvest them relative to the time allotted for the harvest are all important dimensions of the harvest surplus. Thus, manioc, the Yauro's chief food resource has no clear peak, is regular over the years (the Yaruro disclaim any famines), is storable both in raw form and in prepared forms, is, in the case of the Yaruro, so located as not to permit of a concentration of labor at any one time and needs no massive labor for harvesting because of short harvest periods. Thus, in general, the very nature of manioc as a crop, and the labor requisites for

121 433 182 [56] [463] [462] [262] [251] [241]

16, 17 [For footnotes see p. 43, category 116--Analyst]

121 182 433 [241] [22] harvesting it, require no centralized authority and render it possible and even probable that the management of production or distribution be carried on without it. The same may be said, on the whole, for all the hunting, fishing, and gathering harvests, a notable and probably permanent feature of Yaruro ecology. Perhaps the only crop which has a marked seasonality is corn, but its absolute size in the total production, its geographical distribution in production, and its position relative to all other harvests renders it insignificant as an effective promoter of managerial functions and [56] formal arrangements of social stratification. It is unlikely, given Yaruro ecology that the forms of surplus would change; consequently their concomitants in social structure would remain constant.

On the basis of the formal characteristics of the ecology and of the surpluses one may deduce an essentially egalitarian social organization, with minimal ranking and leadership and with dispersion of the acts of [56] economic distribution among a number of adult males or females any one of [462] whom may produce a small harvest surplus at any time. With a relatively steady and reasonably comfortable total subsistence base, and with ecological arrangements which are spatially repeated in identical form up 182 and down river, no necessity exists for stringent rules of local exogamy [582] as an institution to regulate the labor force by redistributing its members. One would expect frequent marrying in the village according to the convenience of the contractants, and out-marriages to occur either as economic opportunity offered elsewhere or lack of women at home urged one out. The [562] combined biological and productive role of women, with their particularly important technical roles in gathering and in food preparation, suggest sedentary communities and a matrifocal emphasis in the rules of residence. However, the importance and location of the men's economic contribution [591] might be expected to balance this to a degree so that one might deduce male uxorimatrilocal residence but with other, subsidiary patterns. This in fact occurs, occasional male matrilocality or patrilocality [18,A] comprising the subsidiary residence rules. Political authority would be vested [623] in the community, mainly among its elders, since little or no ranking or stratification is to be expected. In fact, Yaruro socio-political forms, in general, conform to all of these deduced conditions. They represent a model for any society based on the kinds of ecological conditions or form of ecology we have described. Where the ecology is even more restricted the deduced characteristics should be matched even more closely by the observed [171] data. In this respect, the Sirionó, for example, tend to confirm the hypothesis, in that their partial sedentariness which revolves about horticulture is associated with matrifocal social organization: matrilocality and matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. They also possess autonomous local communities. [19,A] The Apinayé also tend to confirm the hypothesis. [20,A]

Where our analysis permits us to predict about the course of the ecological conditions, we should also be able to extend this prediction to the social structure. Since, under the given ecology, we can establish a maximum population for each Yaruro socio-cultural unit, and under the given technology we would expect no significant change in the ecology, no significant

[18,19,20 [for footnotes see pp. 43-44 category 116 --Analyst]]

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

change of form in Yaruro society would be expected. Changes could occur only by virtue of a changed technology derived either from internal developments or diffusion. 182

It is justified to assert, I believe, that, given the technological and ecological conditions of the Yaruro, internal developments of an evolutionary sort would be unlikely, or, at best, exceedingly slow. It seems to the writer, that the nature of the wet and dry savana soils at least in the Cinaruco area precludes any possibility of cropping by means of slash-and-burn horticulture, or even, to any extent, by modern agricultural means. Therefore development would have been restricted to improvements in the existing technology such as the domestication of new plants or the improvement of old ones grown in the restricted areas along the streams. Maximum surpluses would still have been restricted, and the singular ecological relations of this region would nevertheless have been maintained. Improved fishing techniques might have increased output - the weir, the trap, poisons (used by some groups of Yaruro), nets and seines. fish pools would have increased the fish intake, but there are no salmon runs or the like, here, so that a maximum would soon have been reached in fishing too. 000

Of introduced food plants and animals, the same may be said, unless some plant growing with notable success in the dry sandy savana soils had appeared. However, no such plant was available from any surrounding source and still is not. It is doubtful whether techniques of fertilization could either have been internally evolved or brought in from other peoples which would have made a significant difference to production. In fact, even with a modern agronomical technology, as well as better soils than possessed by either the Cinaruco or Capanaparo Yaruro, the problem of fertilization of their savana lands has not been solved even by contemporary Venezuelans. Had it been possible to develop any form of fertilizer under native conditions, the best that might have occurred would have been to raise the swidden productivity somewhat, thus raising the population. But it is doubtful if it would have significantly changed the forms of surplus, the ecology, or social structure. Conceivably, however, villages might have become larger and more fixed and ranking somewhat more marked.

Among the Yaruro, water control would have been impossible, because the small streams, and even the larger caños, dry up in summer altogether while the rivers are reduced to relative trickles. Any significant irrigation system would have had to have been on such a scale as only a major state could undertake a state of greater proportions and wealth than contemporary Venezuela for example. Even had such been possible, it is doubtfult whether irrigation would have helped the sandy savanas of the Cinaruco, so heavily leached by rain, though water control might well permit a large increase in agricultural productivity in the loamier parts of the llanos. Thus, a major agricultural technique known to relatively near neighbors of the Yaruro was for ecological and social reasons not diffusable.

Finally, warfare, which might have elicited a more hierarchical form of social organization, had not evolved as a Yaruro culture trait. In the 182 72

182 72 first place, the ecological conditions to the north, west, and south were, if anything, more severe than their own, so that there was little advantage to gain by warring in these areas. To the east were the Orinoco highlands, mountainous and heavily wooded country, an ecology quite different from, and probably as difficult as, their own.

182 We may conclude then, that, with the given technology, and under the given ecological conditions peculiar to the Yaruro region, the possibility of evolving to a more advanced tropical forest type like the Kuikuru, or even the Carajá, who in a number of ecological respects are like the Yaruro, was extremely limited. Second, there was little possibility of circumventing this development by directly taking on Circum-Caribbean traits from nearby groups. The Yaruro had to remain, under native systems of [177] subsistence, which did not include the European-derived cattle herding now found in the llanos, at a fixed level of technology, with a fixed ecology, and hence with a fixed form of social structure. Only the recent exposure to cattle herding is breaking up the fundamental form of their economy.

Under any conceivable native conditions, the basic ecological relationships and forms would have had to remain essentially unchanged. We may therefore deduce that the concomitant socio-cultural structure would have had to remain unchanged. Yaruro society was, for ecological reasons, substantially at an evolutionary dead end.

000 With this view of Yaruro ecology and cultural development, we may turn to the question of what conditions of incipient tropical forest horticulture might have provided a foundation for evolution to a higher level. The inhibition of Yaruro development is a result of certain specific ecological limitations. Consequently, where those limitations do not exist or could be removed, one would find, other factors being equal, conditions under which incipient horticultural groups would evolve to higher levels of organization.

Holding technology constant, a much greater per cent of tillable to total land, say up to 50% [21], instead of 0.5%, would allow for an enormous increase in population - up to a hypothetical 12,500-15,000 [22] - which would permit or rather demand, a more elaborate social organization. A marked seasonal fluctuation in the productivity of these lands, that is, in the production of surpluses, would provide a situation in which forms of stratification could appear. A proportionally greater dependence on these food resources requiring intensive labor in order to maximize yield per acre, as in the case of corn or yams, would provide the basis for more elaborate socio-political organization. Thus, manioc which produces the largest tubers in relatively *poorer*, weakly nitrogenous, soils, requires much less effort to produce the several millions of calories per acre mentioned above than do corn and yams in better soils in order to push their productivity up to the maximum half-million calories per acre. Corn and yams appear to produce more with intensive care such as hilling and weeding, as well as the use of bird-watchers, and the like, as the papers on both the Taino and the Sub-Andean which follow clearly indicate. Where manioc will not conveniently grow

[21,22 [For footnotes see p. 44, category 116 -- Analyst]]

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

their attention. The shaman's position as link is emphasized by the fact that his wife invariably sits next to him during the *tonghés* to minister to him and to supply him cigarettes and drink. Thus, the socio-economic link of the household is also the unique link between the sexes in ceremonial life.

The various forms of socio-economic and ceremonial division of the sexes is even more remarkably underscored by the existence of female shamanism. As one might expect, shamanesses behave differently from shamans. Shamanesses sing only in the day-t'me. They, like Ku'maⁿ, sing from hammocks whereas men sing sitting on the ground or dancing. Furthermore, messages trasmitted to them from Ku'maⁿ are sent only to them, though the men hear and understand them. The men listen to these messages with care and respect and with the air that there are things to be learned from them which they would otherwise not hear. The shamanesses cannot receive male gods or their messages. Female shaman'sm seems to be an affirmation of the kin-bonds of the matri-centered local group as well as a means of asserting the values and rights pertaining to the women's world. The women's experience ideologically, as well as socially and biologically, is recognized as being systematically distinct from men's experience in life.

Behavior in the *tonghés* is very relaxed. Villagers laugh, joke, sleep, play, get up, walk about. Sometimes persons may even fail to attend if they have chosen to go to work the next day. The only thing explicitly forbidden, because Ku'maⁿ would consider it most indelicate, is sexual intercourse. Otherwise, the lack of formalism and freedom of individual behavior so often noted before is again found here.

The importance of the *tonghés* as the foremost way of reinforcing social relations and communal values as well as for curing is seen in several ways. First, when there has been no *tonghé* for several days, one begins to feel and hear a bruiting for *another* tonghé. It is felt that much time has elapsed since the last *tonghé*. Someone asks what's wrong that we haven't had a *tonghé* in so long. Another says we need a *tonghé*. Rumors of *tonghé* begin to be heard. By the fifth or sixth day another *tonghé* is held and community bonds are again reasserted. Again, the sexual division of labor and social life observed in the other- and hither-worlds is systematically carried through into religious observances. We have mentioned the seating of men separate from women and the separate greetings given to the gods. This theme is carried still further in the exclusive women's shamanism and the equally exclusive capacity of men to do curing, either as shamans or as purely private individuals.

The *tonghé* illuminates much about Yaruro ideology. First, shamans both male and female are not considered authorities possessed of special gifts and prerogatives who interpret lore for the entire community. Rather they are considered merely the comunity religious spokesmen for the public expression of community values and for curing, who, by their own choice, enjoy and are willing to undertake the long, arduous work of training and practice. They reaffirm community bonds by repeating in endless verses the precepts and knowledge contained in the Yaruro ideology. All knowledge and all experience is, at least potentially, open to all members of the community and even the private or personal experience of each is made known to all. Any member of

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

the community may do the shaman's work if he chooses, just as any can travel to the other-world or commune with the gods, although, because of age, temperament, or individual taste, not every one does so. There were, in fact, two shamans among the nine men of the writer's village, as well as a number of men who cured and who occasionally sang verse intonations in the *tonghés* although they were not shamans. The shamans are no more than respected community members outside the ceremony. Here again we observe the egalitarianism and individual self-determinism which is so much a pattern of this culture.

The *tonghé* also clearly shows the relationships which prevail between men and gods. The shamans and the other adults of the village converse with the gods in great mutual respect. They do not manipulate them nor minister to them, nor implore them. Before the gods, they are in a position corresponding to active and adept junior members of the village before their elders and especially their lineal ascendants. Furthermore, in a very real sense, no individual person, *qua* person, deals with the gods. The community, with its religious catalyst, the shaman, is the unit of action. The only individual relations with the gods occur in dreams, unconsciousness, and death. Dreams about gods are made public by singing aloud in sleep, the experience of unconsciousness is recounted publicly, and death, too, becomes public because the dead man is accessible through the *tonghés*.

The directness of contact between man and gods again emphasizes the unity of cosmos, society, and man. Within this unity, the sharp division of a male sphere from a female sphere is found. These quite coordinate spheres, in the other-worlds as in the hither-world, in religion as in socio-economic life, are linked through the household.

In conclusion, I would like briefly to review the major dimensions of Yaruro ideology. We may state these as a set of propositions, each presenting a major dimension of the ideology.

1. Cosmic structure. ***The cosmos is static, limited, concrete, and internally continuous in that no barriers separate man and his society in the physical world from the nonphysical world.*** The parts of the universe together form a rather rigid, symmetrical, architectonic structure, although each individual Yaruro may vary the description of the whole to suit his particular taste. All parts are of roughly coordinate importance. The major motions of nature, such as thunder and lightning, the revolutions of sun and moon, are often embodied, personalized, and independently operating entities, moved by semi-human motivations.

2. The good. ***Goodness inheres generally in the cosmos as a system. The goodness manifests itself in understood causes and concretely and describably known parts of the cosmos which, whether places, persons, or things, are given exact locations.*** Conversely all known and localizable objects, persons, or places and understood causes are generally good.

3. The not-good. ***Evil, which is not polar to good, finds its locus in specific persons, things, or events inside or outside the cosmos, and is manifest in specific results. The underlying causes of evil, however, are inac-***

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Second is the rate of deculturation. It is quite clear from comparing the material culture items observed by Petrullo with those that I observed, as well as from the present distribution of culture traits, which shows a gradient of trait loss as one goes from less acculturated to more acculturated groups, that the Yaruro once had a more elaborate culture content than at present. Though temporal extrapolations backwards can of course only be securely made by means of the written historical sources, items gleaned here and there from sources so far examined tend to confirm the inference from spatial distributions.[6] The implication of this is that the Yaruro were formerly considerably more complex, at least in their cultural content if not also in their cultural structure, than at the periods of ethnographic observation.

Third, a series of arguments concerning the ecological relations of the Yaruro to the land, and of the various tribes to each other and the food supply, could be presented which would suggest ecological specialization by tribal or subtribal groups among the Yaruro, Sáliva, Guahibo, Kuiva, Achagua, and Otomaco, all in a complex system (cf. Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*).

Fourth, an interesting ecological argument can be made which would resolve the disagreement about horticulture: that Petrullo's statement regarding horticulture might possibly be correct for the small, highly special area he studied and — the Orinoco sand bars and the estuary of the Capanaparo River in which wet-season flooding appears to be exceedingly extensive, hence sharply limiting horticultural possibilities — but that they do not apply to other zones of the llanos which do not have the ecological peculiarities of the river-mouth area.[7] I have discussed some aspects of this in previous publications, especially with regard to the importance of flooding, the area of gallery forest available for horticulture, and the pattern of transhumance (Leeds, 1961 *a*, especially pp. 13-18). An ecological-geographical survey of the entire region between the Orinoco highlands and the Andean spurs to the west is needed.

III

We may now turn to the question of written historical evidences. No published work on the Yaruro or the llanos has made use of much more than a dozen

[6] Cf. Crévaux, 1883: 570; Carriazo, 1910: 59; Acosta Saignes, 1961: 97, etc., as well as the loss of culture traits observable between Petrullo's and my visits.

[7] That this area is rather unique is clearly indicated by many maps which represent it as entirely flooded or as a welter of water-ways (cf. Gumilla, 1791). Acosta Saignes, in a foreword to Carvajal, points out that it was quite simple to mistake one river for another since, at least during the rainy season, they all flowed into each other near the mouth. The flooding makes any ordinary gardening impossible for a large part of the year. The hypothesis tends, however, to be contradicted by Le Besnerais's findings (1934; also, Leeds, 1961 *a*). It may be noted that in the almost absolutely flat Guachara area, between the Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, at the Indian village of Palmarito- much of the llanos floods. The loamy-mud soils are excellent for crops, but crops are only grown in those areas which remain a few inches or a foot or two above highest rainy-season water-level.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Guahibo SC14

Y
Petrullo's own linguistic data includes the words for corn, *(pwe)*, manioc 174
(per), and other planted foods. The words for corn and manioc are certainly 142
not word borrowings from Spanish. This tends to confirm the hypothesis of 241
an aboriginal presence at least of these crops.

A second point is that Yaruro and Guahibo subsistence is transhumant, G
consisting of a wet-season gardening predominance and a dry-season hunting Y
and/or fishing predominance. Guahibo, both presently and in various historical 174
sources,[12] are described as being horticulturalists as well as hunters. It is of 42
first importance to note which season is being discussed when the tribal sub- 241
sistence is being described. With this sort of transhumance, one would expect the decriptions in the literature to disagree; as they do, according to the season of description. Similarly there is much local ecological variation, which appears to determine variations in the predominance of horticulture or hunting or fishing or collecting.

Third, the various tribes — Yaruro, Guahibo, Kuiva, Sáliva, Achagua, and G
possibly the Otomaco, as well as more distant groups -- maintained a complex 721
ecological relationship to llanos and extra-llanos resources by means of three 433
major institutions, trade, war, and raiding. For example Kuiva, described by my Yaruro informants and others as being "muy brabos",[13] even today raid both Guahibo and Yaruro villages, but apparently only when these are well supplied, *after* harvesting (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961). That is, they drain off a certain amount of the harvest surplus (cf. Leeds 1961*a*: 23) from the horticultural groups. With this food, they are able to maintain a larger population in the hunting areas away from the rivers, which they regularly inhabit. Presumably it also compels or encourages the groups concerned to produce more as a hedge against such depredations, thus contributing to overall population maximinization. The raiding pattern may also account for the use of green corn as remarked before.

At the same time, the Guahibo raid Yaruro gardens as the corn and manioc- G
ripen, but are limited from so doing by the frequent presence of Yaruro in 174
their gardens during the harvest period and by the distance of the gardens 721
from the Guahibo villages. The Guahibo were also reported as formerly having carried on extensive warfare, which, it is my guess, had a subsistence foundation (cf. Kirchhoff, 1948*b*). The peaceable Yaruro, on the other hand, have ap- Y
parently always done a considerable amount of trading up and down river in [439]
their canoes. Trade is also reflected archeologically in the stone artifacts mentioned above, since the kinds of stones used are not found in the llanos and must come from extra-llanos sources.

In short, the entire llanos area appears to me a complex ecological system Y
involving hunting, gathering, fishing, and horticulture, with trade, raiding, 174
182

[12] Cf. Crévaux, 1883; Marcano, 1883; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1944; Vela, 1889; Wilbert, 1957.

[13] Cf. Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961. He described the generally harsh behavior of the men, the raiding pattern, and the rough manhandling he received from the women.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

and warfare as supra-tribal distribution mechanisms. It is interesting to note that the cultural characteristics ascribed to each of the peoples — "warlike," "peaceable," "brabo" — are ecologically funcional, in that they mirror value orientations which tend to drive people to maximize the food resources in ways appropriate to their socio-ecological environments.

Fourth, the evidence seems to me at present to point to the existence throughout the area, of pre-hispanic horticulture, enjoyed by at least some groups within each tribe, if not by all groups in part of every year. The evidence comes from the reports of travellers, missionaries, and from the archeological remnants, such as they at present are. The main Spanish and Venezuelan acculturational effects with respect to subsistence appear to have been the introduction of iron tools; seeds and plants not of native origin, such as sugar cane and bananas; and, here and there, cattle, pigs, or chickens.

Fifth, the evidence suggests a steady deculturation in an area capable of maintaining a more elaborate level of culture. One may hypothesize either that groups like the Yaruro came into the area with a level of culture reflected by the Arauquín-style remants and then gradually deculturated both pre-hispanically and in post-conquest times, to their present level, or that they intruded into such a culture at a time when they themselves were at a more elaborate level, and then deculturated largely under Spanish influence. It will probably be possible to shed light on this question with the historical data.

In summary, if these hypotheses are correct, the entire interpretation of the llanos area between the Andes and the Orinoco highlands, as well as of other nearby areas assertedly inhabited by so-called marginal tribes, is quite different from that presented by the *Handbook of South American Indians*. The marginals of northern South America seem to evanesce, and a picture of a highly complex ecological system in which horticulture is of central importance, even if not quantitatively predominant in this ecologically restricted area, appears. This picture seems to conform better to the recent archeological hypotheses of Cruxent and Rouse (1958-1959), to the historical mentions of horticulture, to the presently scanty archeological and linguistic materials, and to more recent ethnological data.

I have not, as yet, been able to make any determination whatever with respect to clanship, totemism, or matricross-cousin marriage. I hope that with a study of the word lists discovered and with possible older ethnographic data that this problem may be resolved. My own field data suggests an organization into demes with bilateral marriages between cross-cousins or between an ego and his parallel cousin's offspring. This interpretation incidentally tallies with, or at least does not contradict, the data, such as the genealogies, kin terminology, and locality features described by Petrullo in all pasages where inferences and assertions as to the existence of these institutions do not occur.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

841 piece of cloth. (Among the peoples of the Xingu in Brazil she is made to wear her hair over her face, and she is kept from the sight of men.) Whether during this period special initiatory rites are performed I was not able to find out. This part of Yaruro culture is considered to be in the women's domain, and, being a man, I was kept from delving into it.

123 841

MARRIAGE

527 The Yaruros are poor in social ceremonies. Anciently they may have practiced a great many of them but today social life is comparatively simple.

When a boy is ready to marry he may approach his father, or as a matter of fact, the father may approach the son. In any case he is sent to the shaman, who informs him that now he should be ready to assume the duties of a man, and proceeds to instruct him in the nature of those duties. He is told that he must love and cherish his wife; supply her plentifully with food, clothing, ornaments, and children; that he must never use harsh words toward her and that he must take care of her when she is sick; that he must never quarrel with her family, with whom he is expected to live; and of particular importance, that he must remember to take care of his father-in-law and mother-in-law. All of this is ordained by Kuma.

885 791 584 [183] [577]

584 585 791 The shaman will then approach the boy's uncle who has a marriageable daughter. No special ceremony seems to take place. The boy simply goes to live with the wife's family and assumes his duties of taking care of her as well as of his parents-in-law.

SICKNESS AND DEATH

751 757 Not much material was available on sickness. It must be remembered that the Yaruros have been in contact with European ideas for several centuries and that they understand the use of medicine for the cure of a specific illness.

753 756 Nevertheless, Kiberoh, the evil night spirit, is in some fashion associated with illness. If Kiberoh enters the body of a person, the latter will become ill. In such cases the only cure is the intercession of Kuma, who can be called upon to help by the shaman or musico, a term adapted from the Spanish to describe the singing shaman.

755 The sick person is laid on the ground with his head pointing to the east. At sundown the shaman will stand to the north of the sick person and will proceed to sing, accompanying himself with the rattle. The rest of the people, with the exception of any woman in her menstrual period, line up behind the shaman and sing and dance as they generally do during any of the shamanistic performances. If they indulge in any dancing, however, they do not go around a

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

524 323 532 a pole. In general, therefore, organized play for child or adult is hardly present.

WAR

726 173 175 The Yaruros did not speak much of war. None of their legends make any reference to it except in one case which says that they were killed by the "Racionales" and that they retaliated.[4] The known historical sources say nothing except Father Gumilla's account, which makes reference to the pacification of the "Saruri."

MORAL ATTITUDES

183 577 On the subject of conduct, the outlook on life and the organization of life values, we must distinguish between theory and practice. The former grows out of reflection and represents the intellectualization of the universe as seen without much reference to practical life. The second springs from the social and economic relationships and the fusing of individual ends and purposes into the purposes and ends of the group, whereas the first is not strictly controlled by custom and practical needs. Both exist among the [791] Yaruros. For the first we have to turn to the shaman, who in addition to being a religious leader, a savant, is also a moralist; and for the second we turn to the entire social group and need to watch it in its behavior.

175 171 114 In reading over the early account of the aborigines of the region, among which we must presumably include Yaruros, we gather that their moral concepts were different from those of the Christians, but perhaps neither better nor worse in practice. It must be doubted, however, whether a number of practices attributed to the Yaruros are authentic. We read, for instance, that a number of the aborigines were patricides, and we are given a picture of the male children, on reaching adolescence, rising against the fathers [682] through lust for the mother. Patricide is an abhorrent crime and [683] the motive behind it is equally abhorrent. It is to be doubted whether patricide, or even lesser acts, such as beating the father, were ever practiced, except in sporadic cases such as may occur in [684] any society. It hardly seems possible that women were the cause of it when it is known, as it is known today, that mating and extramarital relationships are very strictly controlled by tradition and social training. Disregarding, therefore, such allusions to the moral life of the primitive peoples of the Orinoco, let us turn to our informants for an understanding of their present mode of life. The

[4] It would appear probable that the nomadic Yaruros were too weak to ever develop any warlike spirit.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 linked, kept up rhythmic motion by bending the knees slightly and leaning forward. The men bent at the waist until the torso was horizontal, arms hanging down like apes, and made the same motion by bending at the knees. The motion was so very apelike that I wondered if the monkeys didn't enter in some way into the scheme of things. I was told that formerly they were people and when the flood came they climbed to the tops of trees, and have continued to live there ever since, gradually changing shape. When the circuiting around the pole began the men followed one another after the shaman, and the women made the outer circuit with the right hand on the shoulder of the woman in front. The right foot was stamped on the off beat.

ART

184 517 Of the arts, dancing, music, carving, painting, modeling, and perhaps drama, are present among the Yaruros. Every individual in the group participates in some form of artistic expression, even in connection with objects whose function is practical rather than aesthetic; each individual attempts to make them "tsaimui", that is "pretty", "good." Great care is taken in making baskets, pottery, arrows, and bows. Singing and dancing are universally practiced also. No individual feels that his voice is too poor to participate in 531 the singing and no individual is shy about dancing. However, social 462 custom limits the activities of the men and women in the plastic arts. 323 Pottery making is the prerogative of the women. The carving of stamps and realistic figures from the asabache is done by the men. The low relief carvings on gourd rattles are the special products of the shamans. Of all these activities it is this last that comes closest to being inspired.

531 285 The making of baskets is woman's work. They take great pride in their workmanship, and make a conscious effort to reproduce various designs by employing several weaves. The patterns are rather limited, but then this may be due to the limited number of baskets which they make (fig. 21).

531 323 Pots are frequently broken in transport, but there is also very little use for them. One or two pots per family are all that is required. The porousness of the material is desired in order to keep the water cool. These pots are generally decorated with crude broad bands of red paint. The pottery decoration is reproduced in figure 22.

531 322 The women like to paint their faces. For this purpose the men make wooden stamps (pl. 22, *1*), which are dipped in red-ocher paste or a blue dye and the design is impressed upon the face. The designs are entirely geometric and rectilinear.

301 317 The asabache figures are of special interest because of their remarkable realism. The asabache is a black igneous material found

133 As one goes inland from the coast and westward through Yaruro territory, the land slowly rises so that the town of San Fernando de Apure is about 100 feet above sea level; Palmarito de Guachara, about 60 miles southwest, is just 145 feet; and the Cinaruco river about 100 miles SSW is about 190-200 feet. From the middle Cinaruco, the site of the writer's field work, to the sea, the average slope is 0.007% or 4 ½ inches/mile, but the slope increases gradually as one goes west till nearly 200 miles to the west, the plains abut on the Andes where, within a space of about 50 miles, the land rises from about 650 feet to over 12,000.

132 The slope of the land is paralleled by a gradual increase in total annual rainfall and length of rainy season, respectively averaging for the region as a whole about 1600 mm (63") annually,[1] and about 5 months of heavy rains with 2-3 transitional months of unsettled weather with considerable rain. The slope and climatic gradations are paralleled, furthermore, by an 134 orderly series of soil and vegetation types. As one moves steadily nearer the mountains, the soils change from muds, as at San Fernando, to muddy and sandy loams at Guachara, to sands and sandy loams in the central Cinaruco, and increasingly to sands and pebbly areas. These micro-ecological ●[184] differences appear to determine micro-cultural differences among various groups of Yaruro as one goes westwards, for example in the specific content of the cosmology. Space only permits us, here, to deal with the Cinaruco area.

133 The dip of the strata, hence drainage, is from West to East. The slope of the dip is so small, as we have noted, that at the first sizable rains, the flow exceeds the carrying capacity of the stream beds and flooding occurs. Thus, during the rainy season from May through September, [132] during which from 85-90% of the annual rain occurs, there is a constant tendency to flood, while during the driest months from December through March, not more than a total of 3 inches falls, and the rivers and landscape dry up often totally, presenting desert-like conditions. Because the topography of the central Cinaruco area is not level in large areas, and even in the flat parts, is raised above the level of the streams, flooding occurs more because of accumulated rain in low spots where it cannot drain than from overflow from streams. The streams themselves are swollen and in places overflow their banks for short distances before they are enclosed by the higher terrain. The west-east dip of the land an the east-west prevailing winds combine to make surface land forms, such as sand dunes and creeks, called *caños* (Y. *dorò*) run east and west also.

133 In the central Cinaruco area, the creeks on the north side of the river are contained in a sort of basin formed by a row of dunes, perhaps as high 137 as 100 feet above the neighboring savanas, almost 300 feet above sea level, running east and west for many miles at a distance of 3-5 miles from the Cinaruco. On the south side of such "ranges" of dunes, a creek like the Totûdoro is likely to be found. On its right bank, sometimes at some distance back from the normal high water mark, it is contained by the edge [134] of the flat, sandy, coarse-grassed savana, which is marked by a continuous

1 [for footnote see category 116, p.42 --Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

516 high and the hips carried well forward. As they walk along the soft sands they do not lean forward as a white man would to push against the yielding sands. The torso is held erect on the pelvis and the weight is shifted from hip to hip with the legs making a gliding motion beneath. In this way the walk is really a shifting of weight from one foot to another, the foot being planted almost flat on the ground. I noticed that on a hard trail the ball of the foot strikes the ground before the heel. They make a graceful picture as they walk about.

When sitting they double their legs under them, a position difficult to assume unless one has practiced it from childhood. The favorite sleeping posture is on the side with the knees drawn up close to the mouth. When sitting on the sands, if forced to pick up an object lying some distance away, the women especially would walk on all fours to it and bring it back without rising to a standing posture. In this manner I have seen women pick up firewood lying 50 yards away from the fire.

482 854 Loads are carried by men and women in nets suspended by a band from the forehead. Young children, who generally accompany their mothers on their food-gathering expeditions, are carried astride the hip, feeding at the breast as the mother goes about her work.

147 The physical endurance of the Yaruros is rather low. A day of hard paddling at a speed greater than their ordinary style, and they are exhausted. It is difficult to say whether this is due to their poor diet or simply to low racial vitality. It is certain that the American primitive is not as acclimated to the tropics as the Negro who, living on the same food as the Indian, will nevertheless outwork the latter.

177 The Yaruros today have been pushed to the Capanaparo and the Sinaruco Rivers. Rarely do they dare to wander far away from the banks of these two rivers. Since the days of the missions the indigenous tribes have been the victims of exploitation, even to the extent of enslavement. They are free booty for anyone who can catch them. The ranchers have sought to enslave the Yaruros, but an even more general sport has been the taking of the Yaruro women. Bandits and revolutionary groups sweeping along the llanos have not eased the Yaruro problem. Crocodile hunters, upon meeting with a band of Yaruros, will demand their women, and if the Yaruros should be reluctant to turn them over, death may be the price. I was told both by the Racionales, that is the peons, and the Yaruros, that about one month before I arrived in their midst about 150 Yaruros had been rounded up and killed by the local "Jefes Civiles." The Yaruros are a hunted people, and they know that their extermination is imminent.

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

787 791 tion of the song it was smoked in the shamanistic manner, or rather spirit style, and Itciai began to explain who I was. He said that he knew me well, that I had visited Kuma's land many times, that I was a shaman; that my family was well, that my wife was waiting for me and that my son was so anxious he began to fear that I was dead. He said that there was something big being saved fo. me in my country. I was a good man, and a man like the Yaruros; that he was glad I liked the Yaruros so much, and that he was glad I was living with them. I had nothing to fear, since on my death I would go to Kuma land. Itciai was saving for me a beautiful large horse to ride in the land of the gods.

During this long discourse about me from Itciai, which lasted about one hour and which was translated to me only in fragmentary fashion, the shaman often, at the beginning of a new thought, would shake the rattle violently before my face, and continue the same frenzied tone and shaking throughout. The people sang lustily, with feeling likewise, a great compliment to me.

• [185] Itciai[1] had something to say about the Yaruros in general, namely, that they were doomed to die, but that a better world and life awaits them with Kuma. They will have houses and cattle, clothing, tobacco, and all food; they will be born again there, young and strong. This world will come to an end because the Yaruros are being killed off.

Later Hatchawa[1] came. I had a cigarette ready for him. He appreciated it and asked the shaman why I didn't drink of the shaman's drink. He urged me to drink it. I was a Yaruro. He also acknowledged my acquaintance in my own country and in Kuma's, and expressed deep affection for me. He brought good news of my family, saying to hurry back to my wife since she had been waiting for me with much love for a long time. He got another cigarette and I was embraced several times.

The next to come was the father of one of the Yaruro men, and as soon as I heard of it I offered a cigarette. It was properly acknowledged and the people were told by the spirit that indeed I knew a great deal, since I had cigarettes ready to greet the spirits. At about 3 o'clock in the morning came the god Puaná, expressly to greet me. He said that I lived in another land which he himself had made and that he was glad I had come to visit this land. He received three or four cigarettes. He described my land as being like that of Kuma, high and beautiful. He gave me further news of my family and said that he was keeping for me much cattle and many horses in the land of Kuma.

781 Puaná[1] was greeted with happy laughter and general approval, the reception as demonstrated by the quality of the frenzied singing.

1[Itciai and Puaná are creator gods; Hatchawa is the fire-giver ..... Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

182 515 been in motion, with sound production, as if in anticipation of something to be swallowed. Commonly, swallowing ensues, if the object is not disagreeable. Such behavior is conspicuous in chimpansee, which for purposes of comparison will be used in this report as type. Such familiar expressions as flea-picking, hairdressing, skintreatment, toiletmaking, frequently are used to refer to forms or aspects of the pattern of primate behavior which has been described.

Grooming is a biological habit, and like all such habits can either be perpetuated by a culture or smothered, "repressed". Among the very primitive peoples of South America I have seen habits that approximate the definition given by Yerkes. Delousing is the most common form. The lice are generally picked off and crushed between the teeth. Ticks that cover one in great numbers are likewise taken off. In this the subject of the attention generally sits very quietly, while the performer acts with evident pleasure. He or she may talk and jest much more than the subject.

515 Among the Yaruros the most common forms of social grooming are the removal of lice, ticks, and the crushing of insect-bite blisters. For this latter function carved sticks are used. One end of it is used to search for the lice and to crush them and the other end is used for the blisters. This attention is generally given by the mothers to the children and the wives to their husbands, generally on the return from the day's hunt. I myself have been the recipient of such attention from Yaruro women. Not having a wife of my own, my sisters by courtesy, or adoption, took care of my body.

182 515 It is difficult to say that the talk, jesting, smiles, that accompany these attentions are a result of the biological instinct. I am inclined to think that the culture pattern is here at work with its attendant repressions. For instance, often I have seen grimaces on the faces of the performer, the subject, and even of those standing about when a louse is crushed or a blister is broken. Is this a purely biological reaction or does it follow the pattern of conduct? Even primitive peoples are slaves to culture.

Religion and Shamanism

The Yaruro World

● 185 775 Uppermost in the Yaruro consciousness is their conviction that they are faced with extinction—that Kuma exists and that she is waiting for them in her land. It was easy to prevail upon my informants to talk about Kuma and the world to which they will go upon dying. The other phases of their beliefs were difficult to bring to their attention, for the Yaruro life in this world has practically ceased. As a group, the desire to live and to continue has died. They see the hopelessness of any struggle to preserve their traditional

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

culture or themselves against a superior culture and ruthless "civilized" bandits. Their only consolation is Kuma and the Land of Kuma.

Nevertheless, being realists they not only continue their daily activities of hunting and gathering foods, but also in finding daily solace through their environment and the shamanistic contact with Kuma. The Yaruro is nature conscious. Perhaps his lonely existence has made him ecstatically responsible to the world about him, for often they talked of the beauty of various phenomena; but stronger than any such feeling is their sense of intimate relationship with the sun, the moon, the stars, their animal life. The falling stars at night are interpreted by them to be messengers sent by Kuma to encourage her people, the Yaruros; the moon is friendly, and on moonless nights the stars represent the crowds of their ancestors who live with Kuma. The wind blows incessantly and it blows to them the roar of the araguatos (the howlers), which, to them, represent distant relatives once human beings, but changed into monkeys by life in the trees at the time of the great flood; the toninos, frolicking at night in the water, are also another race who failed to climb the rope which Hatchawa let down to bring his people to the surface. It is in such a friendly world that the Yaruro literally sits, listens, and looks, almost communing with his environment. Perhaps it is not out of place to mention at this point that this reaction on the part of the Yaruros is not difficult to understand, that perhaps we ought not to rationalize this attitude of the Yaruro entirely on the basis of superstition or religious ideas; anyone who has lived on the plains, exposed day and night to nature, soon loses any feeling of lonesomeness. This response on the part of the Yaruros is shared by the llaneros, who do not seem to be so perfectly at ease as when they are alone in the plains.

THE YARURO UNIVERSE

According to the Yaruros the world has experienced a series of metamorphoses. Some of the events which have transformed the world from its original form are attributed to the direct intervention of the various gods and races of mankind, but others remain unexplainable.

How much of Yaruro cosmic ideas have been borrowed from the missionaries it is difficult to say at this point. Missionaries have been among them from time to time but the Yaruros have been abandoned so completely so many times that the result and confusion is difficult if not impossible to unravel—a thing which can be done only when we have thorough descriptive studies of the various tribes of the Columbian plains and the tribes of Guiana. The comparative ma-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

aboriginal peoples are called by the Spanish word "Racionales" which is the equivalent of "civilizado," civilized. It was only after they came to the conclusion that I was a Pumah also, and quite different from the Racionales, that they accepted me and made this study possible.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Yaruros are small and dark with a strong mongoloid appearance. The faces are heavy, broad, with the eyes very often showing the mongoloid fold. The average stature of the men is about 5 feet 3 inches and of the women about 4 feet 10 inches. One gets the impression that the heads are larger than the ordinary in comparison with the body size. The frame is light, both men and women possessing small, beautifully shaped hands and feet. The body is relatively hairless, as is usual among pure Indian peoples. They have strong teeth and seem to keep them until a very old age.

The Yaruros have had some contact with Europeans or mixtures of Spanish, Negro, and Indians for several centuries. Herrara reached the Meta River in 1535, and subsequently missions were established along the Orinoco and its tributaries. About 1750 a mission was established at La Urbana for the Otomacos, and one was later established at Barinas. Apparently at that time these people inhabited the region between the Capanaparo and the Apure. No missions were established for the Yaruros, and, according to Gilii, the Yaruros came to the Otomaco missions to be baptized. Father Gumilla wrote:

> Here, between the Sinaruco and Meta rivers were established the colonies of Santa Barbara and of San Juan Francisco Regis at the end of 1739, having pacified the Saruro (Yaruro) nation; of which nation Father Manuel Roman, the Superior of those missions, in a letter of February 20, 1740, gives me excellent news of their good will and docility and, which is receiving our teachings anxiously; with the hope that with the good example of these first two other Reductions will be established. He adds that in the colony of San Francisco de Borja of the same nation Sarura, of which Father Francisco de Olmo is in charge, who has reduced their language to writing and a dictionary, Christianity is flourishing; and that already schools for writing, reading, and singing are attended by children (a short while ago they were wild); and that they sing the mass, litanies, etc., in a fair way. So much does careful and diligent effort accomplish in those wild regions! Father Rogue Lubian takes care of the Santa Teresa village with the same efficiency; Father Jose Maria Cervillini is in charge of San Ignacio; he, with Brother Agustin de la Vega, attend as best they can the rest of the new villages, and they are clamoring for workers with the firm hope that you will send them as soon as possible.

Since there has been contact with the white man and some Negroes for several centuries, one would expect a certain amount of race mixture. However, I never saw a sign of the slightest trace of Negro blood. The hair which, more than any other characteristic, seems to indicate Negro contact, in the case of the Yaruro is coarse and straight,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

781 Of great importance is the fact that the Yaruros live in a world which they understand perfectly. At night they watch the heavens for signs from their gods. Each night they read a new chapter in a great story book. During the day the winds, the skies, the sun, have much to tell them, and they watch and listen eagerly. Their world is not one of fear but one which, as created by Kuma, is excessively friendly and hopeful. Terror has been introduced by the white man.

771 For every species of plant and animal life a gigantic counterpart exists in the Land of Kuma. Originally the plants and animals, which have been domesticated by the white man, were given to the Yaruros, but the size of the horse and cattle frightened the Yaruros so much that they refused to mount one or tame the other. The white man seized the opportunity which has since made him master of the Yaruro country. However, they have no explanation for the superiority of the white race except sheer wickedness. This superiority is so startling sometimes that the Yaruros feel that the white man in some way must be closely affiliated with gods, good or bad. The appearance of the white man on the plains of Apure is a legendary event. A white man, the Yaruros say, appeared on a huge horse. He was covered with foul sores and destroyed everything in his path. The Yaruros are content to hunt and cultivate the soil. The result is that the civilized peoples raise crops, store them, but the Yaruros are condemned to wander about hunting for a daily dinner.

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825 Many of the animal species, natural formations and constellations are to the Yaruros metamorphosed races of man. One explanation for the monkeys, especially the araguatos (the howlers), is that they are the descendants of a group of people who, to save themselves, climbed to the top of a tree during the time of the flood. The caymans represent another race of men who failed to take advantage of Hatchawa's rope to be lifted out of the hole in the ground. The toninos also are a race of metamorphosed humans.

182 The Yaruro, according to their conception of mankind, were
773 Kuma's chosen people. They were created first of all the Indian tribes and that is why they were given the open plains to live in with an open sky overhead so that they might be in close touch with Kuma day and night. The Guahibos, on the other hand, or as the Yaruros called them, the Tciricoi, the forest people, were created last and occupy an inferior position.

776 In addition to playing a purely religious role, the gods function
774 as ethical teachers in every shamanistic performance, a function which is shared by the spirits who are close relatives of the living Yaruros. It is they who visit their living descendants and speak through the body of the shaman, correct abuses, scold the evildoers, and praise the good.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

criticism of Kuma, and there is even an implication that she always acts with the greatest wisdom.

THE LAND OF KUMA

Kuma lives in the west, apparently beyond the horizon. In the month of March and in early April, about 9 o'clock in the evening, there is a glow in the western sky, a beautiful phenomenon, which the Yaruros explained is the reflection from Kuma's land. Its exact geographic position does not seem to be known and is as hazy as a Catholic's idea of the position of Heaven. For instance, we are told that the stars are both the lights from Kuma Land and the people from that land walking about at night, and yet the Land of Kuma is localized somewhere in the west.

This land is described sometimes as a vast and clean savanna, treeless and full of game, and at other times as a savanna with a huge town in which Kuma and her people live. This latter conception springs from the association the modern Yaruros have between wealth, comfort, power, and those material things which the civilized peoples possess. Towns are included among the products of the civilized. In the same way we find that although the Yaruros are a horseless people, Kuma and her people seem to have an abundance of horses. Apparently those things which are denied the Yaruros in this land are to be found in the next and shamanism is the means of expressing the longings of the living Yaruros.

THE LAND OF KIBEROH

In contrast with the beautiful world in which Kuma lives and to which all Yaruros expect to go, Kiberoh rules over a dark land inhabited by those unfortunate races of mankind left in the hole when the rope dropped by Hatchawa was broken by a too-heavy pregnant woman. Not much is known, nor is there much interest on the part of the Yaruros about this unpleasant region. However, this must not be taken that they have a belief in hell as Father Gumilla reported. According to this author the Yaruros believed in an evil spirit called Tighitighi. On the contrary, my informants identified Tighitighi merely as a large hawk which has no relation to the devil.

PUANÁ

Puaná stands out as the indulgent parent and teacher of Hatchawa. He is also the artisan who invented all of the implements now used by the Yaruros. He is conceived of as the great snake, and in fact is so portrayed on the gourd rattles of the shamans, yet there is a

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Venezuela SS1

Y 105 SS1

were accustomed to. That is, they had to fall back on a life somewhat similar to that of the Yaruros. Today one finds close to some river bank a little hut, the home of one of these Llaneros. In such a household one may find a man, his wife, and children. Their only possessions are what they can gather and make from their environment. They may have a garden in which they raise plantains and bananas, a little maize, and yucca. But the soil of the Llaneros is not fit for fertile gardens, so these people have to depend on hunting and fishing for most of their food. These are the people with whom the Yaruro have most contact. There is nothing in their houses and nothing in their mode of living to attract the Yaruro. As a matter of fact the Yaruros themselves made the comment that a Racionale's house was dirty and full of vermin and insect life, whereas they, preferring to live on the open beaches behind no shelter, had the advantage of moving about from one clean camp site to another.

Y 186

Y 177

How much the Yaruros have borrowed from Spanish lore and religious ideas it is impossible to say on a basis of our knowledge. In their religious ideas one might guess that the conception of the existence of an evil spirit and the personality of India Rosa may be the two strongest elements. All these, however, were introduced a long time ago and with the breaking off of communication with the missionaries during the past century they have become weaker and weaker. Today India Rosa is confused with Kuma. The evil spirit appears in only one or two legends and plays hardly any part in the shamanistic performances.

The tenor of the Yaruro culture is typically conservative. Their reaction to any European idea is one of suspicion and fear. For instance, they will not raise domestic animals or learn to cultivate gardens. The Yaruros had their chance, they say, when the world was created, and refused to take it. Now there is only one thing left to them: to live as their ancestors have done and to die.

Y 181

This patient acceptance of their lot is the most characteristic attitude of the Yaruros. They have abandoned all hope of maintaining themselves against the destructive forces of the world around them, and even of dying out peaceably. Their only consolation lies in their firm belief that Kuma is waiting for them in the other world. In other words, not unlike many other American aboriginal groups, they have built for themselves an indestructible heaven, and one from which foreign peoples will be excluded. There they will recapture their ancient mode of life. They will have plenty of food, clothing, horses, and the companionship of their relatives. Kuma's land is a world of bliss, an expression, really, of the living Yaruro's yearning to be allowed to hunt, fish, and live peacefully with each

/10 cont./

II. Notes on the Otomaco

101 From information gathered principally from Pedro Ramón
186 Camacho (10) it seems that the Otomaco or Tomaco were the

[115] [622] [756]

10. Chief and shaman of community No. 6, our best informant.

object on the part of the Yaruro of a regard completely different from that they had for the other Indians who were their neighbors (11).

101

11. In addition to the neighbors already cited in a previous article (see "infra" IV List...36) names of other Indians, known, it seems, by the Yaruro, were mentioned to us by various informants in the course of our investigations. Some appear to live at present in Colombia; the Mayaredo or Mayarero, "very far to the west of Yaruro territory, there where the savanna ends," which no doubt means at the foot of the Andes; the Saliba and Taparito cya koromę more particularly on the upper Meta; and the Tiapaco, Tiarua, and Mapoyó without fixed localization. The others seem to have disappeared: the Piquero (tabę pumę in Yaruro), who "cultivated conucos and had a game with a ball" and seem to have inhabited the banks of the Orinoco on the Cinaruco side, and the Guamo, Tamanaco, Tamanachi, and Guaruro.

/10 cont./

Y 186 10 These are in fact presented as enemies or inferiors. The Otomaco, on the contrary, appear to have been friends or relatives who were superior to them. This hierarchy is apparently Y 186 773 confirmed by the Yaruro myth of the creation of men (12) where

12. See "infra" IV List...38.

the Otomaco were the first brought out of a hole in the ground by the masculine divinity Iţiai, the Yaruro arriving only in second place, followed by the other Indians and the Racionales who were the last born. Their birth took place, in addition, just after that of Iţiai but before the flood which submerged the world and only after which the Yaruro were born.

D Y 773 776 The Otomaco seem to have the same divinities and religious manifestations as the Yaruro, as comes out from the words of our informant, Pedro Ramón Camacho, reproduced word for word below.

"They knew who the Kuma (13) was and they were loved by

13. Female Yaruro divinity.

O 776 the Gods. Now in the other world whereas the dead of the other Indians inhabit an isolated village located at the edge of the Universe, on the shore of the sea and some leagues from the Kuma's village, the Otomaco live a little lower than the Kuma's village, like from here to the corridor of forest (some 200 meters), in a village perched on the /11/ mountain. They called the Kuma, Iţiai, and Puana (14) by their names.

14. Another masculine Yaruro divinity, Iţiai's brother.

O Y 775 776 They had, like us, tiyo (protecting spirits represented by stones or pottery remains) and when my spirit walks along the

/13 cont./

Y 186 Let us add, finally, to this dossier on the Otomaco and their relations with the Yaruro, that the latter seem to have considered them, despite their being of another tribe, as pume--a term also already employed for the Otomaco in the legends about the origin of the mono, araguato, and chigüíre--that is, men like themselves. "They are pume like ourselves," our old informant, Pedro Ramón Camacho, said to us. On the other hand, the old Yaruro seem to have called them aitti tabe or eitti tabe, or even the short form aitti, which in Yaruro signifies simply that they are of a different tribe, whereas the Otomaco on their part apparently called the Yaruro pume, or even pume ra, which, in Yaruro also, means good people.

O 114 361 It was Juan Esteban Bellac (27) and Pedro Ramón Camacho

Y [622] 27. Temporary chief of community No. 2.

who pointed out to us almost simultaneously the existence of a last Otomaco village called Los Caballos, the name of the place where they were supposedly created, and situated on the Río Cunaviche not far from the Venezuelan village of Cunaviche. We went there in October, 1949, but only found some small hills covered with short, green grass and occupied by several trees in the English garden manner, which rose above a river of clear water. The site and the landscape were remarkable, but the Otomaco had abandoned them a long time ago.

O 115 We did find, however, one survivor of Los Caballos, Catalina Galinda, in the village of Cunaviche (in the Jacintero quarter, located a bit upstream), but we could /14/ draw nothing out of her. She no longer had any remembrance of O [191] the language or culture of her former tribe, having left Los Caballos very young and at a time when the last Otomaco were already speaking Spanish among themselves.

Most direct

622 [191 177] commands, in so far as I was able to observe, were made in Spanish![4] — essentially in acculturation contexts. In general, they concerned village care, small services, and the like. No occasion was observed of commanding older men, except for a married youth of 19, who was the youngest adult male in the village. The two or three commands he received during my stay went unnoticed, and, in one or two instances, were even directly contravened. The capitans of the Cinaruco river group and of Palmarito de Guachara both consistently complained that no one paid enough attention to them, and the Palmarito chief complained that he never was kept [571] sufficiently informed of events by his people. The fact is that people do pretty much as they choose in all important decision-making situations which do not involve the community at large, or the relationship of some member of the community or the entire group to outsiders.[5] In the former situation, the chief serves as a consultative funnel through which the community discussion pours back and forth until the community achieves some clear but unstated consensus upon which 622 648 community members can act, individually of course. Only in the situations dealing [354] with outside groups does the Yaruro capitanship emerge as a more developed status which might metaphorically be described as a position similar to that of a minister of foreign relations. In behalf of his group, he talks with any representatives of outside groups, especially if they are non-Yaruro, and acts as gatherer of information and as channel of communication between the community and the outside entity. Even this is weakened, however, since it applies more by courtesy than by fact among the Yaruro themselves, and other members of the community may perform the same function even if to a somewhat smaller degree. It is also weakened in that no Yaruro is prevented from acting on his own with respect to non-Yaruro outsiders, and, in fact, many Yaruro do establish their own relationships with outsiders as a number of instances attested. Indeed, the rights of the individual members of the society to make their own decisions, at least internally if not also [682] externally, is insisted on. In one instance, a chief who took it upon himself to

[4] Commands and other stress situations, which generally appear to be uncongenial to the Yaruro and more overt as the people have been more subject to acculturation, seem [578] to elicit from the Yaruro Spanish responses rather than Yaruro ones. It is as though it [152] were not fitting to utter commands or express anger in Yaruro. Thus, the few times noisy altercation was heard among the Cinaruco Yaruro, the language used was Spanish. The chief's commands and his overt anger were always expressed in Spanish, even if he [191] had just before been speaking in Yaruro. Though anger may often be felt, it is not shown if the participants are expressing themselves in Yaruro. Thus, the chief scolded one of the village boys for riding one of the recently acquired burros — in Spanish; he ordered a 19-year old young man to do some task — in Spanish; he complained of the actions of one of the village elders in taking on the job of guide without first consulting him (though he would certainly have permitted it) — in Spanish.

[5] Cf. Leeds, 1960 a, with respect to the place of individual action in Yaruro society. [181 114] Though there is individual action, choice, and responsibility, these are all carried out as an aspect of community organization and essentially with community affirmation. A person is not an individual set in counterpoint to his society — there is no polarity of individual-society, as we, in our culture, generally seem to conceive. Individualism in the latter sense does not exist among the Yaruro. The Yaruro should not be mistaken for an individualistic culture, as, I suspect, several of the cultures described as individualistic in Mead, 1937, should not have been.

193 Yaruros call Puana' "aia'" (father)

Yaruros call Kuma "aį" (mother)

Kuma calls Yaruros "kaią haø'"
my son (but Yaruro says to Yaruro uni')

Puana' says "kaią hao'"
my son

kanındani hambø' "kaja uni"
Poor fellows dying out there (Kuma speaking)

manna' diroką' hambø' piøji
this is my earth (Kuma speaking)

ngua'kedodeh huraria' pain une'ha'
I have food for my children (Kuma says this to shaman)

habe' dirǫ'da' manna'hinidirǫ'da'·h tcade'hinidirǫ'da' unihidirǫ
My children are living in the earth, come be born in my land young again
(Kuma speaking)

hoedi' oteh
Smoke, chief! (expression when offering tobacco smoke to Itciai. Done all the time when smoking. To Puana' also.)

tcadenane' oteh

tcadeni'
give us good life

hoedi oteh kie'tarawø'· oteh
take chupa cigaro
to Puanâ (cambi tobacco sometimes added)

hoedi oteh paua'pigni' kie'tarakaią aį' kuma
addressing

hoedi' oteh paria' peine' kieterawø tcadediane jadu'
(to Hatchawa)=good luck, etc., good line jambu'a now

minne' kaią aii
my older brother

kaią agni
younger brother

anyi kǫ'bwį'
Hatchawa calls all Yaruros (brothers and sisters)

PARTS OF THE BODY

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Abdomen	ak	Foot	taho-h
Arm	itcihu'h	Hair	kō'
Breast	maite'h	Hand	itci-h
Chin	ghudi-h	Head	to-be'-h
Ear	tana-h	Knee	utcatu'-h
Elbow	ma-tiy'i	Leg	tahu'-h
Eye	ndatco'h	Lip	tcabi'-h
Face	tenna-h	Nose	mbu'-h
Finger	itcikia'h	Palm	itcima'-h

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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NUMBERS

1	keriame'h
2	nywari'h
3	tarari'h
4	hadotcomi'h
5	keinetcibo'
6	keinetcinikeriame'h
7	keinetcininywari'h
8	keinetcinitarari'h
9	keinetcinihadotcomi'h
10	itcisune'h
11	taropeh keriame'h
12	taropeh nywari'h
13	taropeh tarari'h
14	taropeh hadotcomi'h
15	keinetaitahotcunei'h
16	keinetaitahokeriame'h
17	keinetaitahonydrari'h
18	keinetaitaho tarari'h
19	keinetaitaho hadotcomi'h
20	tarsone'h
Many	ina'

To count: Start with thumb of left hand, continue with right hand, left foot, and right foot.

POINTS OF THE COMPASS

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North	marupano'h	South	teura'pano'h
East	jaboropano'-h	West	tciaru'pano'-h
Earth	dabu'h	Morning star	mbusa'
Moon	gupene'-h	Sun	do-h
Water	uį'-	Brook	bea-hį'
River	bea'-h	Fire	konde'

VOCABULARY

Arrow	tcito'	Knife	konumia'h
Ax	hibe'	Large	teara'
Babu	arii'h	Long, tall	nqua' to'
Barbaco	para'	Macanilla	bai'
Boy (small)	pume'h (tokwį)	Make	tsuapa'
Bow	tibato', tcibato'	Maize	yukata'
Cayman	nyiakanka'	Man (old)	ote' mai'
Canoe	ja'ra'	Machete	hapene'
Cattle	faka	Night	ine ri'h
Changuango	ipe'i'h	Paddle	taento'
Cold	tcito'i'h	Pig	obuya'
Cut	todeha'	Pole (thin)	to/o hukwa'
Dark	baghune'	Quick	hanape'
Deer	mbu'a	Rainy season	uį ro'
Dog	areri'h	Rattle	tai'
Dream	kanehoi'h	Shadow	teaivi'
Drink	hara'	Shelter, house	ho'/h
Eat	hura'	Small, little	tokwį
Galapago	tcin dame'h	Summer (dry season)	hanno'
Girl (small)	iei tohwį'	Sun	do'
Good, pretty	tsaimuį'	Terracai	pudame'h
Good girl	tei tsaimui teara' tsaimui'	Tobacco	mambi'/h
		Turtle (large)	ikwii
Hammock	buri'	Thick	anna'
Horse	jai'	Thin	hubua'

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Today	jamba′	Water (cold)	uį′ tcutcia′
When	kanemo′	Water	uį′
Wild, shy	naitca′	Yucca	pae′h
Woman	ieį′	Yucca (swept) (edible yucca).	huruara′ pa′eh
Woman (old)	ieį′ tehi′	Yucca (bitter)	pa′eh kara
Warm water	uį′ kewita′		

ORIGIN LEGEND

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Joro′ (irokwi—give one)	Kuma-unijoro′	maę	joro′	kodeh	tcune′ih	joro′		
give	kuma boy give	speech	give	I	all	give		
hųi′hą	nimbø′ote′bureh	maę′	a′no′neh	hinani!	jabuą			
afterwards	speak everyone (all)	language	we all	many	now			
tokwęi′mi	nomi	nyo	hudi′ka	nyo	ibi′	kuma′	hine·	
few very	before	say	afterwards	say	to us	kuma	she	
tcade′ni	ko′nøtu′h	ado′	kønøtø′h	maęjoro	kønøtø′h	mana		
good very	that we live (on this earth)	more	live (you) (I live here)	language give (words)	live (you) (here)	come		
hineh	Kuma-di′·	hatciri	uihana′ui′	mana′bedi′	ibe′	ea′aį ya′		
she	kuma with	far away	water much water	comes	us	weeping mother for (my)		
ndairø′pe	mana′	øni′	diro′	naa′	hao′	habe′ dirǫ	″tohę′	
yonder	comes	boy	born	her	son	a moment just, merely itself, born	is singing	
ta′hve′ di be′	tave· di be	ate′ bureh	mana′ dirǫ′	ote bure′h				
unknown with you (people)		among all	comes is being born (family)	all				
sade	dirǫ′ mua′henidirǫ′	ea kni′	one′	uni′	nua′h	deheini′		
are	well is rich	weeping lacks	doll	boy	are	poor		
jai	pututairą′	nua′h dirǫ	tcere′h	paria pa′·h keheni	tokur′			
horse	saddle	has	silver	making	small			
pariapa′	habe′ dirǫ	tię′ tia	kę′·tia′	tibo′hida′	jode′·h	kaią′		
making	all remains	she will give name when he is born in her land	has name	goods are kept	this	my		
høđi′	jode′·h	fa′ka	kaią′ uni	fa′ka	jai	kaia′ uni′	huraria′	
is or are	this	cattle	my boy	cattle	horses	my boy	food	
kaia′ uni′	tauą	kaia′ uni′	tcade′·h	kaia′ uni′	hina′dirǫ			
my boy	shoes	my boy	good	many				
hidake′	handi′para′	nua′me′·h′	tokwę	pariapa′	jodi′h			
waiting	for that	is rich	few	is making	this			
tcere′	tokwę	hi′na	patce′tciara	faka	tokwę′	jai	tokwę′	
silver	few			few	horse			
jambua′	tiogi	ujmbo′	manna	huraką′	knidanni	pume′n kode′		
now	here with a woman	comes	eats	feels sorry	Yaruros	we		
ote′h uni′	manna′	hąhą′	puana′h uni	n-gua ke·nuą′	fakanguą′ke			
chief boy	comes	yes		I have (woman speaking)				

TABLE II

FOODS: THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL PROVENIENCES, TECHNIQUES AND SEASONS OF PRODUCTION; THE DIVISION OF LABOR IN PRODUCTION AND FOOD PREPARATION

Symbols: S,F W,S — summer, fall, winter, spring
M,F, — male, female
Q — evaluation of the quantitative importance of the food or raw material in Yaruro subsistence and productive activity: 5 — major staple or resource; 4 — major crop, but not a staple; 3 — important food (or other) resource, but a secondary crop; 2 — minor crop (or other resource) serving as a more or less regular but seasonal delicacy; 1 — mostly a delicacy for occasional enjoyment (very secondary resource)
≠ — indicates both presence, and by doubling or tripling importance of crop or resource; three ≠≠≠'s do not necessarily mean "3 times as important as 1 ≠", merely "of outstanding importance".
/ — sporadically or slightly present
d-m — December to March; a — April; m-s — May-September; o-m — October to November.

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
CROPS PLANTED:												
ṇae-ka'ra (x)	yuca amarga	bitter manioc	swiddens, cuttings, dibble	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠	/	≠	5
1. p. tao-ka'ra	cachicamo	" (variety?)	as above									
2. p. a'punda''ki b$_e$'reb$_e$ri''a	ceibita (?) (blanca)	" (light)	as above									
3. p. a'pund''ki-k'a'Ra	ceibita (?) (obscura)	" (dark)	as above									
'hurari''â-'pae	yuca dulce	sweet manioc	as above	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠		≠≠	4
1. p. ngoâ'kw$_e$	yema de huevo	" (variety?)	as above									
2. p. ici'kw$_e$	pata de zamuro	" (variety?)	as above									
3. p. valenciana	valenciana	" (", introd)	as above									

(x) Phonetics: *â*, etc. = nasalized vowel, *e* = mid central unrounded vowel, *ch* = palatal c., *y* = palatalized fricative; *R* = flapped r, *ng* = palatalized nasal continuant, as in English sing, *j* = palatalized affricate, as in English job.

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2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SSI9 Yaruro SSI9

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
pw$_ɛ$	maiz	corn, maize	swiddens, hills, dibble									4
1. pume'pw$_ɛ$	maiz yaruro	Yaruro corn	as above (3 mo., 1 ear/stalk)									
2. 'hamburu"spw$_ɛ$	maiz guahibo	Guahibo corn	as above (4 mo., 2 ears/ ")									
3. p. kw$_ɛ$"kw$_ɛ$ia	maiz amarillo	yellow corn	as above (5 mo., 1 ear/stalk)									
'parav"ai	plátano, topocho, banana	plantains, bananas	swiddens, machetes to cut, on specially prepared mounds, slips	?	?				/			4
1. p. 'ai	plátano	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)									
2. p. wo'ko	topocho	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)									
3. p. o'kwi	dos millos	banana	as above (raw or cooked)									
4. p. ka'ru	?	plantain	as above (?)								?	
5. ececha'm$_ɛ$ p.	guineo (?)	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)									
6. ka'mure	cambur	banana	as above (raw)									
hu'ra	flame	yams	dry swiddens, dibble	?	?			/				2
e'de	patilla	melons, pumpkins, squashes	swiddens dibble		?				/			3
1. kw$_ɛ$"bohurariiede	"	water-melon	as above									
2. chumaiile.	"	pumpkins	as above									
3. 'yako"da	"?	bottle gourd	as above									
chuni'ä	caña	sugar cane	wet swiddens, dibble, machete	?	?					/		3
1. ch. mo'ta	caña ?	" (variety ?)	as above									
2. ch. b$_ɛ$'reb$_ɛ$rei"a	caña blanca	white cane	as above									
	caña criolla	introd var.	as above									

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
ʧɛɾɑmɛ̃ˈkwɾ	flame	yams	swiddens, dibble	✓?	✓?	✓	✓	✓✓	/		✓	2
ôaˈ̃ri	batata	sweet potato	as above	✓?		✓?	✓	✓✓	/		✓✓	2
ô	ananá	pineapple	swiddens, dibble				✓	✓			/	1
ĩa	capacho	?	swiddens, ?				✓?	✓			1	?
ʧɛˈda (=ʧɛdaˈ̃dakwɾ	ocumo (yauta)	xanthosoma	swiddens, dibble	✓?		✓	✓	✓			✓	2
(ñõˈtɨaˈ̃nâ	aji	chili pepper	doubtful if raised on Cinaruco)									
FISHES CAUGHT:												
yaguˈpe	agua dulce	?	rivers, caños, hooks, arrows	✓				✓		/	✓	2-
ɛ (='chamachiˈ̃ro)	cachama	?	rivers, hooks, arrows	✓				✓		/	✓	1
guiˈte	sardina	?	rivers, fish arrows, small hook	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	2
dapˈwe	guavina	?	caño fishhooks	✓			✓	✓		/	✓	?
hoˈnõ	palambre	?	rivers, caños, arrows, hooks	✓?		✓	✓	✓		/	✓	2
ipːˈâ	pinte tigre	?	rivers, caños, hooks	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	2-
puˈchowɛ́nˈ̃ri	bagre	catfish	rivers, caños, hooks	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	2-
ˈmeõˈ̃dakwɾ	viejita	?	as above	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	?
ˈchôãndaˈ̃ɾɨi	"	?	as above	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	?
ninda'õ	"	?	caños, hooks, sardine bait	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	?
aɨjiˈri-kaˈ Rã	" negra	?	caños, hooks	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	?
uˈru-uˈru	de tierra	?	rivers, hooks	✓	✓	✓	✓			/	✓	?
daˈre	pavon	?	rivers, hooks, sardine bait	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	?

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2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
chu'me	"	?	rivers, caños, hooks, sardine bait, from platform	≠				≠		/	≠	?
'yaka'ra	"	?	as above, also arrows	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2?
't'opok'e''ne	" colorado	?	rivers, caños, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
ñô	caribe blanco	white piranha	rivers, arrows, hooks with especially heavy cord	≠				≠		/	≠	1
(hôde'cia	caribe	piranha	doubtful if caught on Cinaruco)									
(pu'pu	cajarro	catfish	doubtful if caught on Cinaruco)									
FRUITS, ROOTS, AND SEEDS GATHERED:												
t'o'cho	?	?	in mata from big tree, at foot	≠				≠				1?
gu're (cho'nô)	guayaba	guava	bushes and low trees, distant			≠		≠				1
t'u	fruta de moriche	miriti palm fruit	near caños in wet savana, from foot of trees			≠≠		≠			≠	2
'tutam''be	?	?	?, from big tree (monte?)			≠		≠			1	?
tam'be	?	?	?, ?			≠						1
tonɛto'ui	cardón	teasel (?)	?, from tall trees (prob monte)			≠		≠				1?
tokai'cho	cacaito	?	?, ?			≠						1?
nuri''to	?	?	?, ?			≠						1?
ya'kodɛ	totumo	calabash	monte (?), picked				≠	≠?			≠?	3
ni'pɛ	changuango	?	wet savanas, digging stick	≠					≠≠		≠	3
cho'kai	guapo	?	monte, savana, digging stick	≠	≠	≠	≠		≠≠		≠	2

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
ma"hikxi	soku ??	?	savana, digging stick									1
ka'ta	changuanito savanero	?	as above									2?
pa'ta	barbaco	?	monte, digging stick									3
gwe'pe (=gwepe'ke)	chigo	? (seed)	near monte, big trees, ground									2
ge (=ke)	chigo	? (seed)	?, ? (as above?)									?
ANIMAL HUSBANDRY:												
o'bweta	marrano	pigs	savanas, herding (introd.)						/			3
oka'taro	gallina	chickens	dunes near houses (")						/			1
ANIMALS HUNTED:												
(to)ha'rigu'ri(a'nâ)	oso hormiguero	giant ant eater?	savana, bow and arrow									4
ha'ri	baba	alligator	rivers, heavy barbed arrow									3
mbwa	venado	deer	savanas, lance arrow, gun									3
ci'do	chigüire	capybara	monte, river, " ", fish arrow									3-
tapu'ta	conejo	rabbit	savana, fish arrow						?			1?
puri	lapa	paca	caño, monte, traps, all arrows						?	?		1?
ya'tutu"mi	iguana	water lizard	rivers, montes, fish arrow						?	?		1?
'ge"te	cachicamo	armadillo	savanas, traps, sticks, hand								/	2-
'ipurime"ta	manto	?	savanas, traps, arrows						?	?		?

2: Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
'yacen"te	picure	? (aguti?)	monte, caño, fish arrow	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	?
'iku"ri	tortuga	tortoise	rivers, fishhooks; on Capanaparo, use detachable arrow	≠≠			≠	≠		?	?	2
poda'me	terecal	terrapin?	rivers, fishhooks " "	≠≠			≠	≠		?	?	2
goda'me	morrocoy	boxturtle	mata, by hand - doesn't run	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	1
ci'rida"me	galápago	river turtle	rivers, detachable arrow	≠≠			≠	≠≠		?	?	2
('hôi-obwei"a	chácharo	peccary	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
(be'ri	manatí	manatee	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
BIRDS HUNTED:												
he'we	cotua negro	duck species	rivers, caño, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
hâ'na	caretero	?	rivers, lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
andu'ra	garza morena	grey heron	rivers, lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
o'kara	garza blanca	white heron	lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
'huidiga'ra	garza paleta	painted heron?	lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
hue	gaviota (?)	?	lakes, arrows, bird arrow	≠				≠		?	≠	1
'kwinchi"ni	perdiz	partridge?	savana, bird arrow (?)	≠				≠		≠	?	1-
hu'tu-yu'ru	pavo	curassow	rivers, monte, arrows	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		≠	?	2
ta'ra	jivaro (?)	jivaro stork?	lakes, arrows, shotgun	≠				≠		≠	?	2?
norsha'te	pato real	duck species	lakes, arrows	≠≠				≠		?	?	?

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
pe'he	cotua	duck species	rivers, caños, arrows	✓✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		?	?	2?
pos'ná	pato	duck species	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
MISCELLANEOUS MATERIALS COLLECTED FOR USE IN PRODUCTION:												
ya'ro	espuruna	leaf to wrap and store corn sticks	savana, picking			✓ ?			✓		✓	1
karam'ba	?	cigar wrapping	savana, picking	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ ?		✓	✓	1
ngam'bi	tabaco	tobacco	savana, picking	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
u'de	curagua, macanilla	macanilla palm	near caños (?) a) for bows, b) for string, fibres for objects	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓✓ ✓		✓✓ ✓✓	✓✓	2 2-
chara't'o	sulau (salado?)	canoe wood (?)	montes, for making canoes	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		✓✓		4
cinõ't'o	caña brava	cane for arrows	near caños for foreshafts	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		✓✓		4-
tu	moriche	moriche	near or in caños, used for making house roofs, baskets, cords, fibres, hammocks	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	5
ngo	moriche frond	ditto	as above, often picked up from ground, or tree cut and fronds collected, last for years, may be reused.		as above							
biri't'o-i	guasca	bark strips	montes, caños, for lashing	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		✓✓		3
é-im'bu	cera de abeja	beeswax	near caños, from large trees	✓	✓			✓		✓		1
é-'ke	miel	honey	as above	✓	✓			✓				1
e'ra	peramán	tree wax	as above? for arrows	✓ ?	✓ ?			✓		✓		2

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Food M	Prep F
COOKED DISHES AND THE DIVISION OF LABOR — CONVERSION OF FOODSTUFFS IN VILLAGE					
chum'pe	arepa	corn cakes	kernels crushed after shelling, fried in deep fat or boiled; grater often used	/	≠≠≠
ui'ta	?	corn purée	crushed corn (after frying raw kernels in deep fat, or simply boiling) mixed with water; grater may be used for mashing	/	≠≠≠
pwɛ-u'ni	?	corn powder	dry hard kernels grated on metal grater (men make holes with nails) and then eaten dry	/	≠≠≠
iu	?	corn on cob?	boiled		≠
po'nô	?	corn kernels	dry, relatively hard kernels are shelled from cob, then roasted in deep fat, salted, and eaten	≠	≠≠
cs'dɛ	capuruna	corn sticks	shelled kernels grated into mush, carefully wrapped in capuruna leaves, boiled; stored or eaten directly	/	≠≠≠
'pwɛ-e''ro	guarapo de maíz	corn juice	kernels are mashed to express juice, thick liquid	≠	≠≠
tambɛ	cazabe	bitter manioc	manioc flower prepared by cutting, grating, squeezing in tipiti, etc.		≠≠≠
1. tam'bɛ	cazabe	manioc cakes	flour prepared in flat cakes and roasted		≠≠≠
2. tam'bɛ-e'ro	guarapo de cazabe	boiled m. juice	juice is boiled to break down prussic acid	/	≠≠
3. tam'bɛ ?	carato	fermented "	flour and juice added to corn juice, ferments ca. 12 hr.	≠≠	≠
'oka''raru-''nɛ	huevos	chicken eggs	usually fried		≠
'hurari''â-'pac	yuca dulce	sweet manioc			
1. ?	?	fried slices	fried in relatively shallow fat	/	≠≠
2. ?	?	deep fried	fried in deep fat		≠≠
3. ?	?	boiled	boiled whole after peeling (as above)		≠≠

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Food M	Prep F
'parara	plátanos, topochos, bananas	plantains and bananas	many types often eaten raw; below are considered only those which are cooked		
1. ?	?	boiled	peeled and put in water to boil till soft	/	✓
2. ?	?	fried slices	peeled, sliced, put in deep fat till hard		✓✓
o'bwei	marrano	pork	most of the work of killing and preparing is done, as with most meats, by the men; only boiling is usually done by women who own pots		
1. ?	?	boiled	small chunks boiled till almost mushy	/	✓✓
2. ?	?	roasted	put on sticks over fire, facing it	✓✓	
3. ?	chicharrones	cracklings	hide with thick layer of fat fried in its own fat till fat (and hide) are hard; stored for some time	✓✓	
4. ?	?	deep fried	meat parts are deep fried till almost crisp		✓✓
5. ngwei ts"piaks"to	?	blood sausages	blood carefully caught on slaughtering and saved in vessel till coagulated then stuffed into unwashed (?) intestines and cooked	✓✓✓	
chwi"i-e'ro	guarapo de caña	cane juice	squeezed out on "chaqui-chaqui", a wooden hand press	✓	/

NB—Preparation of foods produced only in the dry summer months, such as changuango root and changuanito savanero root were not observed and are not included here. These roots are both boiled by the women. Most meats, unless boiled, are prepared by the men by roasting. Fish, in general are prepared by women. Most fruits and seeds which are not eaten directly upon collecting are cooked by women.

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2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19
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Petrullo's own linguistic data includes the words for corn, *(pwe)*, manioc *(par)*, and other planted foods. The words for corn and manioc are certainly not word borrowings from Spanish. This tends to confirm the hypothesis of an aboriginal presence at least of these crops.

A second point is that Yaruro and Guahibo subsistence is transhumant, consisting of a wet-season gardening predominance and a dry-season hunting and/or fishing predominance. Guahibo, both presently and in various historical sources,[12] are described as being horticulturalists as well as hunters. It is of first importance to note which season is being discussed when the tribal subsistence is being described. With this sort of transhumance, one would expect the decriptions in the literature to disagree; as they do, according to the season of description. Similarly there is much local ecological variation, which appears to determine variations in the predominance of horticulture or hunting or fishing or collecting.

Third, the various tribes — Yaruro, Guahibo, Kuiva, Sáliva, Achagua, and possibly the Otomaco, as well as more distant groups - - maintained a complex ecological relationship to llanos and extra-llanos resources by means of three major institutions, trade, war, and raiding. For example Kuiva, described by my Yaruro informants and others as being "muy brabos",[13] even today raid both Guahibo and Yaruro villages, but apparently only when these are well supplied, *after* harvesting (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961). That is, they drain off a certain amount of the harvest surplus (cf. Leeds 1961 *a*: 23) from the horticultural groups. With this food, they are able to maintain a larger population in the hunting areas away from the rivers, which they regularly inhabit. Presumably it also compels or encourages the groups concerned to produce more as a hedge against such depredations, thus contributing to overall population maximinization. The raiding pattern may also account for the use of green corn as remarked before.

At the same time, the Guahibo raid Yaruro gardens as the corn and manioc ripen, but are limited from so doing by the frequent presence of Yaruro in their gardens during the harvest period and by the distance of the gardens from the Guahibo villages. The Guahibo were also reported as formerly having carried on extensive warfare, which, it is my guess, had a subsistence foundation (cf. Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*). The peaceable Yaruro, on the other hand, have apparently always done a considerable amount of trading up and down river in their canoes. Trade is also reflected archeologically in the stone artifacts mentioned above, since the kinds of stones used are not found in the llanos and must come from extra-llanos sources.

In short, the entire llanos area appears to me a complex ecological system involving hunting, gathering, fishing, and horticulture, with trade, raiding,

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[12] Cf. Crévaux, 1883; Marcano, 1883; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1944; Vela, 1889; Wilbert, 1957.

[13] Cf. Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961. He described the generally harsh behavior of the men, the raiding pattern, and the rough manhandling he received from the women.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

other. Since they cannot attain such a life in this world they are looking forward to the day when all of them can be together again in Kuma's land.

LANGUAGE

The Yaruros' phonetics do not seem to be different from the ordinary Spanish. It seemed quite easy to take down almost anything by using the ordinary Spanish alphabet. It is characterized by strongly accented final syllables. It seems to be strongly vocalized.

Much has been said about a man's language and a woman's language in connection with the various South American tribes. As will be shown, many words, especially the verbs, have a different final ending for each sex speaking. These sometimes may be only a simple change from an "e" to an "i", or may involve two or three syllables. The following notes and text are reproduced without any attempt at analysis.

GRAMMAR

dịbu'h mere'kidi' kode'h
speak I I

areke'ni keno'h oa' kode'h
I speak with this man

hanau' mene'h kede'h
you come here (imp.)

meani'bude'h kede'h kode'h
I speak with you

[a]yutaerembudene'h ke
what did you say

ontara' ok'we
teach me

ontarakwe'
teach me (explain to me)

have drunk I

[a]yuiri ko'deh ero' hẹtatih
I drunk (rum) much

hara'merikode'h ero'
drink I rum

harameri'mene'h ero'
you drink rum

harato'marikɵdeh abeko' ero'
shall drink tomorrow rum
(I shall drink tomorrow)

hurato' merikode'h abeko'
I eat tomorrow

abe pa'meri' kode'h
I work

abepa'to meri' kode'h abeko'
(I shall work tomorrow)

amerikode'h huraria'
I was eating

hurare' kodeh' no'mene'h
ate I yesterday

ameri' kode'h tibato' (huraria' abako)
I shoot arrow to eat— tomorrow

podameh
turtle

ameri
("fine")

tainekɵde'h abako'
I hunt tomorrow

gondeh po yej depo'h Yaruro pume'h
There came forth wife of Po Yaruro people

ndo'h
when there was nothing

ndiah mbuadedo ninye gondo' jahe's
sun setting night or sun sets

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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kode′ pia′ndi′
I also

mbaurikidi′ hatci′ pau′h
I go far away

moi dą tco
going to sleep

djito′rikidi ko′deh
I am sick

MAN AND WOMAN LANGUAGE

(MAN SPEAKING)	(WOMAN SPEAKING)
hurari′kudi kode′h ♂ (kudi with verb, kodeh alone)	hurake′ kodeh ♀ I eat
hambi′ pa′ kode′h ♂ I am working	hambi pa′ ke′ kode′ ♀ I am working
hai! ♂ (ri—seems to be suffix when man speaks) look!	tadehi′ ♀ look
muapa′rikidi ♂ I sleep	mua pa′ke′ ♀ I sleep
ngoheri aneh ♂ Let us go	ngohe′anoh ♀ Let us go
nguarikodi ♂ I have	ngua′ke ♀ I have
ntohi′nua′taneh ♂ Let us sing	ntohį′nua′tanoh ♀ Let us sing
hura′ria′ hura′taneh ♂ Let us eat (invitation)	hura′ria′ hura′tanoh ♀ Let us eat (invitation)
garimpa′rikidihe′ ♂ I am in love	garimpari nikwe ♀ I am in love
daba′derikidi ♂	daba′dedi′ kodeh ♀
tiade′ ♂ who is it	tea′dido′ ♀ who is it
yude′pende′ ♂ the woman is there	yude′pendi′ ivi ♀ the woman is there
ui jorokwa ♂ give me water	ui jorokwe′ ♀ give me water
tamatcg′humbririkidi ♂ I am hungry	tamatcǫ hambrike ♀ I am hungry
mboǫrikidi ♂	mbaǫ′ke ♀
hoį′ hano′h dibe′ ♂ there is a man	hoį′ hanah ibe ♀ there is a man
ndarikune′ hohedi′ ♂ I see a man there	ndakuni′ hohedi′ ♀ I see a man
nwuana′kwi′ jokoda′ bring me a pot (jar)	nwuanakwa′ jokoda′ bring me a pot (jar)
hanande′ bidi he (no) does not come	hana′nde′ kuni′ he (no) does not come

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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(MAN SPEAKING)

jamba′ hanamebede′
he comes to-day

tcuto′rikide
I am cold

tcuto′rine′h
you are cold (♂ speaking to ♂)

tcuto′me·h
(♂ speaking to ♀)

tcumato′ maibe′ ′hambo′ke tamatcǫ′
I shall make songs because I am hungry

hųnaipemedekudime′
I kill you ♂ to ♂

hunai peigne kema′
I kill you ♂ to ♀

humbe pa′ ne′
she is working

nyugu′ nambi anyikowi
do you want to smoke sister?

parapia′ manna′
breeze is coming

ngua′rikode′ oi nguari′kodi jaguimę′
have I salt

taį ka′ de ♂
he is walking

taį ka ne
she is walking

tiahą′·de tibato′?
whose bow is it

hohą′·ndi tibato′.
this is the man bow

tcocia′ pia′nde
It is cooked, it is ready

tcunia′de′ tibato′
bow is finished

abatcide′·tcadedi
all right

hana′wu·ghi!
here
come here

(WOMAN SPEAKING)

jamba′ jadohandemebidi
he comes to-day

tcuto′. ke
I am cold

tcuto′me′h
(♂ to ♀ or ♀)

tcumata′rǫ′ hambǫ′ke tamatcǫ

huna pa′ kema′
♀ to ♂

hunai peigne kema′
♀ to ♀

humbe pa′ ke′
she is working

jorokwa′ ui harapake parapia dekia′
give me some water I am thirsty there is no breeze

taį ka′ di ♀
he is walking

taį ka ke ♀
she is walking

tiahą′·di tibato′? (i. e., important)

tcocią′ pandi hurariara′ udi!

abatcidi tcadedi
good

hana′he ghi!
here
come here

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

(MAN SPEAKING)	(WOMAN SPEAKING)
mbaǥwu yude'he'	mbaǥ'he yudehe'
go away there	
eameri kude ainiką' hinani	eagni'k'e ainiką'
I like to laugh mouth	
not	
ainikądeme eamerikude	eadenyiką ainiką
I don't like to laugh	
eamerikudi unneha'	eanyike unneha'
I like the basket	
eamerikudi unne ohahe'	
that	
yohahe'	
this	
ea'demerikudi	eadenyike
I don't like	
tana'høpat'	(same)
Why?	
nyutanide?	nyutanidi?
how many are there?	
henari yudape ikuri	
many there turtles	
nųa'hana'kwe hę'!	nuahanakwa' hę'!
bring me honey	
nua'hana'kwe mo.!	
bring me bees	
hurapa'rikude mo hé!	hurapa'ke· mo he'
I want to eat honey	
jipe'h mbaǥhapa anne'?	jipe·h mbaǥ hapa' anno ?
When do we go?	
jambuą' nbaǥ	jambuą' mbaǥ'.
Now in a moment	
nyohe' hanna' he' hannadie'no	
Nura come here a moment	
(I say)	
jipęh di daba'dame'	jo'hedi'!
Where is (object around house)	It is here Take it
tanna' eame'?	eake' tibu' kaiąmi gate'ku
what do you want	buy for me cloth
ado' tanna' eame'	
do you want more?	
mo·=matahei,	
wasp (bee?)	
mo·hoį	
hive	
tiahą'ndiode jokoda'?	tia'ha'mehambe' pame' jokoda'
whose is that pot (question)	whose is it a little working tinaja (answer)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

(MAN SPEAKING)		(WOMAN SPEAKING)
•193 tiahą́·de unne′? (basket) whose basket is it		tiahą́·di unne′?
kaią· unne′di It is mine mine basket	{Ha′·de is possessive [no verb]}	kaią́·di unne
kaią kerahą·de′ unne′ǿde′		kaią kera′hą́·di unne′ǿde′
kaią	mine hą·nde	kaią hą́·di′
dibią·di	yours	same
hos′ handi	his	same
ią′ hąndi	hers	same
ibią·di	ours	same
dibią ditcuni′	yours	same
ina′hari′	theirs ♂	same
ina′hą.di	theirs ♀	same
jorokwi′ uni! give me water		jorokwa′ uni!
jorokwi jokoda′! pot		jorokwa! jokoda! pot
he′dano hura′ria huį′! Prepare the food		Heda′no ike′ huraria′ huį′!
nguane meneh I have		ngua′dene menerǫ′ we have
nguadi hudi (man) he has		nguadne oderǫ they (♂) have
nguane hine′ (woman) she has		nguanei ineh they (♀) have
nguari ane′h (anoneh) all have		
nguari′ merikodeh nomene I had yesterday (imp.)		nguari hiniri aneh (anoneh)
nguari′ merineh		nguari hinirinene′h menerǫ′
nguari′ meri-hudi′		nguari gnine′ inerǫ′ (woman)
nguari′ gnine′ hine′		nguari on oderǫ′
nguato′ merikode′ abeko I shall have (future)		nguato′ gnine′ ineh
nguato′ merineh		nguato′ n·oderǫ′ (They men)
nguato′ meri hudi		nguato′ n·derǫ iembo′ (They men and women)
nguato′ hiniri aneh (anoneh)		
nguato′ hinirineneh (menerǫ′)		

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

• 193 birahanaii kudi kaią uni heade'nenoke kaią uni
bibewa' gue dirǫ' pą' dekudi
mbe'rotonikudi
tcade' venoka' uni
ndøpa' venenoką'
kode' kedirǫ' oke' udi
kode'ke' guaraenemeri tciai
hatciri anaike · ngnara gua meri
tcade' mbaririrakwe' ndila haini
virą' nirǫ' da dibaidirǫ'
virą' nirǫ' da tihoirǫ'
ngǫodo dirǫ' da hanairǫ' tari hanairǫ
Jode'di pea'ruh dide' huį' duria' paranime'hedi' ado'tcemi·
before afterwards other
kanetci'mo kare'itcikania'me kaneitci'-nyu'anni kanetcini kareni·
karetciri ado'tiemi tcitcio'ni tarui'pa kania'me tarupa' wyuani'
taru'pa taranih ado'tcemi! keį'tao taǫ mo'tcine keįtaǫ taǫ·
kenia'me keįtaǫtaǫ mo taraniah hado'tcemi ta'u tcuni'· bainte'.
tomatcu' huriarapa' kodeh
I am going to eat because I am hungry

huriara'wi
answer—eat

tcade'dirę' pumeh
very to be often left out

me' paria' pime — Janika'
sort of devil, living beyond Kama—causes sickness

nyi paria pinyi — tcai.nde
bad

paria'pinyi oteh paria'pigni oteh tsunia' oteh
Kuma' all the people world chief (governs)

hado'kanemo' otech paria'pi'nyi nyipariapinyi kuma'
hado'kanemo' oteh Itciai paria'pi'me Hado'kanemo oteh
hatcaun patca'un pariapime haø haø Kuma haø' pariapinyi'
grandson Kuma

haø' hado'kanemo' Itciai' haø' maria'no' · Itciai haø
(born with Yaruros)

Hatchawa calls Yaruros "anyi"
anyi (brothers) (younger brother)

Jaruros call Hatchawa "aji'h"
(older brother)

Itciai' called "aji'"

Itciai' calls Yaruros "anyi'"

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

193 Yaruros call Puana' "aia'" (father)

Yaruros call Kuma "aį" (mother)

Kuma calls Yaruros "kaią haø'"
my son (but Yaruro says to Yaruro uni')

Puana' says "kaią hao'"
my son

kanundani hambø' "kaja uni"
Poor fellows dying out there (Kuma speaking)

manna' diroką' hambø' pigji
this is my earth (Kuma speaking)

ngua'kedodeh huraria' pain une'ha'
I have food for my children (Kuma says this to shaman)

habe' diro'da' manna'hinidiro'da'·h tcade'hinidiro'da' unihidiro
My children are living in the earth, come be born in my land young again (Kuma speaking)

hoedi' oteh
Smoke, chief! (expression when offering tobacco smoke to Itcisi. Done all the time when smoking. To Puana' also.)

tcadenane' oteh

tcadeni'
give us good life

hoedi oteh kie'tarawø'· oteh
take to Puana — chupa cigaro (nambi tobacco sometimes added)

hoedi oteh paua'pigni' kie'tarakaią aį' kuma
addressing

hoedi' oteh paria' peine' kieterawø tcadediane jadu'
(to Hatchawa)—good luck, etc., good line jambu'a now

minne' kaią aii
my older brother

kaią agni
younger brother

anyi ko'bwį'
Hatchawa calls all Yaruros (brothers and sisters)

PARTS OF THE BODY

192

Abdomen	ak	Foot	taho·h
Arm	itcihu'h	Hair	kõ'
Breast	maito'h	Hand	itci·h
Chin	ghudi·h	Head	to-be'·h
Ear	tana·h	Knee	utcatu'·h
Elbow	ma-by'i	Leg	tabu'·h
Eye	ndateo'h	Lip	tcabi'·h
Face	tcama·h	Nose	mbu'·h
Finger	itcisia'h	Palm	itcima'·h

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

181 other. Since they cannot attain such a life in this world they are looking forward to the day when all of them can be together again in Kuma's land.

LANGUAGE

194 The Yaruros' phonetics do not seem to be different from the ordinary Spanish. It seemed quite easy to take down almost anything by using the ordinary Spanish alphabet. It is characterized by strongly accented final syllables. It seems to be strongly vocalized.

193 Much has been said about a man's language and a woman's language in connection with the various South American tribes. As will be shown, many words, especially the verbs, have a different final ending for each sex speaking. These sometimes may be only a simple change from an "e" to an "i", or may involve two or three syllables. The following notes and text are reproduced without any attempt at analysis.

GRAMMAR

djbu'h mere'kidi' kode'h
speak I I

areke'ni keno'h oa' kode'h
I speak with this man

hanau' mene'h kede'h
you come here (imp.)

meani'bude'h kede'h kode'h
I speak with you

[a]yutaerembudene'h ke
what did you say

ontara' ok'we
teach me

ontarakwe'
teach me (explain to me)

have drunk I
[a]yuiri ko'deh ero' hętatih
I drunk (rum) much

hara'merikode'h ero'
drink I rum

harameri'mene'h ero'
you drink rum

harato'marikødeh abeko' ero'
shall drink tomorrow rum
(I shall drink tomorrow)

hurato' merikode'h abeko'
I eat tomorrow

abe pa'meri' kode'h
I work

abepa'to meri' kode'h abeko'
(I shall work tomorrow)

amerikode'h huraria'
I was eating

hurare' kodeh' no'mene'h
ate I yesterday

ameri' kode'h tibato' (huraria' ábako')
I shoot arrow to eat—tomorrow

podameh
turtle

ameri
("fine")

tainekøde'h abako'
I hunt tomorrow

gondeh po yeį depo'h Yaruro pume'h
There came forth wife of Po Yaruro people

ndo'h
when there was nothing

[illegible]liah mbuadedo ninye gondo' jahe's
sun setting or sun sets night

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

There is little to be found in the literature on the Yaruros. Among the missionaries they had the reputation of being too wild to tame. They were accused of being parricides and were called eaters of clay. The Tamanachi and the Otomacos seemed to have had a more complex economic culture and received much more attention from the missionaries; but the Yaruros, due to their own shyness, were considered to be scarcely human, and little was done with them. They seemed to be especially sensitive to any scolding or maltreatment. Gumilla, writing in 1791, says "Their fear, completely beyond reason, is the root of their inconstancy and is the dismay of all the writers: more delicate than glass; if they feel that the missionary has looked at them fixedly, if they hear a word less gentle, it is sure that they will run away and, moreover, will take with them the entire family." This statement may be an indication of the early treatment received by the Yaruros at the hands of the soldiers and missionaries. It is a fear which has persisted down through the centuries and is no less intense today.

Linguistically the Yaruros do not seem to be connected with any other South American group. On the basis of a few limited vocabularies several attempts have been made to link the Yaruros to the Saliva or the Betoya. An examination of the text produced in this study will show no obvious affinity to other language families. However, this is a matter for future study.[1]

ARCHEOLOGY

The llanos of Apure have become legendary for many things, even archeologically. In the entire region no excavations have been conducted, but stories are current of the variety of archeological remains. The Calzada is probably the most famous of them all. According to verbal descriptions obtained from geologists and other visitors to the llanos, the Calzada has the appearance of an elevated roadbed running eastward for many miles from some point at the foot of the Andes. In it and in small mounds close by it has been reported that pottary and skeletal material have been found. There is no doubt that archeological remains are primitive. As we traveled about the country we found that most of the squatters had archeological pieces of varying degrees of interest. At La Trinchera there were even two amateur archeologists. One thing is certain, the archeological material which was uncovered, and which is being reported in another paper, has no relation to any of the Yaruro material. It is therefore certain that the Yaruros have not always occupied the region.

[1] See Bibliography.

/109/

101 The Yaruro Indians, who among themselve call themselves by the term "pumę," live in the Venezuelan llanos, the tropical savannas that border the left bank of the Orinoco. They are fishermen, hunters, gatherers, and agriculturalists whose original culture has already greatly changed. All of their past
●197 is not yet known. As to their dialect, it has not as yet been classified in any of the known South American linguistic fami-
114 lies. The observations that make up this article come from investigations made on the spot by the author between 1947 and 1950.

I. The Territory
(see Map 1)[1]

131 a) Boundaries.

At the present time the territory populated by the Yaruro Indians lies approximately between 6.30 and 7.30 degrees north latitude and 67 and 69.30 degrees west longitude.

The bulk of the population, which was the subject of our investigations, lives along the banks of the Capanaparo and one of its tributaries, the Riecito, that is, on some 400 kilometers of river.

The rest are dispersed north of the Capanaparo, on the Arauca, the Cunaviche, and the neighboring rivers, and, to the south, on the banks of the Orinoco between the mouths of the Capanaparo and the Cinaruco and near the rivers located between the Capanaparo, the Riecito, and the Cinaruco.

b) Neighbors.

101 The whole region located north of the Capanaparo, the banks of the Orinoco, and part of the banks of the Capanaparo itself -- going upstream, the northern part up to the junction with the Riecito and the southern part on 220 kilometers up to the Madre Vieja Basiliero -- are populated by Venezuelan peasants, the llaneros, who thus occupy part of the Yaruro territory.

[1] [See p. 3. —Analyst]

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

thatched houses, pottery, etc., all of which are, according to Steward, Tropical Forest traits, consistent with that possession of horticulture which Le Besnerais and I both found for the Yaruro. Kirchhoff (1948 *a*: 456) and Steward (1946-1950: Vol. 5, p. 680) try to reinforce this argument by stating that Gilij's Eighteenth Century mention of the Yaruro's practice of eating green corn is proof of their recently having acquired corn-planting.

One can, just as well, argue to the contrary that, had they borrowed corn-use from the Spanish or any tribe long-accustomed to the utilization of corn, they would never have thought of using it green at all but rather yellow in the manner of their cultural creditors. Judging by both historical and present-day reports[4] of raiding, a pattern which appears to have been substantially elaborated in the area, we may argue that the use of green corn was one way of saving the crop from neighboring human predators and possibly from animal ones as well. In other words, eating green corn can well be considered an adaptive use of corn, possibly in an old pattern, given the ecological relationships of the area.

The Layrisse, *et al.*, article (1961) dismisses the horticulture that Le Besnerais and I find as being of recent origin but gives no basis for this judgement except that it makes more consistent their correlation of a population having a low or absent Diego antigen frequency with an older culture-layer and with various asserted linguistic connections. Such a procedure is scientifically not valid as proof, however useful it may be to set up hypotheses.

II

Clearly the only *final* resolutions to the ethnographic discrepancies are historical ones, however much logic may convince us that the introduction of horticulture to all Yaruro groups and its integration even into their mythology and social life in the fifteen years between Petrullo's and Le Besnerais' visits is unlikely. As for the social organization problem, all possible documentary evidence must be brought to bear.

Three major sources of historical reconstruction are potentially available — archeology, lingustics, and written history — as well as several minor lines of evidence.

First, linguistic reconstruction of genetic relationships would provide us with better hypotheses. If Greenberg's tentative classification (1956; cf., also, Steward and Faron, 1959: 22-23) is correct, the Yaruro are related to the Jívaro, the Cofan, the extinct Esmeralda speakers, and others, all of whom were, or are, actively horticultural peoples though the last named were also

[4] Cf. both Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*, and the sources he cites; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961; also my own observations.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

significantly hunters and fishers. The distribution of these peoples suggests a geographical radiation from a common location that is implied as well by the relationships among the languages — probably from the west or southwest of present Yaruro country. Work on the centuries of separation, on the degrees of relationship of these languages among themselves and to other groups of the putative Andean-Equatorial family is urgently needed as is archeology in the supposed area of radiation.

Second, archeology would provide most interesting evidence. Petrullo (1939 *b*) collected a series of artifacts, mainly potsherds, which suggest a degree of culture well beyond minimal Tropical Forest level. Le Besnerais (Ms.) mentions not only the variety of potsherds to be found but also polished stone axes and funerary urns (cf., also, Vernau, 1901). I myself saw an immense number of crude, friable, slipped potsherds; many potsherds generally of the Arauquín type; a polished stone celt; a polished stone mano, beautifully made (cf. photo), and so on. None of these objects, except the crude potsherds, have been found in situ, but the Indians assert that they dig them up all the time.

The archeological items would suggest that cultures previously in the area, whether Yaruro or not, were horticultural. Though no archeology of any kind has been done in the South Venezuelan llanos, these meager indications suggest that the Kirchhoff-Steward hypothesis is erroneous since the Yaruro of our times could not be a remnant of aboriginal hunters and gatherers if the area was previously at a much higher cultural level. The general hypotheses of Cruxent and Rouse (1958-1959: 263 *ff.*) — especially that relating to a fusion between a western corn area and an eastern manioc area — would further tend to cast doubts on the whole Handbook scheme since the obvious routes for this fusion to have taken place are the great east-west llanos rivers. Archeological work is desperately needed here, and seems to me of central theoretical importance. It is hard to understand why so many workers have skirted the area.[3]

Before turning to written history I wish to take up some minor lines of evidence which are suggestive for the resolution of the ethnographic discrepancies. One has to do with the content of the ideology. Quite a number of items such as the earth mother, the ancestor cult, the serpent rainbow, the anaconda god, and so on (cf., Antolínez, 1939; Steward and Métraux, 1948, esp. p. 628; etc.), appear to connect the Yaruro with tribes to the west and southwest including the Chibcha and the Jívaro.

[3] No one has done systematic work in the llanos. Only sporadic finds have been made there (e. g., Petrullo, 1939 *b*; Vernau, 1901). The intensive archeological fieldwork has all been in the great circle around the llanos (cf. a great many works by Cruxent cited in Cruxent and Rouse, 1958-1959; Evans and Meggers, n.d.; Howard, 1943; Kidder, 1944; Marcano, 1893; Meggers and Evans, 1955; Osgood, 1943; Osgood and Howard, 1943; Rouse, 1956; Rouse and Cruxent, 1957, and many other Rouse articles listed in Cruxent and Rouse, 1958-1959. Cf., also, unpublished work by P. Gallagher, by M. Sanoja, and by E. Wagner.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

796
787 shaman eventually returned to us, being fed and greeted with affection by all.

The singing stopped at 6 o'clock. A number of rather remarkable facts are to be emphasized.

533
791
796 1. By actual count the shaman sang no less than 3,000 musical phrases and verses and about 800 stanzas without any breaks or rest, ever changing the words, and subject matter, and jumping from one thing to another at a very fast tempo. How the shaman could make up his verses so quickly, while the people repeated the previous verse, is not easy to understand.

2. He shook the rattle without ceasing a moment, with the same sidewise motion of the hand, most violently for nine and a half hours.

[516] 3. He sat in the same posture—left leg doubled under him, right leg in cross-leg position, for the entire time. Not once did he move.

[276] 4. He smoked the long cigars with the thick leaves without taking them out of his mouth, producing so much smoke that I choked and my eyes smarted from it. He must have smoked at least 75 of them, and probably over a hundred. He smoked 35 cigarettes, in addition, in the same way.

[273] 5. He drank about 2 gallons of unfermented crushed maize in water.

The music was spirited and had a swing with the emphasis on the off beat that is as effective, if not more so, than the negro spiritual.

After the all-night singing there was a lull in the morning, everyone snatching a wink of sleep, but by the time I had finished writing and medicating my foot the men crowded around to tell me of the night's experiences. At noon the women started singing, sitting in their hammocks, and they kept this up until late in the day. They were singing mostly about me. I noticed that their songs seemed to be of a simpler sort and more monotonous than those of the men, generally consisting of one verse repeated over and over again to form the [198] stanza. They sang in the women's language.

JUAN BARIO ON THE EVENTS OF THE NIGHT

115
787
776 Panemé Tsió brought a horse for the shaman to go to Kuma's house. Panemé Tsió is represented as a sort of "boss" of the figurines found in the sands. Then came the father of Fernando. He said that they should live well here and warned him not to mistreat his wife (talking to son-in-law). Then came the father of Brigida. He said that the new wife of his grandson should treat her husband well and vice versa. Then came a brother of Brigida. He said that he is wealthy in Kuma's land, possessing cattle and horses. Then came the mother of Brigida. She counseled her grandchild not to

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

captive turtles; and a few human beings were sitting or lying in the midst of all this, and exposed to all of the elements.

Among primitive people news travels rapidly. Landaeta, in this case, received me with the air of one who was expecting a visitor and it turned out that my reputation had preceded me. Not only did he know that I was in the country, but also why I was there. He was expecting me in order to teach me his ways and the ways of his people, and to learn my ways and the ways of my people. To him I was a shaman, no different than himself, who knew their mother goddess intimately and who was perhaps related to the gods themselves. He asked me for pictures of Kuma and Kuma's land. I soon discovered that he was under the illusion that in some way I was on intimate terms with the Yaruro's god.

A little to one side a branch was planted in the sand, and lying in its thin shade a girl was waiting to die. She was burning with fever and delirious. Her people were hovering over her, without being able to alleviate her sufferings or to help her to the end of life. Her malady was a new one to them, passed on by the newcomers to their world, and therefore they had no remedy for it.

The sick girl was Landaeta's daughter and as one physician to another, he came to me requesting that I save his daughter from death. Being neither physician, magician, nor priest, I responded to his plea the best way I could. Lest I be drawn into a situation of attempting to cure a sick person without adequate knowledge of the sickness or its remedy, I moved off the same day to seek other Yaruros; but only after Landaeta had promised that he would commence his journey in the cool of the evening and rejoin me several days later.

It has often been said that to accept the promise of a primitive Indian is to abandon all thought of its being remembered. Perhaps it would seem that I put too much faith and trust in my friends in sitting down to wait for them to join me. But a promise made and accepted without coercion is to the Indian one that has to be kept; and, as in many other cases of my experience with primitive people, this one was kept.

That the feeling of suspicion had not disappeared completely was proven by the attitude of another hunting group which I visited. I went alone among them, and unarmed. On my arrival in a canoe, carrying no equipment, they sullenly warned me to keep away from them and their camp. However, good will is never unproductive, and when they saw that I merely squatted on the sands, shared my tobacco with them, said nothing, and then cheerfully paddled away, their hearts must have melted, for several days later they too had joined my band of friends, later becoming among those most deeply attached to me.

311 In short, the habitat conditions are as follows, given that the Cinaruco
●22 Yaruro have a technology including hunting, gathering, fishing, and animal husbandry, and horticulture. All resources are found within a narrow band of about 4-5 miles between the Cinaruco river and the high sand dunes occurring in the interfluve to the north, in which only an occasional deer is found. Within this space there are three major resource areas distinguishable: 1) the open savanas for hunting and gathering, the former involving much greater dispersion of resources than the latter and consequently quite different techno-social conditions. Both activities change location markedly with the seasons.2) The rivers and *caños* are used for water-animal hunting and for fishing. Fishing also displays a seasonal shift between river and *caño*, whereas river hunting for alligator and turtle becomes totally impracticable in the wet season. 3) The wooded areas, themselves dispersed, include the gallery forests of smaller streams where flooding is limited but water
[241] and soil abundant and the *montes* occurring here and there in mid-savana. These areas provide the Yaruro with garden sites. Away from the streams, there are also occasional tiny patches of suitable soil not close enough to the water table for dry season use, but which get enough rain to be used for planting of seasonal crops in the wet season. Schematically, the situation is shown on Table II_{1}[1], a list of foods entering into Yaruro economy and their relative seasonal occurrences, and on Maps I and II_{1}[2] of the seasonal locations of these resources.

182 The particular relationship between a peculiar habitat, such as the one we have just described, and the technology operating within it, here preponderantly a swidden technology, sets upper limits to territorial, socio-economic, or cultural expansion, and limits to changes in socio-cultural forms. With regard to the habitat dimension of the relationship, we may say in Harris's words, "Limitations imposed by the manner in which plants
[121] and animals convert solar energy into comestible material in combination with the availability of land and water resources, the rate of reproduction of the natural biota, and the total ecological balance, furnish conditions unalterable by individual or collective whim",[3] at least with the given level of technological development possessed by the Yaruro. The Yaruro are in no position to change the total ecological balance, to increase the carrying capacity of the land or water for plant or animal species. For
182 example, under the llanos conditions, the use of slash-and-burn horticulture exhausts arable land at a rate greater than it recovers. The proportion of
241 land held in reserve for future cultivation must be several times greater than that under cultivation at any given moment, the proportion varying
311 with such factors as the rate of fertility recovery, the type of weed and grass invasion, the rate of growth of the secondary forest, the rate of mechanical reconstruction of the soil, and so on. Thus of the total amount of land potentially available in a given expanse of territory, only a part can be horticulturally exploited at any one time. Where the total potentially arable land in a given expanse is itself only a small proportion of the total area, the amount of land available for cultivation at any one moment is, of course, minute. This ecological balance in turn limits the human population

1[1] [see pp. 31-39, category 116 -- Analyst]
1[2] [see pp. 40-41, category 102 -- Analyst]
1[3] [for footnote, see p. 42, category 116 -- Analyst]

121 182 433 [241] [22] harvesting it, require no centralized authority, and render it possible and even probable that the management of production or distribution be carried on without it. The same may be said, on the whole, for all the hunting, fishing, and gathering harvests, a notable and probably permanent feature of Yaruro ecology. Perhaps the only crop which has a marked seasonality is corn, but its absolute size in the total production, its geographical distribution in production, and its position relative to all other harvests renders it insignificant as an effective promoter of managerial functions and [56] formal arrangements of social stratification. It is unlikely, given Yaruro ecology that the forms of surplus would change; consequently their concomitants in social structure would remain constant.

On the basis of the formal characteristics of the ecology and of the surpluses one may deduce an essentially egalitarian social organization, [56] with minimal ranking and leadership and with dispersion of the acts of economic distribution among a number of adult males or females any one of [462] whom may produce a small harvest surplus at any time. With a relatively steady and reasonably comfortable total subsistence base, and with eco- 182 logical arrangements which are spatially repeated in identical form up [582] and down river, no necessity exists for stringent rules of local exogamy as an institution to regulate the labor force by redistributing its members. One would expect frequent marrying in the village according to the convenience of the contractants, and out-marriages to occur either as economic [562] opportunity offered elsewhere or lack of women at home urged one out. The combined biological and productive role of women, with their particularly important technical roles in gathering and in food preparation, suggest sedentary communities and a matrifocal emphasis in the rules of residence. However, the importance and location of the men's economic contribution [591] might be expected to balance this to a degree so that one might deduce male uxorimatrilocal residence but with other, subsidiary patterns. This in fact occurs, occasional male matrilocality or patrilocality [1]A comprising the subsidiary residence rules. Political authority would be vested [623] in the community, mainly among its elders, since little or no ranking or stratification is to be expected. In fact, Yaruro socio-political forms, in general, conform to all of these deduced conditions. They represent a model for any society based on the kinds of ecological conditions or form of ecology we have described. Where the ecology is even more restricted the deduced characteristics should be matched even more closely by the observed [171] data. In this respect, the Sirionó, for example, tend to confirm the hypothesis, in that their partial sedentariness which revolves about horticulture is associated with matrifocal social organization: matrilocality and matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. They also possess autonomous local communities. [1]A The Apinayé also tend to confirm the hypothesis. [2]A

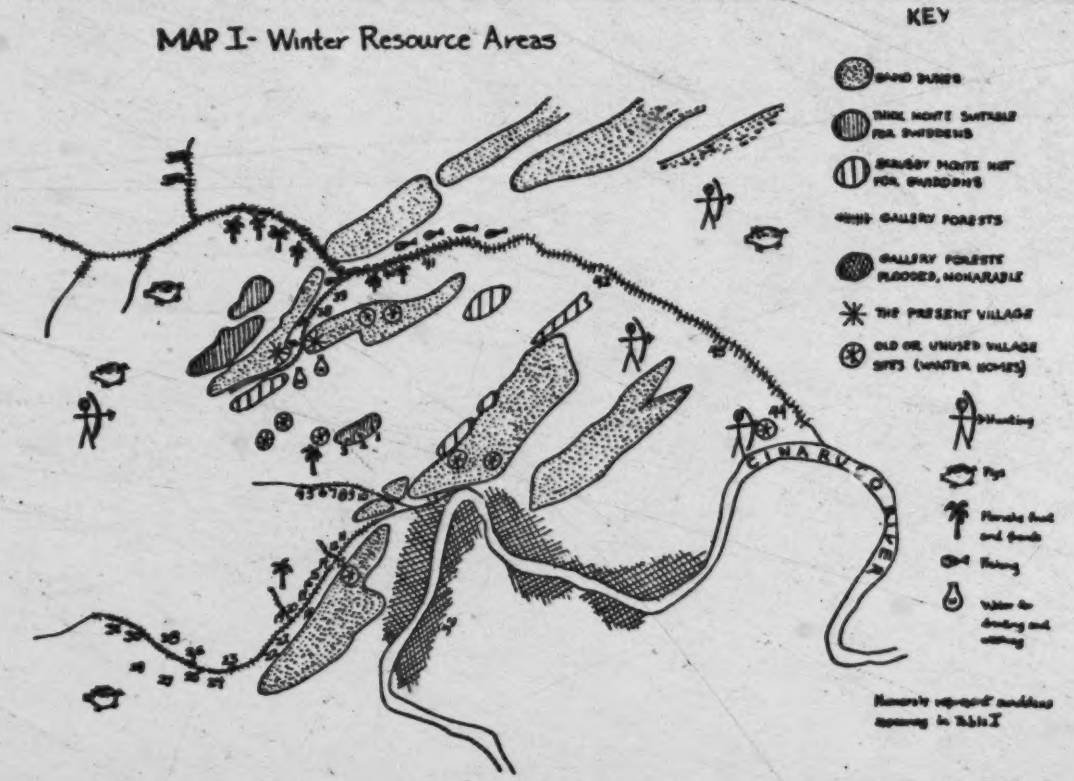
Where our analysis permits us to predict about the course of the ecological conditions, we should also be able to extend this prediction to the social structure. Since, under the given ecology, we can establish a maximum population for each Yaruro socio-cultural unit, and under the given technology we would expect no significant change in the ecology, no significant

[1]8,19,20 [For footnotes see pp. 43-44 category 116 --Analyst]

102
311
131
361
22

Z:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

MAP I- Winter Resource Areas



I inch = ca 1.25 mi

Maps by Jo Leeds.

Cp. 40J

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

[1 p.d]

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Some Problems of Yaruro Ethnohistory*

Anthony Leeds

I was first led to consider Yaruro history because the ethnographic phenomena I found differed radically from those described by Petrullo (1939 *a*). Only historical research could resolve these differences. I shall first examine the discrepancies, then turn to the kinds of historical sources relevant to resolving the problems and to some of the material already examined, and, finally, briefly discuss the direction that the results appear to be taking.

I

Petrullo, describes the Yaruro of the Capanaparo River as being hunters of river and llanos animals, fishers of river fish, and gatherers of seeds, roots, and fruits. He denies the presence of horticulture, except among a few "acculturated" groups. As far as the monograph informs us, he visited only Yaruro near the mouth of the Capanaparo and on islands in the Orinoco during the months of the dry season. He did not visit the Arauca, Cunaviche, upper Capanaparo, Riecito, and Sinaruco rivers, on all of which Yaruro are found today, and apparently have been living indefinitely into the past, according to old maps.[1] On the basis of the groups visited, he asserts that the Yaruro were not horticultural. Kirchhoff (1948 *a*: 456) repeats this assertion, adding that Gilij (1780-1784: Vol. 3) mentions the use of green corn — a sign, according to Kirchhoff, of the recent adoption of corn at that time. No basis is given for this statement. Le Besnerais, in several publications (1948; 1950*a*; 1951; and, with Dreyfus-Roche, 1954), repeats that the Yaruro were hunters and gatherers, but, in his most recent work (1950 *b*; 1954; Ms.; Personal communication,

* I wish to thank Juan Friede for a number of bibliographical suggestions. The research is being supported by the American Philosophical Society and the Research Institute for the Study of Man. My thanks and appreciation go to both.

1 Cf. maps listed in the special section of the bibliography, many of which show the location of the Yaruro, Otomaco, Achagua ("as Chaguas"), Sáliva, Aruaca, Caribe, or a number of other tribes at various points in history.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

1939), on the basis of later field research, he completely rejects his previous stand.

In 1949, after his earlier publications, Le Besnerais (cf. 1954) made a census of the entire Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, discovering among other things:

A) That most Yaruro settlements had dry season locations on or near the river, banks or on the sand bars in the river, and wet season locations back from the rivers on higher sand dunes,

B) that there were corresponding house types for each kind of location,

C) that a great many of these settlements appear to have had two divisions mainly in the wet season locations — often at considerable distances from each other, sometimes very close,

D) that near all winter locations and in all settlements along the entire length of the Riecito and Capanaparo rivers gardens existed with standard crops mentioned in my own work (1961 *a*, 1962),

E) and, by implication, that these garden plots are not readily visible from the river nor from dry season locations.

Fiasson (1947), speaking of a trip probably made in 1943, mentions gardens for the Yaruro in the Capanaparo-Meta area. The missionary, Raymond Kook, showed me pictures in 1958 of gardens on the upper Sinaruco. And, in the neighborhood of the mission station, near Guachara and along the Caño del Medio and the Cunaviche River, all the Indians had horticulture. These Indians also reported gardens along the Arauca River. The linguist, Thomas P. Rootes, describes gardens along the Riecito and Sinaruco, and I have myself published in detail on Yaruro horticulture (1961 *a*).

In sum, present sources indicate horticulture for all Yaruro, going back at least to 1945 or 1946 and undoubtedly earlier — a period at maximum no more than twelve years after Petrullo's *dry-season* visit in 1934. It is hard to believe that the horticultural practice was diffused the length and breadth of Yaruro-land and integrated into a well-organized transhumance and even into the world view all in fifteen years. Nevertheless belief is not adequate proof. The only recourse is to try to resolve the problem by earlier evidence.

The second major difference between my findings and those of Petrullo relates to the asserted existence of matrilineal "clans", characterised, in localities, by a sib core of women and their children plus the locally inmarried husbands. Nowhere in Petrullo is proof given for the *unilineality* which is implied by the term clan, though the *matrifocality* seems genuinely confirmed by the genealogies reproduced. Matrifocality is not congruent with matrilineality, and, try as I might, I was not able to establish the latter. I am not ready to assert that matrilineality therefore does not, or did not, exist but I was quite unable to elicit any evidence for it.

A related aspect is, of course, exogamy. Petrullo claims that marriage can only occur reciprocally between the two clans, marriage *within* which would

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19 ●
Guahibo SC14

Y
Petrullo's own linguistic data includes the words for corn, *(pwe)*, manioc 174
(pae), and other planted foods. The words for corn and manioc are certainly 142
not word borrowings from Spanish. This tends to confirm the hypothesis of 241
an aboriginal presence at least of these crops.

A second point is that Yaruro and Guahibo subsistence is transhumant, G
consisting of a wet-season gardening predominance and a dry-season hunting Y
and/or fishing predominance. Guahibo, both presently and in various historical 174
sources,[12] are described as being horticulturalists as well as hunters. It is of 22 ●
first importance to note which season is being discussed when the tribal sub- 241
sistence is being described. With this sort of transhumance, one would expect the decriptions in the literature to disagree; as they do, according to the season of description. Similarly there is much local ecological variation, which appears to determine variations in the predominance of horticulture or hunting or fishing or collecting.

Third, the various tribes — Yaruro, Guahibo, Kuiva, Síliva, Achagua, and G
possibly the Otomaco, as well as more distant groups - - maintained a complex 721
ecological relationship to llanos and extra-llanos resources by means of three 433
major institutions, trade, war, and raiding. For example Kuiva, described by my Yaruro informants and others as being "muy brabos",[13] even today raid both Guahibo and Yaruro villages, but apparently only when these are well supplied, *after* harvesting (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961). That is, they drain off a certain amount of the harvest surplus (cf. Leeds 1961 *a*: 23) from the horticultural groups. With this food, they are able to maintain a larger population in the hunting areas away from the rivers, which they regularly inhabit. Presumably it also compels or encourages the groups concerned to produce more as a hedge against such depredations, thus contributing to overall population maximinization. The raiding pattern may also account for the use of green corn as remarked before.

At the same time, the Guahibo raid Yaruro gardens as the corn and manioc- G
ripen, but are limited from so doing by the frequent presence of Yaruro in 174
their gardens during the harvest period and by the distance of the gardens 721
from the Guahibo villages. The Guahibo were also reported as formerly having carried on extensive warfare, which, it is my guess, had a subsistence foundation (cf. Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*). The peaceable Yaruro, on the other hand, have ap- Y
parently always done a considerable amount of trading up and down river in [439]
their canoes. Trade is also reflected archeologically in the stone artifacts mentioned above, since the kinds of stones used are not found in the llanos and must come from extra-llanos sources.

In short, the entire llanos area appears to me a complex ecological system Y
involving hunting, gathering, fishing, and horticulture, with trade, raiding, 174
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[12] Cf. Crévaux, 1883; Marcano, 1883; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1944; Vela, 1889; Wilbert, 1957.

[13] Cf. Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961. He described the generally harsh behavior of the men, the raiding pattern, and the rough manhandling he received from the women.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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not allowed to the neighboring peoples, such as the Otomacos or the Achaguas. The social and linguistic bonds seem to be strong enough to cause the Yaruros to recognize themselves as a distinct people.

FOODS

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In the llanos food is not plentiful except in and along the rivers; but the foraging activities of the Yaruros are restricted to the banks of the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers for another reason. The hunting of land animals has practically stopped for fear that they will be accused by the ranchers of killing cattle. In recent years the activities of the crocodile hunters have ruthlessly destroyed the game, and since such hunters live on the country they have consumed a portion of the available quantity of game on which the Yaruros depended for a livelihood.

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In the dry season game is concentrated along the rivers and the water holes. It is considerably easier to hunt it then than in the rainy season, when it is dispersed over the plains. The turtle, which is found in great quantities in the waters of the Orinoco and its tributaries, suffers a yearly mass hunt and destruction which has its effect on the food supply of the Yaruros. It has been discovered that the turtle fat and eggs will produce a fine grade of oil which sells for a high price. The result is that the breeding grounds of the turtles become yearly a scene of great activity and destruction. No one knows how many thousands of turtles and turtle eggs are gathered and converted into this oil late in the month of April.

[237]

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The meat staple of the Yaruros is the *Crocodilus babu*, a small crocodile which grows to about 6 feet long. This animal is hunted daily and eaten in its entirety. Its meat is esteemed above that of any other animal. On the other hand, the cayman, sought for its hide, is not hunted as a rule by the Yaruros. Perhaps this meat is not as savory as that of the babu, but the Yaruros give the reason that the large crocodile represents a race of mankind to which they are related. So that although occasionally it may be hunted for the price that its hide may bring, it is never eaten and never hunted consistently.

[825]

Next to the crocodile, turtles, including the matamata and tortoise, are to be found broiling over the fires in every Yaruro camp, and if they are not broiling they can be seen in shallow pools of water with their forelegs tied to their hindlegs. In this way they can keep alive but cannot walk away. The armadillo is seldom obtained and other meats appear occasionally on the diet of the Yaruros. Fishing is resorted to when neither crocodiles nor turtles are obtainable. The caribe, which is the piranha of Brazil, is esteemed but little. The tonino, which can be seen gracefully playing in the water or can be heard snorting in the rivers at night, is never hunted. It also is

[226]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

136 thought to be related to the race of mankind. On the other hand, the
225 manatee is hunted occasionally. Birds are hunted but seldom, but the
262 meat of the iguana is prized. This animal is not found in great
[224] quantities, however, in the open plains.

The vegetable diet is somewhat more plentiful and varied. There
262 are no restrictions or taboos on what can be eaten. In the dry season
137 it is the potato-like changuango, which is gathered by the women and
[251] which is to be seen broiling over the fires at all times, and which is the only food which the Yaruros are able to keep for a few days by burying it in the sand. In the rainy season it is the chigua seed and the barbaco which form the basic foods. The following list includes most of the foods eaten by the Yaruros:

DRY SEASON

421 *Eggs.*—Terracai (small water turtle) (mostly in February), turtle (March,
262 April), galapago (tortoise—December), crocodile (cayman—February), babu
136 (December).
137 *Meats.*—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire (capibara), birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Changuango (root found in the savanna), barbaco (root found in the forest, mostly in May), guapo (a root found in the forest), wild yam (found in the savanna and the forests), fruit of the macanilla palm, honey, hearts of palm (in April).

DRY AND RAINY SEASON

Fish.—(Local Spanish names) tapuara, caribe, toporo, tachiama, palumeta, pavon, cajani, temblador (electric eel).

RAINY SEASON

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire, birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Fruit of the moriche, chigua, barbaco.

PROPERTY

421 The Yaruros do not have much personal property. Nevertheless,
422 what each person possesses is respected scrupulously. This attitude is especially in evidence when, for instance, a visitor attempts to purchase such a thing as a pot. In my case I was forced to ask the men. In spite of any price that I might offer they never allowed themselves to give any kind of an answer to my offer. Instead they offered the explanation that the pots were the property of the women and, therefore, they had to be asked if they wished to sell them. My own property I left in camp often without anyone to watch over it, but never did I miss even a sheet of paper.

area is only such in reference to the presence of a given technology. The presence of such a technology is not guaranteed in any particular culture by any historical, evolutionary, geographical, or ecological necessity. Its presence may entail a particular historical explanation or a general evolutionary one. In any case, its absence entails the absence of the use of certain resources whose presence we can observe only in retrospect. 311

Other resource areas besides those utilized because of the presence of horticulture among the Yaruro become available by their possession of hunting, gathering, and fishing technologies, as well as recently acquired animal husbandry in the form of pig-herding. Hunter animals include deer, armadillo, capybara, paca, peccary (?), iguana, and a number of birds (see Table II, p. 4).[1] These are variously distributed spatially according to the specific ecological niches for which they are adapted. Thus deer are apparently usually found dispersed in the somewhat damper, low-lying savanas where grass is greener and water more available away from the scene of human activity. Armadillo are found distributed throughout the savana. Other species, however, such as the capybara, live near the edge of permanent waters, mainly the rivers. Alligators also live only in the rivers. The faunal carrying capacity of the savanas appears to be quite low in the Cinaruco llanos since foraging foods for larger game animals are sparse. It is important to note that not only is the overall carrying capacity governed by the minimum average food supply of the savanas in the florally more restricted dry season,[2] but the distribution of animals varies considerably from the wet to the dry season. In the latter, animals tend to cluster nearer the rivers or the widely dispersed water holes. Consequently, the locus of hunting must also shift seasonally (see Maps).[3] Savana hunting techniques are neccessarily different from those used in procuring food in the rivers, whether hunting alligators or capybara, or, of course, fishing. There is some seasonal variation in the locus of fishing, too, although this is much less marked on the Cinaruco than on the freely-flooding streams of the flatter, more north-easterly savanas of the Apure llanos. In the rainy season, fish move up the larger streams into somewhat shallower waters where more plant and insect food is available to them. However, they are apparently unable to move up smaller streams which often have rapids-like stretches interrupting their course. Thus fishing in the rainy seasons is directed towards the larger creeks and away from the smaller creeks and the river itself, where the water has become too deep for successful fishing since the fish are scarcer and more difficult to see in the deep, swift currents of winter. In respect to animal husbandry, recently introduced pigs are pastured anywhere in the savanas but preferably next to the village or quite a distance from it, in either case far from the nearest gardens (Sp. *conuco*, Y. *tadó*), an effort which is rarely successful, since the pigs, in their wisdom, are among the main predators on the garden crops. Gathering may be carried out in the dry or the wet savana depending upon the plant food to be gathered, or it may be carried out near the creeks especially for the fruit of the moriche palm. The rivers do not appear to be used in gathering.

224 137 [221] 226 133 231 [241] 222

[1] [See pp. 35-37, category 116 --Analyst]
[2] [See pp. 40-41, category 102 --Analyst]
[3] [for footnote, see p. 42; category 116 --Analyst]

182 First, through time, the gardens tend to radiate further and further
241 from any given residence point since, given the 13-year planting-fallow
361 cycle, plots near the village will be exhausted. Since the major garden resource areas lie in a crudely east-to-west direction, there will be a slow westward migration of the geographic center of garden activities, enough so that at some point, the village is suspended, as it were, among distant resource points (see Maps), and enhanced by the dispersed nature of the hunting and fishing, and to some extent the gathering, areas. If the "suspension" is weighted more in one direction than another, there will be some tendency either to move the village or to send out temporary or permanent branches of it, respectively in the form of work cottages in the swiddens or in larger long-term house groups which are intermittently occupied. This process is, in fact, easily observed among the Yaruro in existent and abandoned house and subsidiary village sites scattered over the whole territory. Similarly, the locus of gathering, so important in
● [221] summer, moves further and further from the village. This, together with the considerable shift to fishing and river-hunting in summer, as well as the need for water, causes an extensive seasonal transhumance to occur within the territory. These factors contribute to fissioning as well as to inhibiting the development of permanently located villages, let alone larger aggregations. Thus, with a radiating ecology, a degree of group dispersion and geographical mobility within the territory is to be expected and is indeed characteristic of the Yaruro.

512 Second, if one examines the location of all resources it will be seen that, taken together, they constantly enjoin a dispersal of the labor force in all directions, regardless of season, so that more or less equivalent quantities of labor are being used at the same time in many varying kinds of productive activity independently of each other — at the peripheries of the territory, in the areas between, or in the village centers themselves,
[462] where the women are constantly doing the significantly important work of
[252] converting otherwise unusable food resources, like raw, bitter manioc or uncooked corn, into edibles.

476 Third, it will be noted that none of the Yaruro technological processes require cooperative work, even when they may permit it, if it were so desired. On the whole, the productive activities might be described as dispersive of labor, whether it is individuals or small groups of twos or threes who go out to keep each other company. Even the work of preparing
[241] the swiddens is carried out individually, though two or three men may
[463] work as neighbors in what appears as a single plot. Further, the technology
[242] is such as to require no highly specific and difficult or esoteric skills. The most difficult skill to acquire is the knowledge of the soil types and appropriate planting procedures attached to each. Thus, each adult is in
462 a position to learn the inventory of technological knowledge appropriate
463 to his or her sex, and somewhat of that belonging to the other sex too, and to apply it by himself whenever he wants or must. A man, well-instructed in Yaruro technology, could probably subsist alone successfully for long periods of time. One divorced adult man, although he was largely fed by his

TABLE II

FOODS: THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL PROVENIENCES, TECHNIQUES AND SEASONS OF PRODUCTION; THE DIVISION OF LABOR IN PRODUCTION AND FOOD PREPARATION

Symbols: S,F W,S — summer, fall, winter, spring
M,F, — male, female
Q — evaluation of the quantitative importance of the food or raw material in Yaruro subsistence and productive activity: 5 — major staple or resource; 4 — major crop, but not a staple; 3 — important food (or other) resource, but a secondary crop; 2 — minor crop (or other resource) serving as a more or less regular but seasonal delicacy; 1 — mostly a delicacy for occasional enjoyment (very secondary resource)
≠ — indicates both presence, and by doubling or tripling importance of crop or resource; three ≠≠≠'s do not necessarily mean "3 times as important as 1 ≠", merely 'of outstanding importance".
/ — sporadically or slightly present
d-m — December to March; a — April; m-s — May-September; o-m — October to November.

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food Prep. M	Food Prep. F	Q
CROPS PLANTED:												
ṇae-ka'ra (x)	yuca amarga	bitter manioc	swiddens, cuttings, dibble	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠	/	≠	5
1. p. tso-ka'ra	cachicamo	" (variety?)	as above									
2. p. a'punda''ki be'rebeti''a	ceibita (?) (blanca)	" (light)	as above									
3. p. a'pund''ki-k'a'Ra	ceibita (?) (obscura)	" (dark)	as above									
'hurari''â-'pae	yuca dulce	sweet manioc	as above	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠	•	≠≠	4
1. p. agoâ'kwe	yema de huevo	" (variety?)	as above									
2. p. ici'kwe	pata de zamuro	" (variety?)	as above									
3. p. valenciana	valenciana	" (", introd)	as above									

(x) Phonetics: *d*, etc. = nasalized vowel, *e* = mid central unrounded vowel, *ch* = palatal c., *y* = palatalized fricative; *R* = flapped r, *nz* = palatalized nasal continuant, as in English sing, *j* = palatalized affricate, as in English job.

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
pwɛ	maiz	corn, maize	swiddens, hills, dibble			≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠	≠	≠≠≠	4
1. pume'pwɛ	maiz yaruro	Yaruro corn	as above (3 mo., 1 ear/stalk)									
2. 'hamburu"apwɛ	maiz guahibo	Guahibo corn	as above (4 mo., 2 ears/ ")									
3. p. kwɛ"kwɛiɛ	maiz amarillo	yellow corn	as above (5 mo., 1 ear/stalk)									
'parate"ai-	plátano, topocho, banana	plantains, bananas	swiddens, machetes to cut, on specially prepared mounds, slips	≠?	≠?	≠≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	4
1. p. 'ai	plátano	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
2. p. wo'ko	topocho	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
3. p. o'kwi	dos millos	banana	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
4. p. ka'ru	?	plantain	as above (?)								?	
5. ecechu'mɛ p.	guineo (?)	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
6. ka'mure	cambur	banana	as above (raw)									
hu'ra	name	yams	dry swiddens, dibble	≠?	≠?	≠	≠≠	/			≠≠	2
e'de	patilla	melons, pumpkins, squashes	swiddens dibble	≠≠	≠?	≠	≠≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	3
1. kwɛ"bohurariiɛle	"	water-melon	as above									
2. chumanile.	"	pumpkins	as above									
3. 'yako"da	"?	bottle gourd	as above									
chrni'à	caña	sugar cane	wet swiddens, dibble, machete	≠?	≠?	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠	/		3
1. ch. mo'ta	caña ?	" (variety ?)	as above									
2. ch. bɛ'rebɛrɛi"a	caña blanca	white cane	as above									
	caña criolla	introd var.	as above									

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
'cɛrame''kwɛ	ñame	yams	swiddens, dibble	≠?	≠?	≠	≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	2
ôa''ri	batata	sweet potato	as above	≠?		≠?	≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	2
ô	ananá	pineapple	swiddens, dibble				≠	≠			/	1
ia	capacho	?	swiddens, ?				≠?	≠			1	?
cɛ'da (=cɛda''dakwɛ	ocumo (yauta)	xanthosoma	swiddens, dibble	≠?		≠	≠	≠			≠	2
(ñô'tɛa''nâ	ají	chili pepper	doubtful if raised on Cinaruco)									
FISHES CAUGHT:												
yagu'pe	agua dulce	?	rivers, caños, hooks, arrows	≠				≠		/	≠	2-
e(='chamachi''ro)	cachama	?	rivers, hooks, arrows	≠				≠		/	≠	1
gui'te	sardina	?	rivers, fish arrows, small hook	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2
dap'we	guavina	?	caño fishhooks	≠			≠	≠		/	≠	?
ho'nô	palambre	?	rivers, caños, arrows, hooks	≠?		≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2
ip:'â	pinte tigre	?	rivers, caños, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2-
pa'chowén''ti	bagre	catfish	rivers, caños, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2-
'meô''dakwɛ	viejita	?	as above	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
'chôânda-''yii	"	?	as above	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
ninda'ô	"	?	caños, hooks, sardine bait	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
toji'ri-ka''Râ	" negra	?	caños, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
u'ru-u'ru	de tierra	?	rivers, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
da're	pavón	?	rivers, hooks, sardine bait	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m.-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food Prep. M	Food Prep. F	Q
chu'me	"	?	rivers, caños, hooks, sardine bait, from platform	—				✓		/	✓	?
'yaka'ra	"	?	as above, also arrows	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	2
'Yopok'e''se	" colorado	?	rivers, caños, hooks	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	?
šš	caribe blanco	white piranha	rivers, arrows, hooks with especially heavy cord	✓				✓		/	✓	1
(hòde'cia	caribe	piranha	doubtful if caught on Cinaruco)									
(pu'pu	cajarro	catfish	doubtful if caught on Cinaruco)									
FRUITS, ROOTS, AND SEEDS GATHERED:												
t'o'cho	?	?	in mata from big tree, at foot	—				✓				1?
gu'te (cho'nó)	guayaba	guava	bushes and low trees, distant			✓		✓				1
t'u	fruta de moriche	miriti palm fruit	near caños in wet savana, from foot of trees			✓✓		✓			✓	2
'utam''be	?	?	?, from big tree (monte?)			—		✓		✓	?	?
tum'be	?	?	?, ?			✓						1
tom,to'ai	cordón	tassel (?)	?, from tall trees (prob monte)			✓		✓				1?
tokai'cho	cacafio	?	?, ?			✓						1?
turi''to	?	?	?, ?			✓						1?
ya'kol,	totumo	calabash	monte (?), picked				✓	✓?			✓?	3
ai'pe	changuango	?	wet savanas, digging stick	✓					✓✓		✓	3
cho'kai	guapo	?	monte, savana, digging stick	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓✓		✓	2

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
ma"hikai	solu ??	?	savana, digging stick									1
ka'ta	changuanito savanero	?	as above									2?
po'ta	barbaco	?	monte, digging stick									3
gwe'je (=gwepe'ke)	chigo	? (seed)	near monte, big trees, ground									2
ge (=ke)	chigo	? (seed)	?, ? (as above?)									?
ANIMAL HUSBANDRY:												
o'bacia	marrano	pigs	savanas, herding (introd.)						/			3
oka'taro	gallina	chickens	dunes near houses (")						/			1
ANIMALS HUNTED:												
(ta)ha'rigu'ri(a'na)	oso hormiguero	giant ant eater?	savana, bow and arrow									4
ha'ri	baba	alligator	rivers, heavy barbed arrow									3
mbwa	venado	deer	savanas, lance arrow, gun									3
ci'do	chigüire	capybara	monte, river, " ", fish arrow									3
tapa'ta	conejo	rabbit	savana, fish arrow							?		1?
puri	lapa	paca	caño, monte, traps, all arrows							?	?	1?
ya'tatu"mi	iguana	water lizard	rivers, montes, fish arrow							?	?	1?
'ge"te	cachicamo	armadillo	savanas, traps, sticks, hand								/	2
'ipurime"ta	manto	?	savanas, traps, arrows							?	?	?

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
'yacen"te	picure	? (aguti?)	monte, caño, fish arrow	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	?
'iku"ri	tortuga	tortoise	rivers, fishhooks; on Capanaparo, use detachable arrow	≠≠			≠	≠		?	?	2
poda'me	terecai	terrapin?	rivers, fishhooks " "	≠≠			≠	≠		?	?	2
gada'me	morrocoy	boxturtle	mata, by hand - doesn't run	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	1
ci'rida"me	galápago	river turtle	rivers, detachable arrow	≠≠			≠	≠≠		?	?	2
('hôi-obwei"a	chácharo	peccary	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
(be'ri	manatí	manatee	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
BIRDS HUNTED:												
he'we	cotua negro	duck species	rivers, caño, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
hâ'na	caretero	?	rivers, lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
andu'ra	garza morena	grey heron	rivers, lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
o'kara	garza blanca	white heron	lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
'huidiga'ra	garza paleta	painted heron?	lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
hue	gaviota (?)	?	lakes, arrows, bird arrow	≠				≠		?	≠	1
'kwinchi"ni	perdiz	partridge?	savana, bird arrow (?)	≠				≠		≠	?	1-
hu'tu-yu'ru	pavo	curassow	rivers, monte, arrows	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		≠	?	2
ca'ra	jivaro (?)	jivaro stork?	lakes, arrows, shotgun	≠				≠		≠	?	2?
noraha'te	pato real	duck species	lakes, arrows	≠≠				≠		?	?	?

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
pe'be	cafua	duck species	rivers, caños, arrows	✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		?	?	2?
pou'ni	pato	duck species	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
MISCELLANEOUS MATERIALS COLLECTED FOR USE IN PRODUCTION:												
ya'ru	capuruna	leaf to wrap and store corn sticks	savana, picking			✓?			✓		✓	1
karam'ba	?	cigar wrapping	savana, picking	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓?		✓	✓	1
ngam'bi	tabaco	tobacco	savana, picking	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
u'de	curagua, macanilla	macanilla palm	near caños (?) a) for bows, b) for string, fibres for objects	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓		✓ ✓	✓ ✓	2 2
chara'ro	salau (salado?)	canoe wood (?)	montes, for making canoes	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		✓✓		4
ciñ'ro	caña brava	cane for arrows	near caños for foreshafts	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		✓✓		4
ru	moriche	moriche	near or in caños, used for making House roofs, baskets, cords, fibres, hammocks	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	5
ngo	moriche frond	ditto	as above, often picked up from ground, or tree cut and fronds collected, last for years, may be reused.		as above							
biri'ro-i	guaraca	bark strips	montes, caños, for lashing	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		✓✓		3
é-im'bu	cera de abeja	beeswax	near caños, from large trees	✓	✓			✓		✓		1
é'ke	miel	honey	as above	✓	✓			✓				
e'ra	peramán	tree wax	as above? for arrows	✓?	✓?			✓		✓		2

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and then shooting into the still side pools of a stream into which he has driven a post with bait attached. He may also stand in a canoe to shoot. It is reported, though I have not myself seen it, that barbasco (*Jacquinia revoluta* or *mucronulata*) poison is used by some Yaruro.[12] No nets, weirs, traps, sweeps, or artificial fish pools are used.

Given the techniques and tools of the Yaruro, all the subsistence activities described can conveniently be done by one person. Some *must* be done by one person only, since the tools and techniques themselves do not permit two or more persons to operate jointly. As it were, the logic of the tools and techniques concerned demands utilization by single persons.[13] Some of the tools and techniques might conveniently involve two or more persons, e. g. lashing tree trunks together to make a fence or cornering a capybara, but do not definitively *require* more than one person. Activities of all sorts may be done by aggregates of persons, each utilizing his own tools and techniques individually but neither the activity, the tools nor the techniques entail the aggregation of individuals. Thus, from the point of view of human organization, the technology, by itself, entails no managerial functions, no coordination of tasks which must be overseen by someone occupying an appropriately defined status.[14] That is, there are no technologically determined positions of leadership in Yaruro society. Further, the technology as such entails no significant cooperation in work organization, even when this is convenient, and correspondingly, no standard work groups or management functions, as represented in some defined status, for facilitating cooperation are to be expected or to be found. In fact, Yaruro technology and resource distribution are such as to elicit considerable dispersion of activities and actors at any given time of work, and to inhibit the development of rank and the personal acquisition of superordinating prestige.

IV

We may now examine the habitat aspect of the ecological relationship. A clearly marked annual cycle occurs in the Yaruro habitat.[15] However, despite a sharp seasonal change from heavy rains up to 60 inches in one half of the year to almost

[12] Personal communication from Mr. Thomas Rootes who has studied Yaruro linguistics for a number of months, having visited several groups.

[13] Different kinds of tools require different kinds of organization. A simple hand saw can be used by only one person at a time. A logging saw, though it can awkwardly be used by one person, is surely best used by two persons. Certain other saws, e. g. jig saws, make up one of a series of machine processes on a single part of a product, the entire series being the unit of operation which requires a still more complex level of organization. Cf. Leeds, 1960 b.

[14] For the structure of argument which is involved here, see Leeds, 1960 b.

[15] 'Habitat' here refers to all physical objects and conditions of the environment which are relevant to the existence or production of resources as defined by the culture. For the most part, then, 'habitat' refers to those environmental conditions such as humidity, temperature, insolation, rainfall, etc., which affect the food supply, as well as the food and water available for animals and plants and other culturally relevant physical objects. By extension, it refers to daily, seasonal, annual, and long-term variations and cycles in the various relevant factors of the environment, whether climatic, geologic, or biotic, which affect any of these supplies.

desert-like conditions in the other, temperature, sun, soil, and water-table conditions are such that plants will grow all year round, supplying a steady flow of vegetable foods to the people. The change of the water level in the rivers and in the water-table and the sharp increases and decreases of rain strongly affect the patterns of animal and plant life in the Yaruro environment. Annual cyclical variations in wind, humidity, and temperature are also quite marked. Plants and most especially animals, experience a kind of seasonal pulsation. As the rivers fill during the rainy season, the larger animals, such as the cayman, alligator, manatí, and dugong, move upstream to somewhat shallower waters, where their food supply is easier of access. Fish also move upstream and even up small brooks, where this is possible. If the savannas flood, many fish swim out into the savannas where numerous insects and other foods are now to be found. The insects themselves multiply and are distributed farther and farther back from the rivers as the rains progress and the savanna floods widen. Meanwhile, foraging animals move farther from the rivers and ponds, and range over greater distances as the rains and the elevated water-tables foster greater plant food resources. Insects in part follow the animals, in part the vegetation as it wakens to winter life in the interfluves. As the dry season begins to return, the reverse process takes place, and all life concentrates nearer and nearer the permanent waters such as the big rivers and some lakes, or at points where the land surface is near enough the permanent water-table to maintain some vegetation, notably the gallery forests and the woodlots, called *montes* in Spanish. Thus one may ideally describe a summer and a winter organization of the habitat. The incidence of resources varies accordingly, and consequently so do the technological activities and tasks to be done. In the dry season, there is a marked increase of gathering, particularly of roots and seeds which appear to store starches for dry season use in the wet season, whereas fruits appear mainly in the rainy season. Hunting increases in the dry season when animals are more highly concentrated in and near the rivers and tributary brooks and streams. Fishing also increases in the dry season as the waters become shallower, less grass-choked, and no longer laden with muds from upstream erosion which makes it impossible to see the fish. Garden production appears to decrease in summer as the dry season precludes growing some crops, such as pineapples, altogether, and reduces the possibility of growing sugar cane and corn.

Despite this marked seasonality, the habitat conditions of both seasons resemble each other in certain formal respects vital to our argument.[10] First, at any given moment of either season, from the point of view of work organization, the resources are what we may call dispersive. Thus, in mid-rainy season, swiddens are to be found dispersed along the streams and brooks flowing into the rivers and these adits are distributed irregularly over the land within a distance of 4—5 miles of the river. Even low slip-off slopes of the river may be used for growing sugar cane in the wet season, though they are too dry in the dry season. Game, such as tortoise, armadillo, deer, birds, and occasional other animals, are to be found throughout the savannas and about the river banks. Fish are found in most streams and in the rivers including those which have no useful banks for horticulture.

[10] Cf. Leeds, 1961, for further details and maps of the seasonal resource locations.

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Gathered resources are found near the streams in marshy places where the moriche palm grows, and to a lesser extent in the savannas.[17] The dry season resources are also distributively located though the pattern is somewhat different. Quanta of production from these resources at any one time are rarely great. The larder, as it were, must be filled from a number of sources at once, even though one crop, particularly bitter manioc, and occasionally sweet manioc and corn, may rise briefly to as much as 50 or 60% of the food supply. Thus the available quanta of resources and their distribution at given moments in time are such as to demand a distributive form of labor organization: workers, as individuals or in very small groups, must go off in different directions at the same time. The obverse of this, of course, is that no sizable or permanent working groups are to be expected and none in fact occur. Further, because a dispersion of the labor force and a constant flux in the constitution of work groups is entailed by the relationships between the technology and the habitat, organized and permanent managerial functions can scarcely occur, and no fixed status with significant managerial powers would be expected. The observed data of leadership among the Yaruro and many other tribes in South America and other parts of the world, such as Melanesia, having fundamentally similar ecologies, corresponds precisely with what one is led to expect logically from the form of the ecology.

The absolute size of work groups achievable in the Yaruro habitat is limited not only by the dispersed locations and temporal harvest patterns of resources, but also by the absolute productivity of the ecology. If one calculates the distribution per land area of those calories potentially convertible to human energy, the rate of calories per unit of land surface is so low that even at maximum utilization only a very low population density of about 2 persons per square mile would be possible. If concentrated in the center of an effective walking distance for exploiting resources of, say, six miles radius from a village, with a resultant total area of about 110 square miles, there would be about 220 souls. Of these, perhaps 70% (all persons over age 10), at maximum, might constitute the labor force, i. e. 154 adults and older children. The actual conditions are, of course, much more limiting, since the efficiency of the technology is such that it cannot exploit the totality of calories potentially available for conversion to human energy at any one time.[18] The actually harvested calories are considerably less, though I have no estimates as to how much less. Let us estimate half, or enough to support one person per square mile, that is, 110 persons. With a somewhat smaller per cent of the population available for the labor force, say 60% of the 110, the force would have only about 67 persons at most. This appears to be a reasonable number for the Cinaruco Yaruro groups, although due to depopulation from disease and mas-

[17] *Ibid.*, Map I.

[18] *Ibid.*, Map II.

[19] For example, all the fish available in the streams at a given time cannot be caught. More could be caught with an improved technology, such as the use of fish traps, weirs, or fish poisons, which, as we have said, are absent from the technology of the Cinaruco Yaruro. Density of fish, or any other biotic population, can be estimated (cf. Dice, 1952, Ch. IV), and then compared with rates of harvesting. Furthermore, it should be noted that often the totality of an actually harvested resource may not be available. For example, in

221 262 Finally, the Yaruro deny any considerable long-term oscillations in the environment and consequently in the resources. The extremes, particularly the minima, of habitat factors which regulate food and population balances, according to Liebig's Law, fall within narrow limits and again elicit no special institutions of management or of equilibrium maintenance to compensate for them, as in the case of the potlatches of the Northwest Coast of America, the buffalo hunts in the Great Plains of the United States, or the use of pigs in Melanesia.[22]

VI

868 One more point may be made regarding the ecology as limiter of chieftainship among the Yaruro. The tools, techniques, and resources require no very extensive, highly specialized or esoteric knowledge. In fact any man or woman, and any child as well, has access to such knowledge, and it is easily acquired by all members of the society who thus have, at least potentially, equal access to control over the means of life. There is no specialized knowledge, at least with respect to technology and habitat, which requires a specialized repository in the form of a chief or learned person. Yaruro knowledge, itself dependent upon the inventory of tools, techniques, and resources, inhibits any tendency towards the development of any [463] sort of specialists in technical or managerial knowledge. As one might expect, there are no true specialists in Yaruro society. Here and there women make pots and certain women seem to have a special bent for making woven sacks but these [756] are not properly specialities. Nor, from a technological or ecological point of view, is male or female shamanism in any way a speciality. They do not appear to be specialists even in esoteric knowledge. Knowledge of the general type described here might be called 'dispersive' or 'egalitarian' since it tends to become more or less uniformly distributed among the members of the society. A consequence of the existence of this type of knowledge, associated with the kind of technology described, is that there will be no specialised training of any specialists and, of course, no specialised personnel to do such training. This is the situation which obtains among the Yaruro both with respect to technical and managerial activities. Thus, in Yaruro knowledge, there is no source for the support of an institutionalized and strong chieftainship.

VII

221 241 361 622 In one respect, the ecology encourages chiefly functions. A balance is struck between the cultural resources, the possibilities that the habitat affords for their production, and the length of time that areas of land can be exploited. This is particularly true of the horticultural lands since they can no longer be used after three years of cropping, and it becomes necessary to move on. The result is that there is a slow migration of resource areas, chiefly of horticultural areas across the tribal territory. The lands in cultivation move further and further from any given village until a point of suspension is reached at which the walking and working

[22] Cf. Suttles, 1960 a, 1960 b; Llewelly and Hoebel, 1941; Vayda, 1961; Vayda, Leeds, and Smith, 1961.

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distance of the gardens is too far from the village for effective or efficient exploitation. At this point a village or part of a village must move. Moving the villages involves decision-making with respect to time, new location, and so on. Plainly, moving a village involves a community decision. A community institution for handling the decision-making is necessary. Technologically speaking, the moving itself is not a community task and does not involve supervision and direction. Therefore, one would not expect the institution of decision-making to be a directive one, but a consultative one. Again this corresponds to the observed modes of action of the Yaruro chiefs. The chiefs' function is to facilitate the formation of the decisions of the community by funnelling and interpreting individuals' feelings and expressions to the rest of the members of the community.

In sum, I have presented a model of a form of ecology which, hypothetically, determines the limits within which any sort of chiefly functions may operate. This model, again hypothetically, is applicable to all cultures having the kind of technological and habitat characteristics and forms of surplus here described. I think the model applies particularly to cultures which grow root-crops such as manioc, which utilize no labor-concentrative techniques, such as irrigation, and for whose food resources notable seasonality is absent. Such cultures have been noted widely in tropical South America and also in Melanesia. In both areas, chiefly functions are notably limited as contrasted, say, with Circum-Caribbean corn-raising cultures with some irrigation and other intensive techniques[24] and with Polynesian high cultures with elaborate irrigation and other public works.[25] It should be noted, first, that the Yaruro were not far from these Circum-Caribbean chiefdoms and even show a number of trait similarities, and, second, that the Yaruro have been under Spanish acculturation, which has involved encouragement of chiefly functions, for probably 250 years. Yet, despite the pressures of both diffusion and acculturation to produce a more developed chieftaincy, the attenuated form described persists. The explanation of this persistence seems to me to be ecological. I suggest that the model of explanation presented here is based on a set of analytic dimensions — the characteristics of the technology, those of the habitat, those of the harvest surplus, and the interrelationships of these — which may be used for all cultures, but whose formal, systemic relations vary from culture to culture, or class of cultures to class of cultures, thus giving different models for different cultures or classes of cultures. By using such dimensions, one can account for cultural differences by means of a standard set of principles, thus faciliating genuine comparisons and generalizations.

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[24] Cf. Sturtevant, 1961; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961.
[25] Cf. Sahlins, 1958.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

572 the horizon. There is no chanting as in the villages of the Xingu, no whistling, no marching to the river for an early bath. There is no conversation, no motion. After a while a dog may sit up and watch the world as silently as his master. More and more of the recumbent figures sit up; some old man becomes busily engaged in making string; a woman gives suck to a baby; others rise, and, walking with heads [372] high, chests thrust forward, go toward the bushes, to reappear soon with armfuls of wood and quickly start fires with their laurelwood fire drills. Soon everyone is sitting up, and the cheesecloth tents disappear. A few women huddle around the fires.

It is only when the wind resumes its violent blowing that the camp is stirred into activity. The chilliness of the night is forgotten, reverential thoughts are discarded. The vulgar stomach, however, is re- 512 membered. Preparations are made to take care of its daily needs. 225 Bows and arrows are examined. A harpoon arrow for turtles and 462 crocodiles, a fish arrow, a gourd, and if the hunter possesses one, a knife, comprise the equipment. Then the men go to their canoes two by two, though a young boy may be taken along to make three. He too must learn to satisfy the daily craving of his inner machinery. The hunters paddle away upstream and disappear around the bend of the river.

512 The women prepare for their own voyages. Sometimes they ac- 222 company the men, sometimes they go alone in a canoe or go inland. 462 They carry baskets on their backs suspended from the forehead by a strap. Each woman carries a digging stick. Little girls accompany them, with their little baskets and their own digging sticks, in imitation of the grown-ups. Some women carry babies astride the hip, 291 feeding at the large full breasts. Naked but for a loin covering, with hair falling down their backs, they seem to fit the wild landscape. Some may wear a camisole, but that is only a thin veil, and their bodies are seen underneath. The loin covering is tied at the back, and, as they walk with chests thrown forward and high, resembles a huge tail rolled under the camisole. Their smooth-skinned ape appearance is graceful but amusing; the naked ones fit the picture better.

512 At camp are left only the old people and some young ones who 461 are too lazy to go out or have been hunting hard and need a rest. They are soon busy fixing bows and arrows, making string, carving ornaments, weaving basketry, taking care of very young children. There is very little talking and no fussing. They almost ignore each other. Those who stay at home will wait patiently for their dinner. They will watch the sun climb the heavens, and they will move from one side of the branches to the other to keep in the shade. Beaten by the wind which by noon blows a gale, bombarded by

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

grains of sand, they wait patiently and quietly, though hungry. They seek no shelter from the wind, preferring it to the myriads of insects lurking in any sheltered spot. And then, too, it is cool in the wind, terrifically hot away from it.

About midafternoon the hunters and food gatherers straggle in. They bring small crocodiles and turtles, crocodile eggs, turtle eggs, perhaps some honey; and the women return with full baskets containing changuango, a wild root that they have dug up in the savanna. They, too, may bring turtle eggs. Not always, of course. The men and the women may return with empty hands and empty baskets. In any event there is no boisterous reception, but the same silence, the same quiet acceptance of the day and what it brings as they have shown at its beginning. Fires are built larger, the women roast the roots, the men help with the turtles and the crocodiles. These are placed whole on the fire until the shells are toasted and then they are cracked open. Wives become busy delousing their husbands, using a carved stick to help in the search. Sometimes the lice are picked and eaten. But the bodies of the men are covered with numerous black blisters, showing that they have suffered the daily torment from the insects. The wife crushes all of these blisters with the same delousing tool.

Dinner is a gala time. Calabash dishes containing the various courses are placed in the center of the ring formed by each family. The food is picked up and carried to the mouth with the fingers. There are crocodile eggs. These are opened and the contents are sucked up raw. The same is done with the turtle eggs. There is the course of roasted changuango, and the pieces of turtle meat. But the real delicacy is crocodile, the best meat of all. The crocodile is eaten in its entirety, except for the entrails, and when the dinner is over some of it is left by the fire, an open invitation to anyone to fill any empty portion of his stomach. The stomachs become distended as tremendous quantities of food are swallowed. This is the only real meal of the day, and the fear of a dinnerless tomorrow drives the eaters to exceptional feats of gourmandizing until their bodies can hold no more. The lean dogs fight among themselves over the refuse heaps. The vultures glide overhead or are busy at crocodile entrails.

There is no after dinner work—no kitchen or table ware to wash, nothing to spoil the proper enjoyment of a full stomach. They eat until they have had enough, and then they move to the east of the fires to lie on the clean sands and watch the sun hide beneath the western horizon. For about half an hour they watch the ever-changing colorful western sky and when rays of light emanate from below the horizon to streak the heavens with blue and gold and white, they

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

136 Bats are plentiful, but they tend to be most abundant in the forests and hills close to the Orinoco. Armies of them fly nightly out of the caves of Guiana to feed on the fruit of the forests in the plains. One evening while crossing back from Guiana to the llanos we saw a stream of bats flying across the river. They seemed to come from a cave about 2 miles away. Though we watched them flying overhead for about half an hour, there did not seem to be any end to them.

174 Formerly the llanos were peopled by a number of tribes who have since disappeared, leaving behind them practically no knowledge of their societies. Only the Yaruros and the Guahibos inhabiting the Meta region have survived to this day. The Tamanachi, the Guamos, the Otomacos, which are best but meagerly known, have died or been killed off in recent years. I saw the last Otomaco survivors, an old woman and a boy of five, who had been saved from a reputed massacre. The Achaguas seem to have disappeared in recent years also.

177 What has happened to these people can be easily understood when it is considered that during the past 25 years the worldwide unrest has driven adventurers to many corners of the earth, and these people have been exposed to the marauding "revolutionary" bands and to the equally destructive cupidity of the crocodile hunter and the rancher.

161 There are 150 Yaruros left in the region of the Capanaparo and
101 on an island at the mouth of that river called the Linda Bara. It is claimed that on the Sinaruco there are other bands but no contact was made with them. Formerly the Yaruros occupied a large territory and perhaps roamed the plains, as well as the rivers, but since the land has been taken up by the ranchers they have been forced to the river banks.

136 The animals of greatest interest to the Yaruros are: jaguar, puma, wild pigs, capibara (the chiguire), armadillo, snakes, jivaro stork, vultures, manatee, tonino, crocodiles, iguana.

137 Plant life has great importance as a source of food, usable wood,
222 medicines, and narcotics. The moriche and macanilla palms supply the Yaruros with fibers and bow wood. The chigua supplies him with flour; the changuango and barbaco with edible roots.

101 The Yaruros call themselves "Pumeh." In the literature they are referred to as "Saururi" (Gumilla), "Zavuri" (Gilii), and more recently as Jaruros, Sayuros, etc. According to my informants Yaruro or Jaruro, is a Guahibo word by which they are known to that people. The Guahibos are known to the Yaruros as "Teiricoa," "people of the forest." The word Pumeh has no exact translatable meaning. The closest equivalent is the Spanish "gente." When a Yaruro uses it he implies "the people," "the chosen people." Only the Yaruros are Pumeh, but the term occasionally includes other tribes. All non-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

593 The sense of strict inviolability of personal rights carries over to personal services. Never did a husband order his wife to do anything outside of her proper domain. While I lived with them, in spite of the excellent care they gave me, even to the point of anticipating my wishes in a great many cases, never did a husband request his wife to prepare food for me. He asked her if she would, acting merely as my messenger. 604 No closer relationship can exist than between maternal uncle and nephew, yet even he does not feel free to ask any service of his nephew, nor to take the latter's personal property.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 Sexual dichotomy in economic activities is clearly defined. In a general way, it may be said that the rougher, harder, and more dangerous work belongs in the province of male activity and that there is no task which calls for strength or danger that properly belongs in the realm of woman's activity. Should any woman be engaged in a hard or dangerous piece of work and a man happens to be present there is a tacit assumption of the task by the latter. Hunting and fishing and presumably the act of fighting in war are man's tasks. The gathering of roots, fruits, seed, and their preparation belongs to the women. [222] It is interesting to note that the gathering of honey, which entails some risk, is done by the men. The making of canoes, the making of implements, of hammocks, the activities in making camp are all in man's domain. The preparation of food and the making of pottery and basketry are woman's tasks.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 Hunting and fishing are male occupations exclusively. As soon as the young boy is able to toddle about he is made to play with bow and arrow and learns to make these indispensable tools. It is a common sight to see little boys who are too young to be taken along by the men on hunting expeditions playing at the game of hunting; and when a man is in camp busily preparing his hunting equipment his young son is by his side working industriously on miniature bows and arrows.

225 The equipment of the hunter is simple. Bow, arrow, and canoe are indispensable. A Yaruro does not like to roam on land, but there is no need for him to do so since he can get his game in the watercourses or along their banks. So he sets off in the early morning, generally accompanied by his hunting companion, to look for crocodile (*Crocodilus babu*). He will hunt for other forms of life only reluctantly, having a special liking for crocodile meat.

Because of the shyness of crocodile the hunter is most often forced to shoot at it from a distance. Since an arrow will seldom kill one

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

225 411 501 of the beasts it is necessary to shoot it with a barbed arrow whose head becomes detached from the shaft but remains attached to the latter by a string. The babu will make for deep water and submerge, but the shaft will float on top, and the beast is drawn to the surface by its means, to be dispatched by another arrow or by a knife blow.

The technique for hunting turtles is similar but its execution is more difficult, due to the smaller size of the turtle. These generally can be seen floating on the water with their heads held erect above the surface.

226 Fishing is done mostly with bow and arrow. The hunter stands up on the prow of the canoe which is guided into the proper position by his companion paddling in the stern. When the hunter is almost over the fish he shoots his arrow some inches in front so as to allow for the deflection caused by the water.

224 Deer is seldom hunted since the Yaruro shun the land for fear that they may be accused of killing cattle. Unless the deer is caught on the river bank in the early morning or in the evening it is stalked. The hunter fixes his gaze on the deer and moves forward a few feet at a time, stopping stock still at the slightest sign of alarm on the part of the deer. In this way he can approach to within arrow range. [292] This technique takes great patience and time. The hunter may camouflage himself by painting his torso white and pasting feathers on it. He wears a mask in imitation of the jivaro stork, which consists of a black head and beak and a red collar around the neck. He may use the beak of the jivaro or substitute his bow for it. Mimicking the motions of the jivaro, he approaches the deer. When he is close enough he waits for the deer to look up, when he transfixes it [411] with an arrow. The arrow used is so heavy that it cannot be launched from afar.

222 In addition to these, the armadillo, the tortoise, and the chiguire are hunted. The hunter does not fail to gather turtle eggs, crocodile eggs, and honey as he roams along the river banks.

FOOD GATHERING

222 It is the task of the women to gather supplementary food. They organize their own expeditions. Armed with digging stick and baskets and accompanied by the children, they roam the plains, digging up the changuango, the barbaco, and the chigua.

MATERIAL CULTURE

511 In material culture the Yaruros are poverty stricken. Their nomadic existence limits their possessions to what they can carry with them in their canoes, which is very little. The whole range of objects made or possessed by the Yaruros consists of canoe, paddles,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

iron hoe, which is also made by the Yaruro out of any heavy scrap of iron that they may gather. Sometimes they will work for the ranchers and with their earnings purchase this type of hoe from a trader. However, such a digging tool is quite a luxury and sharpened sticks are more common.

MORTARS AND PESTLES.—During the rainy season, the Yaruros gather chigua, a seed, which they dry and pound into flour. Mortars of wood shaped as shown in figure 20, *a*, *b*, are used and the pestle is any ordinary hard stick.

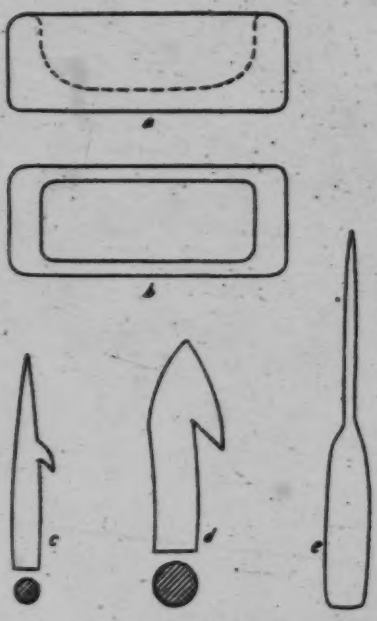

FIGURE 20.—*a*, *b*, Wooden mortar. *c*, Bone or iron point used for hunting chiguire. *d*, Hook used for manatee. *e*, Cooking paddle.

COOKING LADLES.—These are small wooden paddles used in cooking, especially when meat is boiling in a pot (fig. 20, *e*).

HAMMOCKS.—The Yaruros prefer to sleep on the sands, especially during the dry season. The men make hammocks, however, small ones generally used by children as cradles, and by the women shamans when they sing, during the day. During the rainy season they may employ them for sleeping.

The fiber employed to make the hammock string comes from the moriche leaf. The string may be very fine, of course, depending on the interest of the maker. It is made by the men. To weave the hammock a loom is made of two poles thrust into the sand to which are fastened two crosspieces at both the top and bottom. The string is then wound around these crosspieces. The weaver employs a knotter's netting technique. When the entire hammock has been woven the weaving is held in place by another string thrust through one of the woven rows.

ROPE.—The fiber mostly employed by the Yaruros is taken from the leaf of the moriche and the macanilla. The inner cortex of the leaf is stripped off and dried and then is taken apart strand by strand. These long fibers are then moistened and twisted together in two's and three's into a string by rolling them on the thigh with the palm of the hand. A stronger string is made in the same way and used for making hammocks. The bow strings are made from the fiber of the macanilla.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. Woman weaving a mat. Note the use of the foot.

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854

2. Woman foraging for food. Note: braided hair, method of carrying basket, woman's girdles, bands below the knee and on the ankles, method of carrying child, and digging stick.

(End Plate 13)

area is only such in reference to the presence of a given technology. The presence of such a technology is not guaranteed in any particular culture by any historical, evolutionary, geographical, or ecological necessity. Its presence may entail a particular historical explanation or a general evolutionary one. In any case, its absence entails the absence of the use of certain resources whose presence we can observe only in retrospect. 311

Other resource areas besides those utilized because of the presence of horticulture among the Yaruro become available by their possession of hunting, gathering, and fishing technologies, as well as recently acquired animal husbandry in the form of pig-herding. Hunter animals include deer, armadillo, capybara, paca, peccary (?), iguana, and a number of birds (see Table II, p. 4)[1]. These are variously distributed spatially according to the specific ecological niches for which they are adapted. Thus deer are apparently usually found dispersed in the somewhat damper, low-lying savanas where grass is greener and water more available away from the scene of human activity. Armadillo are found distributed throughout the savana. Other species, however, such as the capybara, live near the edge of permanent waters, mainly the rivers. Alligators also live only in the rivers. The faunal carrying capacity of the savanas appears to be quite low in the Cinaruco llanos since foraging foods for larger game animals are sparse. It is important to note that not only is the overall carrying capacity governed by the minimum average food supply of the savanas in the florally more restricted dry season,[2] but the distribution of animals varies considerably from the wet to the dry season. In the latter, animals tend to cluster nearer the rivers or the widely dispersed water holes. Consequently, the locus of hunting must also shift seasonally (see Maps)[3]. Savana hunting techniques are neccessarily different from those used in procuring food in the rivers, whether hunting alligators or capybara, or, of course, fishing. There is some seasonal variation in the locus of fishing, too, although this is much less marked on the Cinaruco than on the freely-flooding streams of the flatter, more north-easterly savanas of the Apure llanos. In the rainy season, fish move up the larger streams into somewhat shallower waters where more plant and insect food is available to them. However, they are apparently unable to move up smaller streams which often have rapids-like stretches interrupting their course. Thus fishing in the rainy seasons is directed towards the larger creeks and away from the smaller creeks and the river itself, where the water has become too deep for successful fishing since the fish are scarcer and more difficult to see in the deep, swift currents of winter. In respect to animal husbandry, recently introduced pigs are pastured anywhere in the savanas but preferably next to the village or quite a distance from it, in either case far from the nearest gardens (Sp. *conuco*, Y. *tadó*), an effort which is rarely successful, since the pigs, in their wisdom, are among the main predators on the garden crops. Gathering may be carried out in the dry or the wet savana depending upon the plant food to be gathered, or it may be carried out near the creeks especially for the fruit of the moriche palm. The rivers do not appear to be used in gathering.

224 137 [221] 226 133 231 [241] 222

[1] [See pp. 35-37, category 116 --Analyst]
[2] [See pp. 40-41, category 102 --Analyst]
[3] [For footnote, see p. 42, category 116 --Analyst]

[p.34]

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2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F s	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
chu'me	"	?	rivers, caños, hooks, sardine bait, from platform	✓				✓		/	✓	?
'yaka'ra	"	?	as above, also arrows	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	2
Yopok'e'"ne	" colorado	?	rivers, caños, hooks	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		/	✓	?
šõ	caribe blanco	white piranha	rivers, arrows, hooks with especially heavy cord	✓				✓		/	✓	1
(hõde'cia	caribe	piranha	doubtful if caught on Cinaruco)									
(pu'pa	cajarro	catfish	doubtful if caught on Cinaruco)									
FRUITS, ROOTS, AND SEEDS GATHERED:												
t'o'cho	?	?	in mata from big tree, at foot	✓								1?
gu'se (cho'sõ)	guayaba	guava	bushes and low trees, distant			✓		✓			✓	1
t'u	fruta de moriche	miriti palm fruit	near caños in wet savana, from foot of trees			✓✓		✓			✓	2
'aram"be	?	?	?, from big tree (monte?)			✓		✓			1	?
tam'be	?	?	?, ?			✓						1
ma,ro'ai	cardón	teasel (?)	?, from tall trees (prob monte)			✓		✓				1?
mkai'cho	encaño	?	?, ?			✓						1?
auri"ro	?	?	?, ?			✓						1?
ya'kod,	totumo	calabash	monte (?), picked				✓	✓?			✓?	3
si'pa	changuango	?	wet savanas, digging stick	✓					✓✓		✓	3
cho'kai	guapo	?	monte, savana, digging stick	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓✓		✓	2

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
ma"hiksi	solu ??	?	savana, digging stick	≠					≠		≠	1
ka'ta	changuanito savanero	?	as above	≠≠					≠≠		≠	2?
pa'ra	barbaco	?	monte, digging stick	≠≠					≠≠		≠	3
gwe'pe (=gwepe'ke)	chigo	? (seed)	near monte, big trees, ground			≠≠			≠≠		≠	2
ge (=ke)	chigo	? (seed)	?, ? (as above?)								≠	?
ANIMAL HUSBANDRY:												
o'bweia	marrano	pigs	savanas, herding (introd.)	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	/	≠≠	≠≠	3
oka'raro	gallina	chickens	dunes near houses (")	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	/		≠	1
ANIMALS HUNTED:												
(to)ha'rigu'ri(a'nâ)	oso hormiguero	giant ant eater?	savana, bow and arrow	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		≠	≠	4
ha'ri	baba	alligator	rivers, heavy barbed arrow	≠≠	≠≠		≠	≠≠		≠≠	≠	3
mbwa	venado	deer	savanas, lance arrow, gun	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠≠		≠≠	≠	3
ci'do	chigüire	capybara	monte, river, " ", fish arrow	≠≠	≠	≠	≠	≠≠		≠	≠	3-
tupa'ra	conejo	rabbit	savana, fish arrow	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	≠	1?
puri	lapo	paca	caño, monte, traps, all arrows	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	1?
ya'tum"mi	iguana	water lizard	rivers, montes, fish arrow	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	1?
'ge"re	cachicamo	armadillo	savanas, traps, sticks, hand	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		≠	/	2-
'ipurime"sa	manto	?	savanas, traps, arrows	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	?

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[p.35]

represent his people to the outside world without consultation and to make arbitrary decisions for them inside the community — mainly in his own interest — was, with the consent of the community, assassinated by one of the members, now in excellent standing in that community as a respected shaman. The chief in question had stepped beyond the bounds designated for his status. In sum, the position of chief, even though formally recognized by Yaruro society and reinforced by formal recognition and appointment by Venezuelan authorities, is feeble as an institution and as a status.[6] It is our hypothesis that ecological conditions of Yaruro life determine the form of the chieftainship in such a way that its stronger institutionalization would be impossible, and we turn to this question now.

III

Yaruro subsistence activities[7] comprise swiddening, gathering, pig herding, hunting and fishing, mentioned in the order of their importance as contributors to the total food supply as measured in calories.[8] Horticulture probably provides 60—70% of the total annual food supply. The horticulture practiced is characteristic of tropical forest slash-and-burn gardens, with a slow rotation of plots in order to permit soil renewal and weed control. Trees are cut, at present with steel axes and formerly, apparently, with axes of bone or shell, and then burnt. Occasional fences are roughly made of the logs to keep out pigs. Bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*),[9] in several varieties, is the main crop, though sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*), also in several varieties, is planted too, as are corn, bananas, sugar cane — each in several varieties — and a number of lesser crops such as melons, squashes, pumpkins, pineapples, sweet potatoes, and yautia or ocumo (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*). Crops are planted with a digging stick which may also be used in harvesting. Gardens are weeded, once only, early in the growth of the crops. Other than clearing, the only soil preparation is the construction of hills for planting bananas. This is done by burning hills made by a certain species of ants (*huachaquero*). The hills, which are quite wide and low, are filled with organic matter enriching the soil.[10] Harvesting is aided with baskets for carrying the crops. Baskets contain about half a bushel or less. No fertilization, no terracing, no drainage, no irrigation, no extensive turning of the soil is done.

The gathered resources include a number of roots, particularly changuango, changuanito, and guapo (*Maranta arundinacea*);[11] varied fruits, especially that of

[6] Professor Benjamin N. Nelson informs me that in medieval Spain, village communities had an official, also called *capitan*, whose function was to treat with state functionaries representing the world beyond the village community's frontier. It is possible that the Yaruro capitan, and many others in Venezuela, are an acculturative transfer of this office to tribal groups. In the case of the Yaruro, this would have happened some 250—300 years ago.

[7] The use, here, of the terms 'activity', 'tasks', 'techniques', 'tools', 'resources', and 'habitat' corresponds to the definitions given in Leeds, 1960 b.

[8] Cf. Leeds, 1961, which gives this data in detail and describes the habitat and horticulture *in extenso*.

[9] Native terms for these crops are given *ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, note 9, contains data on soil values.

[11] Identifications are from Pittier, 1926.

222 the moriche palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*); several seeds, notably chiga (= chigo?; — *Campsiandra comosa*); calabashes (*Crescentia Cujete*), and bees' wax and honey. Non of the items gathered are large in size or difficult of access except the bees' wax, one or two of the fruits, and calabashes which grow on higher trees, or may be very far. Gathered foods may be picked up by hand or with the aid of a digging [412] stick or machete, and may be brought back in the harvesting baskets. Other items [415] which may be gathered include the raw materials for baskets and mat-making or 824 for food-processing tools such as the tipití, pots, or mortars and pestels. These [285] items include the fronds of the moriche palm, used for making cord, baskets, tipi- [323] tís, mats, and sacks; in some villages, clay for pots; reeds for arrows, wood for house beams, mortars and pestles, bows, and for cooking utensils. Wood, palm fronds, and many other items are gathered with the help of the all-purpose machete.

231 Pig herding is unsystematically done. The pigs, a recent acquisition, spend most of their time at will in the foraging grounds. The significant herding activity occurs only at times when one or another of the groups of pigs breaks into the gardens, an almost daily occurrence. They are then driven to the foraging grounds again, or if late in the day, into a close till morning when they are either driven forth again or allowed to scavenge in the village. There are several herds of pigs of sizes varying from perhaps a maximum of 20 including piglets to the more usual six or eight animals. The only tools used in pig care include a slaughtering [412] stick with which the pig is clubbed to death and knives to cut up the meat. The [262] close is built of logs cut with a machete and carried in by one or two men. Pig meat, though eaten with regularity, is definitely a secondary element of diet.

411 Hunting is done almost exclusively with the bow and arrow. There are several types of arrows. One for fish has a metal point approximately 4 inches long with a side hook about five inches from the tip, where the tip is set into the shaft. This may also be used for smaller animals. One for birds has a blunt wooden head, and does not appear to be used very often. A third type is used for larger animals such as deer and capybara. It has a blade about 6 inches long shaped like a laurel leaf and, at present, made of steel. At the base of the blade, a small cross-piece is affixed in order to prevent the precious blade from piercing so deeply into the animal that, if it escapes, it would carry the arrow away with it. The fourth type of arrow is used for turtles, tortoises, and alligators or other animals which submerge. The head is short and strong with a sharp recurved hook. The entire metal head is attached to a cord, and this in turn is attached to the arrow shaft, from which the head is detachable. On detaching, the shaft floats and the game can be followed in its underwater course. The bow is generally about 6 feet long or a little more. It is made rather crudely of the wood of the macanilla palm (*Bactris Gaspiaes*). Some animals, especially land tortoises and armadillos, may be caught [136] [224] by hand. Alligators may also be hunted with exceedingly heavy steel hooks and a strong line. In hunting, no traps, nets, surrounds, or drives are used.

226 Fishing is done chiefly with bows and arrows, though an arrow may sometimes be used as a spear, repeatedly jabbed into grassy waters near the river banks. Fishing may also be done with hooks and lines of different sizes. Bait is also used. A man may fish from a platform built by lashing logs horizontally to two trees

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

along the west-to-east flowing rivers in ribbons some kilometers wide. Most significant fauna and flora of economic use occur in these ribbons. This ecological distribution of resources governs subsistence activities whether they be mainly hunting, fishing, collecting, or horticulture.

Yaruro subsistence comprises all these activities. (2). Horticulture in the rainy season appears considerably to outweigh all other sources of food together, but in the dry season, hunting, fishing, and collecting perhaps equal or outstrip horticulture. In any case, slash and burn gardening of manioc, corn, plantains, and a number of lesser crops is by far the single most important economic activity. The technology is exceedingly simple in all aspects of production, the main tools being the machete and digging stick. The most elaborate technology occurs in the conversion of food into edibles and in the manufacture of hammocks, pottery, objects of wood such as canoes, and woven containers of all types.

The economic organization displays a sharp division of labor between men's and women's work. Men do all hunting and fishing, make all objects of wood, haul lumber and householding materials, make hammocks, and carry out the heavy labor of gardening. Women do most of the collecting of roots, seeds, and fruits. Since collecting contributes a substantial portion of the food supply in summer, woman's contribution, here, is of considerable communal importance. Women's work, a continuous activity from dawn to dusk, is, first, the conversion of raw foodstuffs into edibles. Second, women make all pottery, mats and baskets, the manioc squeezers, and much of the cord used to make hammocks. Another important contribution of women is their help in harvesting in the gardens. Men sometimes help the women with the cookery.

Men may work alone, in groups of 2 or 3, or in larger groups on rare occasions. No occasion exists for all men to work at a single task since there is no technological need for it. Women's work groups for collecting or householding are of similar size. Work group alignments are often based on choice or accident but in other instances coresidence and kinship are determinants. The household, however, constitutes the only really necessary cooperative group for production. The man is a funnel for produce which the woman converts to

(2) The present description applies to the Cinaruco River Yaruro where the major part of the writer's field work, supported by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, was done. The Capanaparo River Yaruro were reported by Petrullo (1939) and Le Besnerais (1948) as being hunters and gatherers, although Le Besnerais observed small horticultural patches which he claimed were diffusions from Venezuelan farmers which had occurred recently. Le Besnerais in 1954 states directly that they were horticulturalists, omitting any mention of possible diffusions from Venezuelans. The passing mention of horticulture by Pinsson (1947) confirms the present writer in his opinion that, although horticulture may be more restricted on the Capanaparo than on the Cinaruco and Cunaviche-Arauca (where the writer also spent several weeks) which are not discussed at all by Petrullo or Le Besnerais, nevertheless, the absence of horticulture is probably not aboriginal with the Yaruro as has been suggested by Kirchhoff (1948, p. 456). Rather the restricted gardening is a result of ecological conditions on the Capanaparo which are less favorable to horticulture than on the neighboring rivers, combined with extremely violent acculturation, including large-scale massacres of natives. The only other possibility, in my opinion, is that horticulture was introduced by the missionaries in the early part of the Eighteenth Century, which is certainly the period when the Yaruro first became acquainted with iron tools (cf Lodares, 1922).

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

411 226 237 is inserted into the reed shaft (fig. 19, *a*, *f*)[1]. The barb on the iron point is obviously more effective than on the bone point.

225 For crocodiles the arrow point is always of iron, barbed and detachable. Its length is considerably less than the other, measuring about 4 feet or less. A string about 30 feet long is attached to the point and wrapped tightly around the shaft. When the point strikes the animal the string becomes unwound and if the animal dives into the water the hunter can trace it by the shaft floating on the surface. He then proceeds to pull up the animal.

411 224 For deer and chiguire, land animals, a broad iron blade is used for the point, so heavy that one would suppose it would be a lance head. This is inserted into the shaft and at the point of insertion a crosspiece is fashioned to the shaft so that the point cannot penetrate more than 4 or 5 inches. The reason for this is that the Yaruro is afraid to lose his arrow should he fail to kill the animal and it were to run away. A barbless arrow will tend to fall out of the wound if the animal races away and then the hunter can recover it.

411 223 For birds, the bone-pointed arrows are used and sometimes a special arrow consisting of a shaft with a wooden knob. However, since birds are hunted so seldom there is very little use for special arrows.

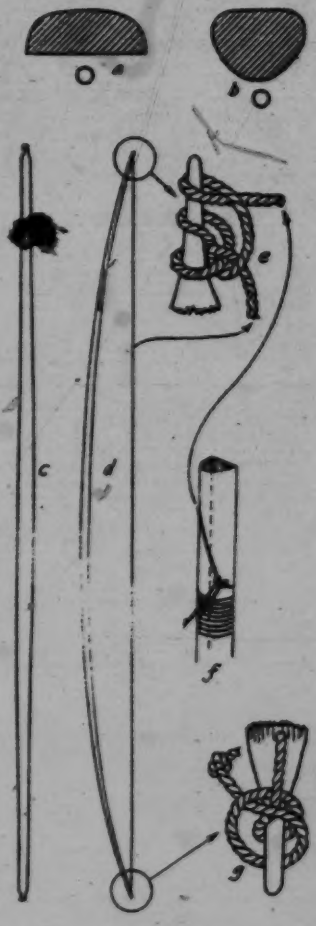

FIGURE 17.—Yaruro bows. *a*, *b*. Cross sections of bows. Circles represent original shape of wood, measuring about 7 cm before it is cut down to shape "*a*" and "*b*." *c*, *d*. Yaruro bow. One specimen measured 195 cm in length, 3.2 cm wide in cross section, 2 cm in thickness. *e*, *f*, *g*. Detail of knots on bow string.

411 326 412 The iron points are well made. Each man tries to possess himself of a stone and an iron hammer, but actually in the entire group that I saw, there were only two stones and one hammer. Iron is hard to obtain, and any scrap which comes into their possession is employed either as a knife or an arrow point. The iron is shaped both by hammering and by filing. I saw only one file in the group. At best, it must cause them a great deal of labor to fashion any of these points.

1 [see category 116, 207 --- Analyst]

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[p.36]

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
'yacen''te	picure	? (aguti?)	monte, caño, fish arrow	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	?
'iku''ri	tortuga	tortoise	rivers, fishhooks; on Capanaparo, use detachable arrow	≠≠			≠	≠		?	?	2
pnda'me	terecal	terrapin?	rivers, fishhooks " "	≠≠			≠	≠		?	?	2
gada'me	morrocoy	boxturtle	mata, by hand - doesn't run	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	1
ci'rida''me	galápago	river turtle	rivers, detachable arrow	≠≠			≠	≠≠		?	?	2
('hôi-obwei''a	chácharo	peccary	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
(be'ri	manatí	manatee	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
BIRDS HUNTED:												
he'we	cotua negro	duck species	rivers, caño, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
hâ'na	caretero	?	rivers, lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
andu'ra	garza morena	grey heron	rivers, lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
o'kara	garza blanca	white heron	lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
'huidiga'ra	garza paleta	painted heron?	lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
hue	gaviota (?)	?	lakes, arrows, bird arrow	≠				≠		?	≠	1
'kwinchi''ni	perdiz	partridge?	savana, bird arrow (?)	≠				≠		≠	?	1-
hu'tu-yu'ni	pavo	curassow	rivers, monte, arrows	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		≠	?	2
ta'ra	jivaro (?)	jivaro stork?	lakes, arrows, shotgun	≠				≠		≠	?	2?
norsha'te	pato real	duck species	lakes, arrows	≠≠				≠		?	?	?

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-e	S e-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
po'be	cotua	duck species	rivers, caños, arrows	✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		?	?	2?
pou'nâ	pâte	duck species	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
MISCELLANEOUS MATERIALS COLLECTED FOR USE IN PRODUCTION:												
ya'ru	espuruna	leaf to wrap and store corn sticks	savana, picking			✓ ?			✓		✓	1
karam'bu	?	cigar wrapping	savana, picking	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ ?		✓	✓	1
agam'bi	tabaco	tobacco	savana, picking	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
u'de	curagua, maca-nilla	macanilla palm	near caños (?) a) for bows, b) for string, fibres for objects	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓		✓ ✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓	2 2
chara't'o	salau (salado?)	canoe wood (?)	montes, for making canoes	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ ✓		✓ ✓		4
citô't'o	caña brava	cane for arrows	near caños for foreshafts	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ ✓		✓ ✓		4
tu	moriche	moriche	near or in caños, used for making house roofs, baskets, cords, fibres, hammocks	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	5
ngo	moriche frond	ditto	as above, often picked up from ground, or tree cut and fronds collected, last for years, may be reused.		as above							
biri't'o-i	guaeca	bark strips	montes, caños, for lashing	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ ✓		✓ ✓		3
é-im'bu	cera de abeja	beeswax	near caños, from large trees	✓	✓			✓		✓		1
é-'ke	miel	honey	as above	✓	✓			✓		✓		1
é'ra	peramán	tree wax	as above? for arrows	✓?	✓ ?			✓		✓		1

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[p.37]

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

512 grains of sand, they wait patiently and quietly, though hungry.
461 They seek no shelter from the wind, preferring it to the myriads of insects lurking in any sheltered spot. And then, too, it is cool in the wind, terrifically hot away from it.

572 About midafternoon the hunters and food gatherers straggle in.
224 They bring small crocodiles and turtles, crocodile eggs, turtle eggs,
222 perhaps some honey; and the women return with full baskets containing changuango, a wild root that they have dug up in the savanna. They, too, may bring turtle eggs. Not always, of course. The men and the women may return with empty hands and empty baskets. In any event there is no boisterous reception, but the same silence, the same quiet acceptance of the day and what it brings as they have shown at its beginning. Fires are built larger, the women roast the
512 roots, the men help with the turtles and the crocodiles. These are
252 placed whole on the fire until the shells are toasted and then they
515 are cracked open. Wives become busy delousing their husbands, using a carved stick to help in the search. Sometimes the lice are picked and eaten. But the bodies of the men are covered with numerous black blisters, showing that they have suffered the daily torment from the insects. The wife crushes all of these blisters with the same delousing tool.

512 Dinner is a gala time. Calabash dishes containing the various
264 courses are placed in the center of the ring formed by each family.
262 The food is picked up and carried to the mouth with the fingers. There are crocodile eggs. These are opened and the contents are sucked up raw. The same is done with the turtle eggs. There is the course of roasted changuango, and the pieces of turtle meat. But the real delicacy is crocodile, the best meat of all. The crocodile is eaten in its entirety, except for the entrails, and when the dinner is over some of it is left by the fire, an open invitation to anyone to fill any empty portion of his stomach. The stomachs become distended as tremendous quantities of food are swallowed. This is the only real meal of the day, and the fear of a dinnerless tomorrow drives the eaters to exceptional feats of gourmandizing until their bodies can hold no more. The lean dogs fight among themselves over the refuse heaps. The vultures glide overhead or are busy at crocodile entrails.

512 There is no after dinner work—no kitchen or table ware to wash,
517 nothing to spoil the proper enjoyment of a full stomach. They eat
776 until they have had enough, and then they move to the east of the fires to lie on the clean sands and watch the sun hide beneath the western horizon. For about half an hour they watch the ever-changing colorful western sky and when rays of light emanate from below the horizon to streak the heavens with blue and gold and white, they

1:Petrullo E-8 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

Without the aid of the Yaruros the crossing of the Orinoco would have been impossible. They are expert canoeists and safely ferried our baggage to the other side. Believing that I could handle a canoe, for by this time according to the Yaruros there wasn't anything that I could not do, since their gods had told them that I was one of them, I was asked to cross in an empty canoe, with the help of a 12-year-old boy. The canoe had several gaping holes in stern and bow about 10 inches in diameter. With serious misgivings, I embarked with the youngster paddling in the bow. Cross-currents, winds, and whirlpools made the half hour a very exciting one. Several times I gave up hope of crossing safely or of returning to our starting point, only to be encouraged by the laughter of my young companion who, when we were in extreme danger, would turn and grin happily at me. However, we crossed safely and soon afterwards we hoisted sail, which consisted of my mosquito net tied to an improvised mast, and with the east wind behind us and with gunwales even with the water, we went flying up the Capanaparo. Our sailing was far from being monotonous, for every few minutes it was necessary to use strength and skill to keep the canoe upright. Three days later we reached Landaeta's camp.

The trip to Urbana had been exciting and interesting, but I brought back with me ulcers on my feet which incapacitated me for the rest of my stay with the Yaruros. My feet, swollen to immense proportions and with open sores, refused to support my body, and I was forced to forego any further trips, short or long. My life consisted from now on, for about six weeks, of lying on the sand or in a hammock, surrounded by my affectionate friends, talking about the universe, the Yaruros, and their ideas.

In order to make it possible for Landaeta and his people to stay with me on this particular beach rather than move about in search of food, I turned over all of my food stock to them, which was consumed in two days, and thereafter they shared equally with me the products of the hunt. From that day on, I was completely in their care and Landaeta never left me. The burden of hunting fell on the younger men who went out every morning in search of crocodiles and turtles, of honey, palm nuts, roots, and fish. My illness was of great concern to the Yaruros. They did what they could to make me comfortable and they went to special trouble to bring titbits, such as honey and nuts. Landaeta and a woman shaman sang over me often. This illness was a fortunate event in a way, for it permitted an uninterrupted intimacy between us.

There is a sharp contrast between the simple primitive material culture of the Yaruros and the wealth and poetic intensity of the spiritual. The casual visitor would see merely a naked people plying

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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In the case of the Yaruros all of these factors have played an important role and are currently active in reducing their territories and food supply to a degree that will mean imminent extermination of the people. It is true that since the first settler arrived in their country the Yaruros could have made readjustments in their culture which perhaps might have permitted them to survive. They could have learned, for instance, to raise horses, cattle, and to cultivate the soil as the [178] Guajiros, living in a country similar to the llanos, have done. But they have chosen to remain firm in their own culture, own traditions, and own universe, and as a result are expecting to pay the penalty. Why they have failed to make the readjustment which would have brought them into a livable relationship with the newcomers and have persisted in keeping to their primitive, nomadic existence may be answered in the pages that follow.

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Dependency on hunting, fishing, and gathering of edible fruits and roots imposes nomadism upon a people and prevents living together in large groups. The degree to which a people have to wander, the extent of the territory over which they must roam, and the size of the group, is dependent upon the abundance of the food supply in the region. The Yaruro hunting groups are small and they stay in one camp not more than a few days; so, they are to be met plying up and down the river in their canoes or traveling over land to the water holes, ever hunting for food.

HUNTING TERRITORIES

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Each hunting group has a territory over which it is free to roam. Over this region only its members are allowed to hunt and gather fruits and roots, but the rivers, the main streams, are open to all. The accompanying map shows the limits of the present hunting territory [174] of the Yaruros of the Capanaparo. It would seem that anciently, when the Yaruros were more numerous, they roamed over a vaster region cut up into small portions over which hunting rights were distributed among various hunting family groups. I was assured that the Yaruros of the Sinaruco also have divided their country into family units.

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There is also a sort of division among the Yaruros which transcends family grouping. The Yaruros of the Capanaparo, for instance, consider themselves a unit, though loosely bound, as distinct from the Yaruros of the Sinaruco, so that they consider the land drained by the Capanaparo as theirs and the region drained by the Sinaruco as the land of the Yaruros of that river. And yet, above all this, there seems to be a tribal feeling as opposed to the tribal divisions. The real significance of this is that among the Yaruros there is permitted a degree of mutuality in the use of the hunting rights

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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not allowed to the neighboring peoples, such as the Otomacos or the Achaguas. The social and linguistic bonds seem to be strong enough to cause the Yaruros to recognize themselves as a distinct people.

FOODS

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In the llanos food is not plentiful except in and along the rivers; but the foraging activities of the Yaruros are restricted to the banks of the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers for another reason. The hunting of land animals has practically stopped for fear that they will be accused by the ranchers of killing cattle. In recent years the activities of the crocodile hunters have ruthlessly destroyed the game, and since such hunters live on the country they have consumed a portion of the available quantity of game on which the Yaruros depended for a livelihood.

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In the dry season game is concentrated along the rivers and the water holes. It is considerably easier to hunt it then than in the rainy season, when it is dispersed over the plains. The turtle, which is found in great quantities in the waters of the Orinoco and its tributaries, suffers a yearly mass hunt and destruction which has its effect on the food supply of the Yaruros. It has been discovered that the turtle fat and eggs will produce a fine grade of oil which sells for a high price. The result is that the breeding grounds of the turtles become yearly a scene of great activity and destruction. No one knows how many thousands of turtles and turtle eggs are gathered and converted into this oil late in the month of April.

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The meat staple of the Yaruros is the *Crocodilus babu*, a small crocodile which grows to about 6 feet long. This animal is hunted daily and eaten in its entirety. Its meat is esteemed above that of any other animal. On the other hand, the cayman, sought for its hide, is not hunted as a rule by the Yaruros. Perhaps this meat is not as savory as that of the babu, but the Yaruros give the reason that the large crocodile represents a race of mankind to which they are related. So that although occasionally it may be hunted for the price that its hide may bring, it is never eaten and never hunted consistently.

[825]

Next to the crocodile, turtles, including the matamata and tortoise, are to be found broiling over the fires in every Yaruro camp, and if they are not broiling they can be seen in shallow pools of water with their forelegs tied to their hindlegs. In this way they can keep alive but cannot walk away. The armadillo is seldom obtained and other meats appear occasionally on the diet of the Yaruros. Fishing is resorted to when neither crocodiles nor turtles are obtainable. The caribe, which is the piranha of Brazil, is esteemed but little. The tonino, which can be seen gracefully playing in the water or can be heard snorting in the rivers at night, is never hunted. It also is

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

thought to be related to the race of mankind. On the other hand, the manatee is hunted occasionally. Birds are hunted but seldom, but the meat of the iguana is prized. This animal is not found in great quantities, however, in the open plains.

The vegetable diet is somewhat more plentiful and varied. There are no restrictions or taboos on what can be eaten. In the dry season it is the potato-like changuango, which is gathered by the women and which is to be seen broiling over the fires at all times, and which is the only food which the Yaruros are able to keep for a few days by burying it in the sand. In the rainy season it is the chigua seed and the barbaco which form the basic foods. The following list includes most of the foods eaten by the Yaruros:

DRY SEASON

Eggs.—Terracai (small water turtle) (mostly in February), turtle (March, April), galapago (tortoise—December), crocodile (cayman—February), babu (December).

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire (capibara), birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Changuango (root found in the savanna), barbaco (root found in the forest, mostly in May), guapo (a root found in the forest), wild yam (found in the savanna and the forests), fruit of the macanilla palm, honey, hearts of palm (in April).

DRY AND RAINY SEASON

Fish.—(Local Spanish names) tapuara, caribe, toporo, tachiama, palumeta, pavon, cajani, temblador (electric eel).

RAINY SEASON

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire, birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Fruit of the moriche, chigua, barbaco.

PROPERTY

The Yaruros do not have much personal property. Nevertheless, what each person possesses is respected scrupulously. This attitude is especially in evidence when, for instance, a visitor attempts to purchase such a thing as a pot. In my case I was forced to ask the men. In spite of any price that I might offer they never allowed themselves to give any kind of an answer to my offer. Instead they offered the explanation that the pots were the property of the women and, therefore, they had to be asked if they wished to sell them. My own property I left in camp often without anyone to watch over it, but never did I miss even a sheet of paper.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

593 The sense of strict inviolability of personal rights carries over to personal services. Never did a husband order his wife to do anything outside of her proper domain. While I lived with them, in spite of the excellent care they gave me, even to the point of anticipating my wishes in a great many cases, never did a husband request his wife to prepare food for me. He asked her if she would, acting merely as my mes-
604 senger. No closer relationship can exist than between maternal uncle and nephew, yet even he does not feel free to ask any service of his nephew, nor to take the latter's personal property.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 Sexual dichotomy in economic activities is clearly defined. In a
562 general way, it may be said that the rougher, harder, and more dangerous work belongs in the province of male activity and that there is no task which calls for strength or danger that properly belongs in the realm of woman's activity. Should any woman be engaged in a hard or dangerous piece of work and a man happens to be present there is a tacit assumption of the task by the latter. Hunting and fishing and presumably the act of fighting in war are man's tasks. The gathering of roots, fruits, seed, and their preparation belongs to
[222] the women. It is interesting to note that the gathering of honey, which entails some risk, is done by the men. The making of canoes, the making of implements, of hammocks, the activities in making camp are all in man's domain. The preparation of food and the making of pottery and basketry are woman's tasks.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 Hunting and fishing are male occupations exclusively. As soon as
868 the young boy is able to toddle about he is made to play with bow
857 and arrow and learns to make these indispensable tools. It is a common sight to see little boys who are too young to be taken along by the men on hunting expeditions playing at the game of hunting; and when a man is in camp busily preparing his hunting equipment his young son is by his side working industriously on miniature bows and arrows.

225 The equipment of the hunter is simple. Bow, arrow, and canoe are
411 indispensable. A Yaruro does not like to roam on land, but there
501 is no need for him to do so since he can get his game in the watercourses or along their banks. So he sets off in the early morning, generally accompanied by his hunting companion, to look for crocodile (*Crocodilus babu*). He will hunt for other forms of life only reluctantly, having a special liking for crocodile meat.

Because of the shyness of crocodile the hunter is most often forced to shoot at it from a distance. Since an arrow will seldom kill one

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

of the beasts it is necessary to shoot it with a barbed arrow whose head becomes detached from the shaft but remains attached to the latter by a string. The babu will make for deep water and submerge, but the shaft will float on top, and the beast is drawn to the surface by its means, to be dispatched by another arrow or by a knife blow.

The technique for hunting turtles is similar but its execution is more difficult, due to the smaller size of the turtle. These generally can be seen floating on the water with their heads held erect above the surface.

Fishing is done mostly with bow and arrow. The hunter stands up on the prow of the canoe which is guided into the proper position by his companion paddling in the stern. When the hunter is almost over the fish he shoots his arrow some inches in front so as to allow for the deflection caused by the water.

Deer is seldom hunted since the Yaruro shun the land for fear that they may be accused of killing cattle. Unless the deer is caught on the river bank in the early morning or in the evening it is stalked. The hunter fixes his gaze on the deer and moves forward a few feet at a time, stopping stock still at the slightest sign of alarm on the part of the deer. In this way he can approach to within arrow range. This technique takes great patience and time. The hunter may camouflage himself by painting his torso white and pasting feathers on it. He wears a mask in imitation of the jivaro stork, which consists of a black head and beak and a red collar around the neck. He may use the beak of the jivaro or substitute his bow for it. Mimicking the motions of the jivaro, he approaches the deer. When he is close enough he waits for the deer to look up, when he transfixes it with an arrow. The arrow used is so heavy that it cannot be launched from afar.

In addition to these, the armadillo, the tortoise, and the chiguire are hunted. The hunter does not fail to gather turtle eggs, crocodile eggs, and honey as he roams along the river banks.

FOOD GATHERING

It is the task of the women to gather supplementary food. They organize their own expeditions. Armed with digging stick and baskets and accompanied by the children, they roam the plains, digging up the changuango, the barbaco, and the chigua.

MATERIAL CULTURE

In material culture the Yaruros are poverty stricken. Their nomadic existence limits their possessions to what they can carry with them in their canoes, which is very little. The whole range of objects made or possessed by the Yaruros consists of canoe, paddles,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

411 226 237 is inserted into the reed shaft (fig. 19, *a*, *f*). The barb on the iron point is obviously more effective than on the bone point.

225 For crocodiles the arrow point is always of iron, barbed and detachable. Its length is considerably less than the other, measuring about 4 feet or less. A string about 30 feet long is attached to the point and wrapped tightly around the shaft. When the point strikes the animal the string becomes unwound and if the animal dives into the water the hunter can trace it by the shaft floating on the surface. He then proceeds to pull up the animal.

411 224 For deer and chiguire, land animals, a broad iron blade is used for the point, so heavy that one would suppose it would be a lance head. This is inserted into the shaft and at the point of insertion a crosspiece is fashioned to the shaft so that the point cannot penetrate more than 4 or 5 inches. The reason for this is that the Yaruro is afraid to lose his arrow should he fail to kill the animal and it were to run away. A barbless arrow will tend to fall out of the wound if the animal races away and then the hunter can recover it.

411 223 For birds, the bone-pointed arrows are used and sometimes a special arrow consisting of a shaft with a wooden knob. However, since birds are hunted so seldom there is very little use for special arrows.

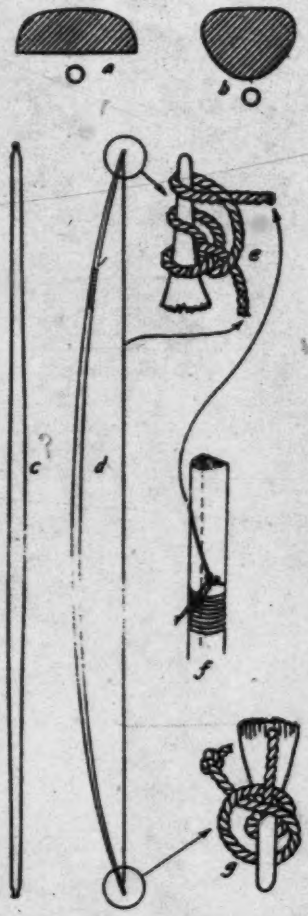

FIGURE 17.—Yaruro bows. *a*, *b*. Cross sections of bows. Circles represent original shape of wood, measuring about 7 cm before it is cut down to shape "a" and "b." *c*, *d*. Yaruro bow. One specimen measured 195 cm in length, 3.2 cm wide in cross section, 2 cm in thickness. *e*, *f*, *g*. Detail of knots on bow string.

411 326 412 The iron points are well made. Each man tries to possess himself of a stone and an iron hammer, but actually in the entire group that I saw, there were only two stones and one hammer. Iron is hard to obtain, and any scrap which comes into their possession is employed either as a knife or an arrow point. The iron is shaped both by hammering and by filing. I saw only one file in the group. At best, it must cause them a great deal of labor to fashion any of these points.

1 [see category 116, 207 --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. Yaruro bowman. The arrow is held to the string between the forefinger and thumb. The middle and fourth finger help pull the string back. 2. Crocodile meat is a staple food. The legs and tail have been cut off to make carrying easier. 3. Yaruros of Lagunote wearing parts of author's towels for breechcloths.

[End Plate 1]

area is only such in reference to the presence of a given technology. The presence of such a technology is not guaranteed in any particular culture by any historical, evolutionary, geographical, or ecological necessity. Its presence may entail a particular historical explanation or a general evolutionary one. In any case, its absence entails the absence of the use of certain resources whose presence we can observe only in retrospect. 311

Other resource areas besides those utilized because of the presence of horticulture among the Yaruro become available by their possession of hunting, gathering, and fishing technologies, as well as recently acquired animal husbandry in the form of pig-herding. Hunter animals include deer, armadillo, capybara, paca, peccary (?), iguana, and a number of birds (see Table II, p. 4).[1] These are variously distributed spatially according to the specific ecological niches for which they are adapted. Thus deer are apparently usually found dispersed in the somewhat damper, low-lying savanas where grass is greener and water more available away from the scene of human activity. Armadillo are found distributed throughout the savana. Other species, however, such as the capybara, live near the edge of permanent waters, mainly the rivers. Alligators also live only in the rivers. The faunal carrying capacity of the savanas appears to be quite low in the Cinaruco llanos since foraging foods for larger game animals are sparse. It is important to note that not only is the overall carrying capacity governed by the minimum average food supply of the savanas in the florally more restricted dry season,[1a] but the distribution of animals varies considerably from the wet to the dry season. In the latter, animals tend to cluster nearer the rivers or the widely dispersed water holes. Consequently, the locus of hunting must also shift seasonally (see Maps).[2] Savana hunting techniques are neccessarily different from those used in procuring food in the rivers, whether hunting alligators or capybara, or, of course, fishing. There is some seasonal variation in the locus of fishing, too, although this is much less marked on the Cinaruco than on the freely-flooding streams of the flatter, more north-easterly savanas of the Apure llanos. In the rainy season, fish move up the larger streams into somewhat shallower waters where more plant and insect food is available to them. However, they are apparently unable to move up smaller streams which often have rapids-like stretches interrupting their course. Thus fishing in the rainy seasons is directed towards the larger creeks and away from the smaller creeks and the river itself, where the water has become too deep for successful fishing since the fish are scarcer and more difficult to see in the deep, swift currents of winter. In respect to animal husbandry, recently introduced pigs are pastured anywhere in the savanas but preferably next to the village or quite a distance from it, in either case far from the nearest gardens (Sp. *conuco*, Y. *tadó*), an effort which is rarely successful, since the pigs, in their wisdom, are among the main predators on the garden crops. Gathering may be carried out in the dry or the wet savana depending upon the plant food to be gathered, or it may be carried out near the creeks especially for the fruit of the moriche palm. The rivers do not appear to be used in gathering. 224 137 [221] 226 133 231 [241] 222

[1] [See pp. 35-37, category 116 --Analyst]
[1a] [See pp. 40-41, category 102 --Analyst]
[2] [for footnote, see p. 42, category 116 --Analyst]

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
ma''hikai	solo ??	?	savana, digging stick	≠					≠		≠	1
ka'ra	changuanito savanero	?	as above	≠≠					≠≠		≠	2?
pa'ra	barbaco	?	monte, digging stick	≠≠					≠≠		≠	3
gwe'pe (=gwepe'kr)	chigo	? (seed)	near monte, big trees, ground			≠≠			≠≠		≠	2
gr (=kr)	chigo	? (seed)	?, ? (as above?)								≠	?
ANIMAL HUSBANDRY:												
o'bweia	marrano	pigs	savanas, herding (introd.)	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	/	≠≠	≠≠	3
oka'raro	gallina	chickens	dunes near houses (")	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	/		≠	1
ANIMALS HUNTED:												
(so)ha'rigu'ri(s'nâ)	oso hormiguero	giant ant eater?	savana, bow and arrow	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		≠	≠	4
ha'ri	baba	alligator	rivers, heavy barbed arrow	≠≠	≠≠		≠	≠≠		≠≠	≠	3
mbwa	venado	deer	savanas, lance arrow, gun	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠≠		≠≠	≠	3
ci'do	chigüire	capybara	monte, river, " ", fish arrow	≠≠	≠	≠	≠	≠≠		≠	≠	3-
topa'ra	conejo	rabbit	savana, fish arrow	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	≠	1?
puri	lapo	paca	caño, monte, traps, all arrows	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	1?
ya'tutu''mi	iguana	water lizard	rivers, montes, fish arrow	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	1?
'gr''re	cachicamo	armadillo	savanas, traps, sticks, hand	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		≠	/	3-
'ipurime''ra	manto	?	savanas, traps, arrows	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	?

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[p.35]

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-p. 36]

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S d-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	C
'yacre"'u	picure	? (aguti?)	monte, caño, fish arrow	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	?
'iku"ri	tortuga	tortoise	rivers, fishhooks; on Capanaparo, use detachable arrow	≠≠			≠	≠		?	?	2
peda'me	terecai	terrapin?	rivers, fishhooks " "	≠≠			≠	≠		?	?	2
geda'me	morrocoy	boxturtle	mata, by hand - doesn't run	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	1
ci'rida"me	galápago	river turtle	rivers, detachable arrow	≠≠			≠	≠≠		?	?	2
('hôi-obwi"a	chicharo	peccary	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
(be'ri	manati	manatee	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
BIRDS HUNTED:												
he'we	coiua negro	duck species	rivers, caño, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
hi'ra	curutero	?	rivers, lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
indu'ra	garza morena	grey heron	rivers, lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
o'kara	garza blanca	white heron	lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
'huidiga'ra	garza pinta	painted heron?	lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
hue	gaviota (?)	?	lakes, arrows, bird arrow	≠				≠		?	≠	1
'kwiachi"ai	perdiz	partridge?	savana, bird arrow (?)	≠				≠		≠	?	1
hu'ru-yu'ru	pavo	curassow	rivers, monte, arrows	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		≠	?	2
u'ra	jivaro (?)	jivaro stork?	lakes, arrows, shotgun	≠				≠		≠	?	2?
norsha'ra	pato real	duck species	lakes, arrows	≠≠				≠		?	?	?

222 the moriche palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*); several seeds, notably chiga (= chigo?; — *Campsiandra comosa*); calabashes (*Crescentia Cujete*), and bees' wax and honey. Non of the items gathered are large in size or difficult of access except the bees' wax, one or two of the fruits, and calabashes which grow on higher trees, or may be very far. Gathered foods may be picked up by hand or with the aid of a digging [412] stick or machete, and may be brought back in the harvesting baskets. Other items [415] which may be gathered include the raw materials for baskets and mat-making or 824 for food-processing tools such as the tipití, pots, or mortars and pestels. These [285] items include the fronds of the moriche palm, used for making cord, baskets, tipi- [323] tís, mats, and sacks; in some villages, clay for pots; reeds for arrows, wood for house beams, mortars and pestles, bows, and for cooking utensils. Wood, palm fronds, and many other items are gathered with the help of the all-purpose machete.

231 Pig herding is unsystematically done. The pigs, a recent acquisition, spend most of their time at will in the foraging grounds. The significant herding activity occurs only at times when one or another of the groups of pigs breaks into the gardens, an almost daily occurrence. They are then driven to the foraging grounds again, or if late in the day, into a close till morning when they are either driven forth again or allowed to scavenge in the village. There are several herds of pigs of sizes varying from perhaps a maximum of 20 including piglets to the more usual six or eight animals. The only tools used in pig care include a slaughtering [412] stick with which the pig is clubbed to death and knives to cut up the meat. The [262] close is built of logs cut with a machete and carried in by one or two men. Pig meat, though eaten with regularity, is definitely a secondary element of diet.

411 Hunting is done almost exclusively with the bow and arrow. There are several types of arrows. One for fish has a metal point approximately 4 inches long with a side hook about five inches from the tip, where the tip is set into the shaft. This may also be used for smaller animals. One for birds has a blunt wooden head, and does not appear to be used very often. A third type is used for larger animals such as deer and capybara. It has a blade about 6 inches long shaped like a laurel leaf and, at present, made of steel. At the base of the blade, a small cross-piece is affixed in order to prevent the precious blade from piercing so deeply into the animal that, if it escapes, it would carry the arrow away with it. The fourth type of arrow is used for turtles, tortoises, and alligators or other animals which submerge. The head is short and strong with a sharp recurved hook. The entire metal head is attached to a cord, and this in turn is attached to the arrow shaft, from which the head is detachable. On detaching, the shaft floats and the game can be followed in its underwater course. The bow is generally about 6 feet long or a little more. It is made rather crudely of the wood of the macanilla palm (*Bactris Gasipaes*). Some animals, especially land tortoises and armadillos, may be caught [136] by hand. Alligators may also be hunted with exceedingly heavy steel hooks and [224] a strong line. In hunting, no traps, nets, surrounds, or drives are used.

226 Fishing is done chiefly with bows and arrows, though an arrow may sometimes be used as a spear, repeatedly jabbed into grassy waters near the river banks. Fishing may also be done with hooks and lines of different sizes. Bait is also used. A man may fish from a platform built by lashing logs horizontally to two trees

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

572 the horizon. There is no chanting as in the villages of the Xingu, no whistling, no marching to the river for an early bath. There is no conversation, no motion. After a while a dog may sit up and watch the world as silently as his master. More and more of the recumbent figures sit up; some old man becomes busily engaged in making string; a woman gives suck to a baby; others rise, and, walking with heads [372] high, chests thrust forward, go toward the bushes, to reappear soon with armfuls of wood and quickly start fires with their laurelwood fire drills. Soon everyone is sitting up, and the cheesecloth tents disappear. A few women huddle around the fires.

It is only when the wind resumes its violent blowing that the camp is stirred into activity. The chilliness of the night is forgotten, reverential thoughts are discarded. The vulgar stomach, however, is remembered. 512 Preparations are made to take care of its daily needs. 225 Bows and arrows are examined. A harpoon arrow for turtles and 462 crocodiles, a fish arrow, a gourd, and if the hunter possesses one, a knife, comprise the equipment. Then the men go to their canoes two by two, though a young boy may be taken along to make three. He too must learn to satisfy the daily craving of his inner machinery. The hunters paddle away upstream and disappear around the bend of the river.

512 The women prepare for their own voyages. Sometimes they ac- 222 company the men, sometimes they go alone in a canoe or go inland. 462 They carry baskets on their backs suspended from the forehead by a strap. Each woman carries a digging stick. Little girls accompany them, with their little baskets and their own digging sticks, in imitation of the grown-ups. Some women carry babies astride the hip, 291 feeding at the large full breasts. Naked but for a loin covering, with hair falling down their backs, they seem to fit the wild landscape. Some may wear a camisole, but that is only a thin veil, and their bodies are seen underneath. The loin covering is tied at the back, and, as they walk with chests thrown forward and high, resembles a huge tail rolled under the camisole. Their smooth-skinned ape appearance is graceful but amusing; the naked ones fit the picture better.

512 At camp are left only the old people and some young ones who 461 are too lazy to go out or have been hunting hard and need a rest. They are soon busy fixing bows and arrows, making string, carving ornaments, weaving basketry, taking care of very young children. There is very little talking and no fussing. They almost ignore each other. Those who stay at home will wait patiently for their dinner. They will watch the sun climb the heavens, and they will move from one side of the branches to the other to keep in the shade. Beaten by the wind which by noon blows a gale, bombarded by

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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FOODS

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In the dry season game is concentrated along the rivers and the water holes. It is considerably easier to hunt it then than in the rainy season, when it is dispersed over the plains. The turtle, which is found in great quantities in the waters of the Orinoco and its tributaries, suffers a yearly mass hunt and destruction which has its effect on the food supply of the Yaruros. It has been discovered that the turtle fat and eggs will produce a fine grade of oil which sells for a high price. The result is that the breeding grounds of the turtles become yearly a scene of great activity and destruction. No one knows how many thousands of turtles and turtle eggs are gathered and converted into this oil late in the month of April.

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Next to the crocodile, turtles, including the matamata and tortoise, are to be found broiling over the fires in every Yaruro camp, and if they are not broiling they can be seen in shallow pools of water with their forelegs tied to their hindlegs. In this way they can keep alive but cannot walk away. The armadillo is seldom obtained and other meats appear occasionally on the diet of the Yaruros. Fishing is resorted to when neither crocodiles nor turtles are obtainable. The caribe, which is the piranha of Brazil, is esteemed but little. The tonino, which can be seen gracefully playing in the water or can be heard snorting in the rivers at night, is never hunted. It also is

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

thought to be related to the race of mankind. On the other hand, the manatee is hunted occasionally. Birds are hunted but seldom, but the meat of the iguana is prized. This animal is not found in great quantities, however, in the open plains.

The vegetable diet is somewhat more plentiful and varied. There are no restrictions or taboos on what can be eaten. In the dry season it is the potato-like changuango, which is gathered by the women and which is to be seen broiling over the fires at all times, and which is the only food which the Yaruros are able to keep for a few days by burying it in the sand. In the rainy season it is the chigua seed and the barbaco which form the basic foods. The following list includes most of the foods eaten by the Yaruros:

DRY SEASON

Eggs.—Terracai (small water turtle) (mostly in February), turtle (March, April), galapago (tortoise—December), crocodile (cayman—February), babu (December).

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire (capibara), birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Changuango (root found in the savanna), barbaco (root found in the forest, mostly in May), guapo (a root found in the forest), wild yam (found in the savanna and the forests), fruit of the macanilla palm, honey, hearts of palm (in April).

DRY AND RAINY SEASON

Fish.—(Local Spanish names) tapuara, caribe, toporo, tachiama, palumeta, pavon, cajani, temblador (electric eel).

RAINY SEASON

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire, birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Fruit of the moriche, chigua, barbaco.

PROPERTY

The Yaruros do not have much personal property. Nevertheless, what each person possesses is respected scrupulously. This attitude is especially in evidence when, for instance, a visitor attempts to purchase such a thing as a pot. In my case I was forced to ask the men. In spite of any price that I might offer they never allowed themselves to give any kind of an answer to my offer. Instead they offered the explanation that the pots were the property of the women and, therefore, they had to be asked if they wished to sell them. My own property I left in camp often without anyone to watch over it, but never did I miss even a sheet of paper.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

The sense of strict inviolability of personal rights carries over to personal services. Never did a husband order his wife to do anything outside of her proper domain. While I lived with them, in spite of the excellent care they gave me, even to the point of anticipating my wishes in a great many cases, never did a husband request his wife to prepare food for me. He asked her if she would, acting merely as my messenger. No closer relationship can exist than between maternal uncle and nephew, yet even he does not feel free to ask any service of his nephew, nor to take the latter's personal property.

DIVISION OF LABOR

Sexual dichotomy in economic activities is clearly defined. In a general way, it may be said that the rougher, harder, and more dangerous work belongs in the province of male activity and that there is no task which calls for strength or danger that properly belongs in the realm of woman's activity. Should any woman be engaged in a hard or dangerous piece of work and a man happens to be present there is a tacit assumption of the task by the latter. Hunting and fishing and presumably the act of fighting in war are man's tasks. The gathering of roots, fruits, seed, and their preparation belongs to the women. It is interesting to note that the gathering of honey, which entails some risk, is done by the men. The making of canoes, the making of implements, of hammocks, the activities in making camp are all in man's domain. The preparation of food and the making of pottery and basketry are woman's tasks.

HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting and fishing are male occupations exclusively. As soon as the young boy is able to toddle about he is made to play with bow and arrow and learns to make these indispensable tools. It is a common sight to see little boys who are too young to be taken along by the men on hunting expeditions playing at the game of hunting; and when a man is in camp busily preparing his hunting equipment his young son is by his side working industriously on miniature bows and arrows.

The equipment of the hunter is simple. Bow, arrow, and canoe are indispensable. A Yaruro does not like to roam on land, but there is no need for him to do so since he can get his game in the watercourses or along their banks. So he sets off in the early morning, generally accompanied by his hunting companion, to look for crocodile (*Crocodilus babu*). He will hunt for other forms of life only reluctantly, having a special liking for crocodile meat.

Because of the shyness of crocodile the hunter is most often forced to shoot at it from a distance. Since an arrow will seldom kill one

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

225 411 501 of the beasts it is necessary to shoot it with a barbed arrow whose head becomes detached from the shaft but remains attached to the latter by a string. The babu will make for deep water and submerge, but the shaft will float on top, and the beast is drawn to the surface by its means, to be dispatched by another arrow or by a knife blow.

The technique for hunting turtles is similar but its execution is more difficult, due to the smaller size of the turtle. These generally can be seen floating on the water with their heads held erect above the surface.

226 Fishing is done mostly with bow and arrow. The hunter stands up on the prow of the canoe which is guided into the proper position by his companion paddling in the stern. When the hunter is almost over the fish he shoots his arrow some inches in front so as to allow for the deflection caused by the water.

224 Deer is seldom hunted since the Yaruro shun the land for fear that they may be accused of killing cattle. Unless the deer is caught on the river bank in the early morning or in the evening it is stalked. The hunter fixes his gaze on the deer and moves forward a few feet at a time, stopping stock still at the slightest sign of alarm on the part of the deer. In this way he can approach to within arrow range. [292] This technique takes great patience and time. The hunter may camouflage himself by painting his torso white and pasting feathers on it. He wears a mask in imitation of the jivaro stork, which consists of a black head and beak and a red collar around the neck. He may use the beak of the jivaro or substitute his bow for it. Mimicking the motions of the jivaro, he approaches the deer. When he is close enough he waits for the deer to look up, when he transfixes it [411] with an arrow. The arrow used is so heavy that it cannot be launched from afar.

222 In addition to these, the armadillo, the tortoise, and the chiguire are hunted. The hunter does not fail to gather turtle eggs, crocodile eggs, and honey as he roams along the river banks.

FOOD GATHERING

222 It is the task of the women to gather supplementary food. They organize their own expeditions. Armed with digging stick and baskets and accompanied by the children, they roam the plains, digging up the changuango, the barbaco, and the chigua.

MATERIAL CULTURE

511 In material culture the Yaruros are poverty stricken. Their nomadic existence limits their possessions to what they can carry with them in their canoes, which is very little. The whole range of objects made or possessed by the Yaruros consists of canoe, paddles,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

411 226 237 is inserted into the reed shaft (fig. 19, *a*, *f*)[1]. The barb on the iron point is obviously more effective than on the bone point.

225 For crocodiles the arrow point is always of iron, barbed and detachable. Its length is considerably less than the other, measuring about 4 feet or less. A string about 30 feet long is attached to the point and wrapped tightly around the shaft. When the point strikes the animal the string becomes unwound and if the animal dives into the water the hunter can trace it by the shaft floating on the surface. He then proceeds to pull up the animal.

411 224 For deer and chiguire, land animals, a broad iron blade is used for the point, so heavy that one would suppose it would be a lance head. This is inserted into the shaft and at the point of insertion a crosspiece is fashioned to the shaft so that the point cannot penetrate more than 4 or 5 inches. The reason for this is that the Yaruro is afraid to lose his arrow should he fail to kill the animal and it were to run away. A barbless arrow will tend to fall out of the wound if the animal races away and then the hunter can recover it.

411 223 For birds, the bone-pointed arrows are used and sometimes a special arrow consisting of a shaft with a wooden knob. However, since birds are hunted so seldom there is very little use for special arrows.

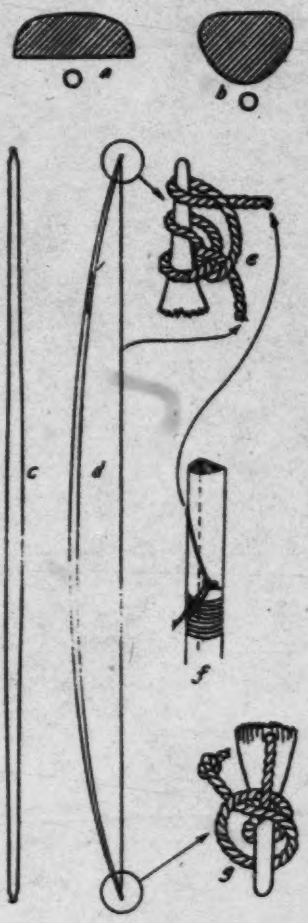

FIGURE 17. — Yaruro bows. *a*, *b*, Cross sections of bows. Circles represent original shape of wood, measuring about 7 cm before it is cut down to shape "*a*" and "*b*." *c*, *d*. Yaruro bow. One specimen measured 195 cm in length, 3.2 cm wide in cross section, 2 cm in thickness. *e*, *f*, *g*, Detail of knots on bow string.

411 326 412 The iron points are well made. Each man tries to possess himself of a stone and an iron hammer, but actually in the entire group that I saw, there were only two stones and one hammer. Iron is hard to obtain, and any scrap which comes into their possession is employed either as a knife or an arrow point. The iron is shaped both by hammering and by filing. I saw only one file in the group. At best, it must cause them a great deal of labor to fashion any of these points.

[1][see category 116, 207 --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Perhaps that is one reason why no man had in his possession more than three or four arrows—for the most part he had only one of the iron tip kind.

FISHHOOKS.—Most of the fishing is done with bow and arrow, but hooks are known to the Yaruros, and when they are able to obtain strong fine string they employ these hooks. Hooks are not only em-

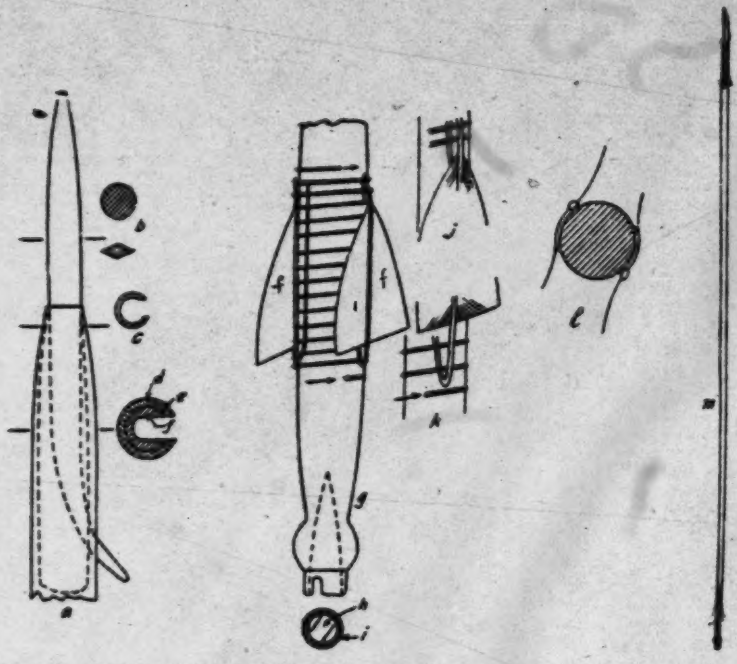

FIGURE 18.—*a*, Bone or iron point attached to shaft. *b*, Cross sections of points; round cross section is of the bone point; diamond-shaped cross section is of the iron point. *c*, Cross section of wax and twine binding. *d*, Cross section of reed shaft. *e*, Cross section of brasil wood to which point is actually fastened. *f*, Feathers. *g*, Butt end of arrow. *h*, Wooden plug nock. *i*, Reed shaft. *j*, *k*, *l*, Method of fastening feather to the arrow. *m*, Fish arrow.

ployed for fish, but even for the chiguire, and sometimes for the crocodiles. The simplest kind is that shown in figure 20, *c*, which may consist of bone or wood. It measures about 6 inches in length. A stronger point of iron or hard wood is used for the manatee. This type is shown in figure 20, *d*. For crocodiles, generally a hard stick sharpened at both ends and baited with a large piece of meat is used. The crocodiles will swallow the stick and, if it is attached to a thick wire, it makes an excellent means of capturing these beasts.

DIGGING STICKS.—Next to the bows and arrows, the most important implement of the Yaruro is the digging stick, which will consist of a wooden handle from 3 to 4 feet long slipped into the handle of an

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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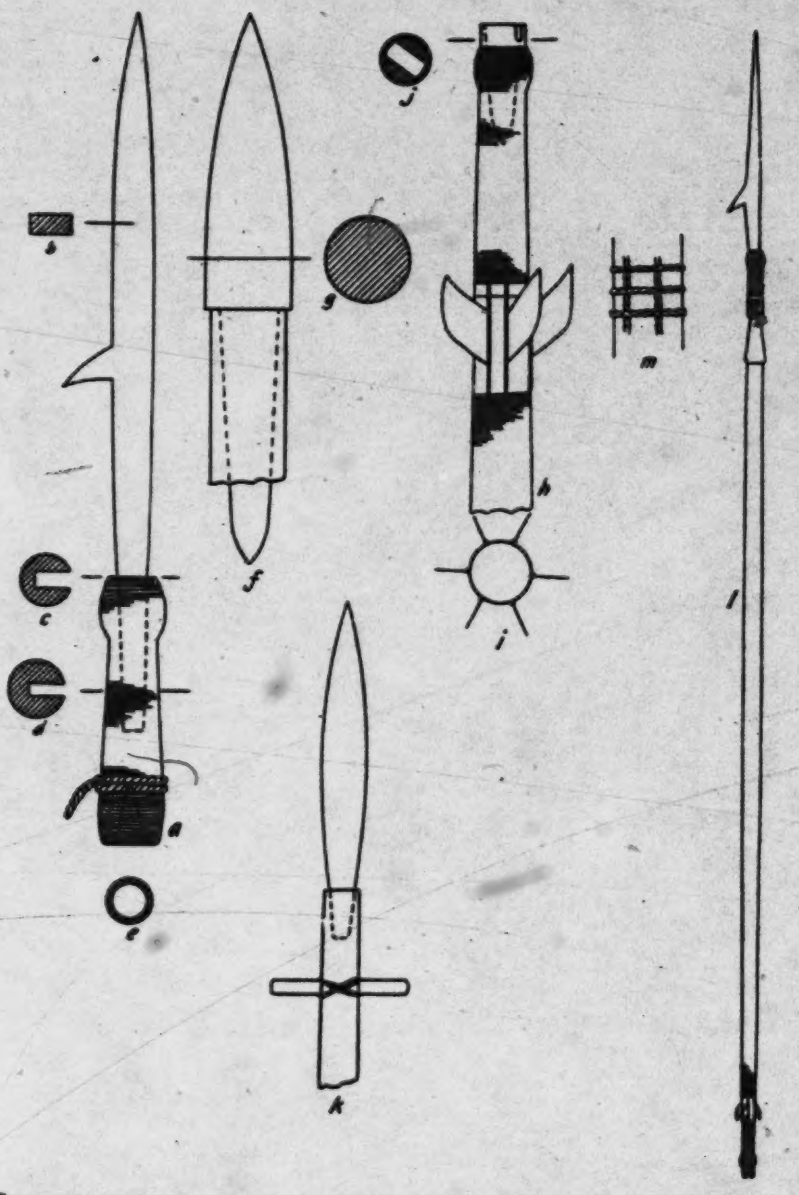

FIGURE 19.—a, Arrow point. b, Cross section of iron point. c, d, e, Cross sections. f, Details of point and wooden plug which is thrust into the reed shaft. g, Cross section. h, Method of fastening feathers to shaft. i, j, m, Details of h. k, Deer arrow, showing crosspiece. l, Harpoon type of arrow.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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FOODS

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[825]

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

511 bow and arrows, digging sticks, baskets, small hammocks, a water jar or two, a mortar and pestle, several fishhooks, fire sticks, and scraps of clothing. As a rule, each family will possess the minimum of these objects.

501 [313] CANOES.—A typical Yaruro canoe measured about 18 feet long. Its longitudinal cross section was as shown in plate 16, *3*. It was made of the "salao" wood.

501 322 The only tools that the Yaruros have to fashion such a canoe are crude machetes, perhaps an ax, and fire. The canoes are never regular in outline and on the whole are rather crude. Both bow and stern end in a point and the bottom is round. These canoes are unstable, difficult to maneuver, and will split easily. No crosspieces are used to reinforce the canoe.

PADDLES.—Paddles are of two types, as shown in figure 16. The large paddles measure about 4 feet in length; the smaller paddles slightly over 3 feet. They are as crudely fashioned as the canoes and increase the difficulties of paddling.

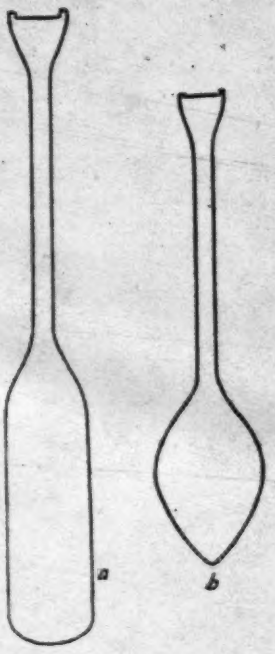

FIGURE 16.—Paddles. *a*, Type usually used by stern paddler. *b*, Generally used in the bow.

411 [313] BOWS.—The bows are fashioned from macanilla or the mahaguillo wood. A large bow will measure about 6 feet, but most of them are closer to 5 feet. The inner surface of the bow is generally flat and the outer is curved. The greatest width on one such bow was about 1½ inches and its thickness less than 1 inch. When the string is relaxed these bows are perfectly straight. They are not reinforced unless they show signs of splitting. On the whole, these bows are inferior to those made by many other tribes in South America. The bow string is tied as shown in figure 17, *e*, *f*, *g*,[1] with three clove-hitch knots.

[284] 411 ● 226 237 ARROWS.—The Yaruros, like most other South American primitives, have a variety of arrows, each type being designed for a specific purpose. A fish arrow consists of a reed shaft to which is attached a bone point with resin and string. Often the upper end of the bone point will protrude away from the shaft to form a small barb. Three feathers are used and fastened as shown in figure 18, *f*, *j*, *k*.[2] At the feathers' end of the arrow a notched piece of Brazil-wood is inserted.

A somewhat similar arrow with an iron point is made. In this case the point is inserted into a worked piece of wood which, in turn,

1 [See category 116, p. 205. --- Analyst]
2 [See category 116, p. 206. --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

411 226 237 is inserted into the reed shaft (fig. 19, *a*, *f*). The barb on the iron point is obviously more effective than on the bone point.

225 For crocodiles the arrow point is always of iron, barbed and detachable. Its length is considerably less than the other, measuring about 4 feet or less. A string about 30 feet long is attached to the point and wrapped tightly around the shaft. When the point strikes the animal the string becomes unwound and if the animal dives into the water the hunter can trace it by the shaft floating on the surface. He then proceeds to pull up the animal.

411 224 For deer and chiguire, land animals, a broad iron blade is used for the point, so heavy that one would suppose it would be a lance head. This is inserted into the shaft and at the point of insertion a crosspiece is fashioned to the shaft so that the point cannot penetrate more than 4 or 5 inches. The reason for this is that the Yaruro is afraid to lose his arrow should he fail to kill the animal and it were to run away. A barbless arrow will tend to fall out of the wound if the animal races away and then the hunter can recover it.

411 223 For birds, the bone-pointed arrows are used and sometimes a special arrow consisting of a shaft with a wooden knob. However, since birds are hunted so seldom there is very little use for special arrows.

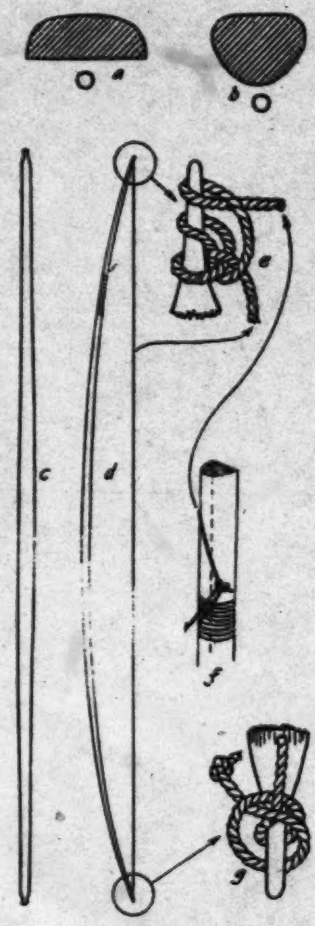

FIGURE 17. — Yaruro bows. *a*, *b*, Cross sections of bows. Circles represent original shape of wood, measuring about 7 cm before it is cut down to shape "a" and "b." *c*, *d*. Yaruro bow. One specimen measured 195 cm in length, 3.2 cm wide in cross section, 2 cm in thickness. *e*, *f*, *g*. Detail of knots on bow string.

411 326 412 The iron points are well made. Each man tries to possess himself of a stone and an iron hammer, but actually in the entire group that I saw, there were only two stones and one hammer. Iron is hard to obtain, and any scrap which comes into their possession is employed either as a knife or an arrow point. The iron is shaped both by hammering and by filing. I saw only one file in the group. At best, it must cause them a great deal of labor to fashion any of these points.

[See category 116, 207 --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Perhaps that is one reason why no man had in his possession more than three or four arrows—for the most part he had only one of the iron tip kind.

FISHHOOKS.—Most of the fishing is done with bow and arrow, but hooks are known to the Yaruros, and when they are able to obtain strong fine string they employ these hooks. Hooks are not only em-

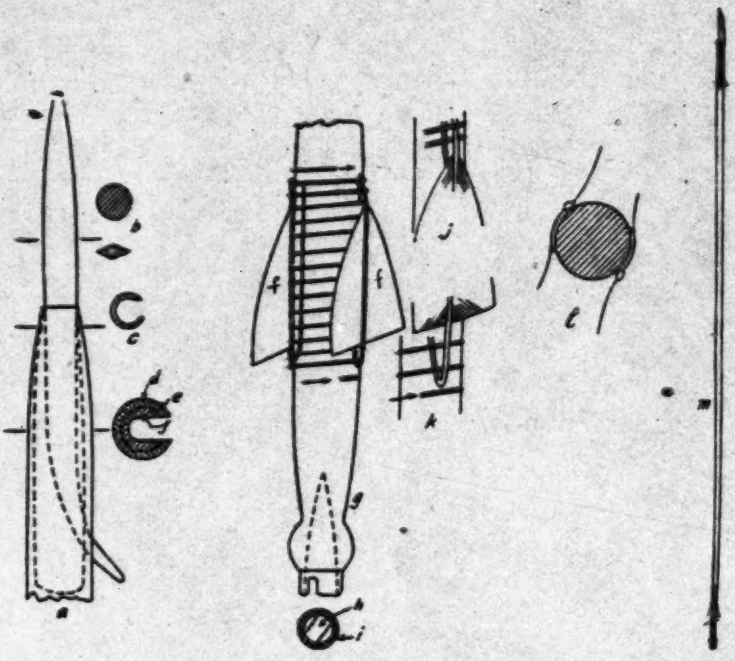

FIGURE 18.—*a*, Bone or iron point attached to shaft. *b*, Cross sections of points; round cross section is of the bone point; diamond-shaped cross section is of the iron point. *c*, Cross section of wax and twine binding. *d*, Cross section of reed shaft. *e*, Cross section of brazil wood to which point is actually fastened. *f*, Feathers. *g*, Butt end of arrow. *h*, Wooden plug nock. *i*, Reed shaft. *j*, *k*, *l*, Method of fastening feather to the arrow. *m*, Fish arrow.

ployed for fish, but even for the chiguire, and sometimes for the crocodiles. The simplest kind is that shown in figure 20, *c*, which may consist of bone or wood. It measures about 6 inches in length. A stronger point of iron or hard wood is used for the manatee. This type is shown in figure 20, *d*. For crocodiles, generally a hard stick sharpened at both ends and baited with a large piece of meat is used. The crocodiles will swallow the stick and, if it is attached to a thick wire, it makes an excellent means of capturing these beasts.

DIGGING STICKS.—Next to the bows and arrows, the most important implement of the Yaruro is the digging stick, which will consist of a wooden handle from 3 to 4 feet long slipped into the handle of an

area is only such in reference to the presence of a given technology. The presence of such a technology is not guaranteed in any particular culture by any historical, evolutionary, geographical, or ecological necessity. Its presence may entail a particular historical explanation or a general evolutionary one. In any case, its absence entails the absence of the use of certain resources whose presence we can observe only in retrospect. 311

Other resource areas besides those utilized because of the presence of horticulture among the Yaruro become available by their possession of hunting, gathering, and fishing technologies, as well as recently acquired animal husbandry in the form of pig-herding. Hunter animals include deer, armadillo, capybara, paca, peccary (?), iguana, and a number of birds (see Table II, p. 4)[1]. These are variously distributed spatially according to the specific ecological niches for which they are adapted. Thus deer are apparently usually found dispersed in the somewhat damper, low-lying savanas where grass is greener and water more available away from the scene of human activity. Armadillo are found distributed throughout the savana. Other species, however, such as the capybara, live near the edge of permanent waters, mainly the rivers. Alligators also live only in the rivers. The faunal carrying capacity of the savanas appears to be quite low in the Cinaruco llanos since foraging foods for larger game animals are sparse. It is important to note that not only is the overall carrying capacity governed by the minimum average food supply of the savanas in the florally more restricted dry season,[1A] but the distribution of animals varies considerably from the wet to the dry season. In the latter, animals tend to cluster nearer the rivers or the widely dispersed water holes. Consequently, the locus of hunting must also shift seasonally (see Maps)[2]. Savana hunting techniques are neccessarily different from those used in procuring food in the rivers, whether hunting alligators or capybara, or, of course, fishing. There is some seasonal variation in the locus of fishing, too, although this is much less marked on the Cinaruco than on the freely-flooding streams of the flatter, more north-easterly savanas of the Apure llanos. In the rainy season, fish move up the larger streams into somewhat shallower waters where more plant and insect food is available to them. However, they are apparently unable to move up smaller streams which often have rapids-like stretches interrupting their course. Thus fishing in the rainy seasons is directed towards the larger creeks and away from the smaller creeks and the river itself, where the water has become too deep for successful fishing since the fish are scarcer and more difficult to see in the deep, swift currents of winter. In respect to animal husbandry, recently introduced pigs are pastured anywhere in the savanas but preferably next to the village or quite a distance from it, in either case far from the nearest gardens (Sp. *conuco*, Y. *tadó*), an effort which is rarely successful, since the pigs, in their wisdom, are among the main predators on the garden crops. Gathering may be carried out in the dry or the wet savana depending upon the plant food to be gathered, or it may be carried out near the creeks especially for the fruit of the moriche palm. The rivers do not appear to be used in gathering.

224 137 [221] 226 133 231 [241] 222

[1A] [See pp. 35-37, category 116 --Analyst]
[1B] [See pp. 40-41, category 102 --Analyst]
[1?] [for footnote, see p. 42, category 116 --Analyst]

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
'cɛrame''kwɛ	ñame	yams	swiddens, dibble	≠?	≠?	≠	≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	2
ôa''ri	batata	sweet potato	as above	≠?		≠?	≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	2
ô	ananá	pineapple	swiddens, dibble				≠	≠			/	1
iu	capacho	?	swiddens, ?				≠?	≠			1	?
cɛ'da (=cɛda''dakwɛ	ocumo (yauta)	xanthosoma	swiddens, dibble	≠?		≠	≠	≠			≠	2
(ñô'tɛa''nâ	ají	chili pepper	doubtful if raised on Cinaruco)									
FISHES CAUGHT:												
yagu'pe	agua dulce	?	rivers, caños, hooks, arrows	≠				≠		/	≠	2-
e(='chamachi''ro)	cachama	?	rivers, hooks, arrows	≠				≠		/	≠	1
gui'te	sardina	?	rivers, fish arrows, small hook	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2
dap'we	guavina	?	caño · fishhooks	≠			≠	≠		/	≠	?
ho'nô	palambre	?	rivers, caños, arrows, hooks	≠?		≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2
ip:'â	pinte tigre	?	rivers, caños, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2-
pa'chowén''ti	bagre	catfish	rivers, caños, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2-
'meô''dakwɛ	viejita	?	as above	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
'chôânda-''yii	"	?	as above	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
ninda'ô	"	?	caños, hooks, sardine bait	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
toji'ri-ka''Râ	" negra	?	caños, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
u'ru-u'ru	de tierra	?	rivers, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠			/	≠	?
da're	pavón	?	rivers, hooks, sardine bait	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?

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[p. 33]

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
chu'me	"	?	rivers, caños, hooks, sardine bait, from platform	≠				≠		/	≠	?
'yaka'ra	"	?	as above, also arrows	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2?
'Yopok'e''ne	" colorado	?	rivers, caños, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
ñô	caribe blanco	white piranha	rivers, arrows, hooks with especially heavy cord	≠				≠		/	≠	1
(hôde'cia	caribe	piranha	doubtful if caught on Cinaruco)									
(pu'pu	cajarro	catfish	doubtful if caught on Cinaruco)									
FRUITS, ROOTS, AND SEEDS GATHERED:												
t'o'cho	?	?	in mata from big tree, at foot	≠				≠				1?
gu're (cho'nô)	guayaba	guava	bushes and low trees, distant			≠		≠				1
t'u	fruta de moriche	miriti palm fruit	near caños in wet savana, from foot of trees			≠≠		≠			≠	2
'nuam''be	?	?	?, from big tree (monte?)			≠		≠			1	?
tam'be	?	?	?, ?			≠						1
tonɛto'ui	cardón	teasel (?)	?, from tall trees (prob monte)			≠		≠				1?
tokai'cho	cacaito	?	?, ?			≠						1?
nuri''to	?	?	?, ?			≠						1?
ya'kodɛ	totumo	calabash	monte (?), picked				≠	≠?			≠?	3
ni'pɛ	changuango	?	wet savanas, digging stick	≠					≠≠		≠	3
cho'kai	guapo	?	monte, savana, digging stick	≠	≠	≠	≠		≠≠		≠	2

[p.34]

222 the moriche palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*); several seeds, notably chiga (= chigo?; — *Campsiandra comosa*); calabashes (*Crescentia Cujete*), and bees' wax and honey. Non of the items gathered are large in size or difficult of access except the bees' wax, one or two of the fruits, and calabashes which grow on higher trees, or may be very far. Gathered foods may be picked up by hand or with the aid of a digging [412] stick or machete, and may be brought back in the harvesting baskets. Other items [415] which may be gathered include the raw materials for baskets and mat-making or 824 for food-processing tools such as the tipití, pots, or mortars and pestels. These [285] items include the fronds of the moriche palm, used for making cord, baskets, tipi- [323] tís, mats, and sacks; in some villages, clay for pots; reeds for arrows, wood for house beams, mortars and pestles, bows, and for cooking utensils. Wood, palm fronds, and many other items are gathered with the help of the all-purpose machete.

231 Pig herding is unsystematically done. The pigs, a recent acquisition, spend most of their time at will in the foraging grounds. The significant herding activity occurs only at times when one or another of the groups of pigs breaks into the gardens, an almost daily occurrence. They are then driven to the foraging grounds again, or if late in the day, into a close till morning when they are either driven forth again or allowed to scavenge in the village. There are several herds of pigs of sizes varying from perhaps a maximum of 20 including piglets to the more usual six or eight animals. The only tools used in pig care include a slaughtering [412] stick with which the pig is clubbed to death and knives to cut up the meat. The [262] close is built of logs cut with a machete and carried in by one or two men. Pig meat, though eaten with regularity, is definitely a secondary element of diet.

411 Hunting is done almost exclusively with the bow and arrow. There are several types of arrows. One for fish has a metal point approximately 4 inches long with a side hook about five inches from the tip, where the tip is set into the shaft. This may also be used for smaller animals. One for birds has a blunt wooden head, and does not appear to be used very often. A third type is used for larger animals such as deer and capybara. It has a blade about 6 inches long shaped like a laurel leaf and, at present, made of steel. At the base of the blade, a small cross-piece is affixed in order to prevent the precious blade from piercing so deeply into the animal that, if it escapes, it would carry the arrow away with it. The fourth type of arrow is used for turtles, tortoises, and alligators or other animals which submerge. The head is short and strong with a sharp recurved hook. The entire metal head is attached to a cord, and this in turn is attached to the arrow shaft, from which the head is detachable. On detaching, the shaft floats and the game can be followed in its underwater course. The bow is generally about 6 feet long or a little more. It is made rather crudely of the wood of the macanilla palm (*Bactris Gaspiaes*). Some animals, especially land tortoises and armadillos, may be caught [136] by hand. Alligators may also be hunted with exceedingly heavy steel hooks and [224] a strong line. In hunting, no traps, nets, surrounds, or drives are used.

226 Fishing is done chiefly with bows and arrows, though an arrow may sometimes be used as a spear, repeatedly jabbed into grassy waters near the river banks. Fishing may also be done with hooks and lines of different sizes. Bait is also used. A man may fish from a platform built by lashing logs horizontally to two trees

and then shooting into the still side pools of a stream into which he has driven a post with bait attached. He may also stand in a canoe to shoot. It is reported, though I have not myself seen it, that barbasco (*Jacquinia revoluta* or *mucronulata*) poison is used by some Yaruro.[12] No nets, weirs, traps, sweeps, or artificial fish pools are used.

Given the techniques and tools of the Yaruro, all the subsistence activities described can conveniently be done by one person. Some *must* be done by one person only, since the tools and techniques themselves do not permit two or more persons to operate jointly. As it were, the logic of the tools and techniques concerned demands utilization by single persons.[13] Some of the tools and techniques might conveniently involve two or more persons, e. g. lashing tree trunks together to make a fence or cornering a capybara, but do not definitively *require* more than one person. Activities of all sorts may be done by aggregates of persons, each utilizing his own tools and techniques individually but neither the activity, the tools nor the techniques entail the aggregation of individuals. Thus, from the point of view of human organization, the technology, by itself, entails no managerial functions, no coordination of tasks which must be overseen by someone occupying an appropriately defined status.[14] That is, there are no technologically determined positions of leadership in Yaruro society. Further, the technology as such entails no significant cooperation in work organization, even when this is convenient, and correspondingly, no standard work groups or management functions, as represented in some defined status, for facilitating cooperation are to be expected or to be found. In fact, Yaruro technology and resource distribution are such as to elicit considerable dispersion of activities and actors at any given time of work, and to inhibit the development of rank and the personal acquisition of superordinating prestige.

IV

We may now examine the habitat aspect of the ecological relationship. A clearly marked annual cycle occurs in the Yaruro habitat.[15] However, despite a sharp seasonal change from heavy rains up to 60 inches in one half of the year to almost

[12] Personal communication from Mr. Thomas Rootes who has studied Yaruro linguistics for a number of months, having visited several groups.

[13] Different kinds of tools require different kinds of organization. A simple hand saw can be used by only one person at a time. A logging saw, though it can awkwardly be used by one person, is surely best used by two persons. Certain other saws, e. g. jig saws, make up one of a series of machine processes on a single part of a product, the entire series being the unit of operation which requires a still more complex level of organization. Cf. Leeds, 1960 b.

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Gathered resources are found near the streams in marshy places where the moriche palm grows, and to a lesser extent in the savannas.[17] The dry season resources are also distributively located though the pattern is somewhat different. Quanta of production from these resources at any one time are rarely great. The larder, as it were, must be filled from a number of sources at once, even though one crop, particularly bitter manioc, and occasionally sweet manioc and corn, may rise briefly to as much as 50 or 60% of the food supply. Thus the available quanta of resources and their distribution at given moments in time are such as to demand a distributive form of labor organization: workers, as individuals or in very small groups, must go off in different directions at the same time. The obverse of this, of course, is that no sizable or permanent working groups are to be expected and none in fact occur. Further, because a dispersion of the labor force and a constant flux in the constitution of work groups is entailed by the relationships between the technology and the habitat, organized and permanent managerial functions can scarcely occur, and no fixed status with significant managerial powers would be expected. The observed data of leadership among the Yaruro and many other tribes in South America and other parts of the world, such as Melanesia, having fundamentally similar ecologies, corresponds precisely with what one is led to expect logically from the form of the ecology.

The absolute size of work groups achievable in the Yaruro habitat is limited not only by the dispersed locations and temporal harvest patterns of resources, but also by the absolute productivity of the ecology. If one calculates the distribution per land area of those calories potentially convertible to human energy, the rate of calories per unit of land surface is so low that even at maximum utilization only a very low population density of about 2 persons per square mile would be possible. If concentrated in the center of an effective walking distance for exploiting resources of, say, six miles radius from a village, with a resultant total area of about 110 square miles, there would be about 220 souls. Of these, perhaps 70% (all persons over age 10), at maximum, might constitute the labor force, i. e. 154 adults and older children. The actual conditions are, of course, much more limiting, since the efficiency of the technology is such that it cannot exploit the totality of calories potentially available for conversion to human energy at any one time.[18] The actually harvested calories are considerably less, though I have no estimates as to how much less. Let us estimate half, or enough to support one person per square mile, that is, 110 persons. With a somewhat smaller per cent of the population available for the labor force, say 60% of the 110, the force would have only about 67 persons at most. This appears to be a reasonable number for the Cinaruco Yaruro groups, although due to depopulation from disease and mas-

[17] *Ibid.*, Map I.

[18] *Ibid.*, Map II.

[19] For example, all the fish available in the streams at a given time cannot be caught. More could be caught with an improved technology, such as the use of fish traps, weirs, or fish poisons, which, as we have said, are absent from the technology of the Cinaruco Yaruro. Density of fish, or any other biotic population, can be estimated (cf. Diez, 1952, Ch. IV), and then compared with rates of harvesting. Furthermore, it should be noted that often the totality of an actually harvested resource may not be available. For example, in

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

B) Petrullo restricted his visits to the sand banks along and in the river, and, after his first arrival, most of his travelling was done on the streams. Gardens are never to be found on the sand banks and bars, but rather, usually, on the affluent creeks which are just above flood level of the rivers in the rainy season. Therefore he was not in a position to see the gardens which Le Besnerais later saw in the same area when he explored back from the river.

C) Petrullo was in the llanos in the dry season when the Yaruro move nearer the rivers both to secure a water supply as the water table lowers and to avail themselves of the much more plentiful and accessible river fauna[1] at a time when vegetable harvests are reduced because of drought. He was therefore observing dry-season subsistence — and perhaps only a part of it.

D) The probability that he observed only a part of the dry-season subsistence pattern in his area is reinforced by two considerations:

1) He reports the fact that 150 Yaruro had been massacred by Venezuelans a month before his arrival (p. 181). Their response under such circumstances is, as fast as possible, to get off the land that the Venezuelans want and to move to the rivers. I myself had occasion to observe such a diaspora, occurring in response to a smaller massacre. In view of this sort of response, it is likely, therefore, that Petrullo's group was living off river resources and away from their gardens at the time of his visit.

2) Maps indicate that in the lower part of the Capanaparo River, the flooding is greater and the number and size of side creeks suitable for horticulture is smaller than upstream on any of the large rivers. In other words, the available area for garden plots is much smaller, and riverine subsistence proportionately more important. Upriver, and more especially on the Sinaruco and on the middle and upper Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, there is much more tillable ground.

"I thought you said you could not sing and were not a musico?" "Yes, that was true last week when I had the grippe, but now my grippe is better I can be a musico again." And many similar examples of the extreme caution one needed to exercise regarding negative responses in order to be sure they were not merely descriptive of the place and moment. If Petrullo asked "Do you raise crops?", his informants would most likely have said, "No, we have no crops here", under the circumstances in which he found them.

[1] The river fauna is more plentiful and accessible in dry season because, first, it is more concentrated, and, second, it is more visible. During the wet, flooding season, fish, and other animals spread even into smaller streams and out upon the watery llanos — we caught a small piranha on the grassy, watercovered plain itself. On the plains, the fish are lost among the grasses and are virtually impossible to spear or shoot with bow and arrow. The river turbulence of the rainy season, meanwhile, has brought so much mud from further upstream that many of the rivers are opaque, especially in those parts of the llanos constructed of mud rather than sandy soils. Fish and the water reptiles and mammals are well-cloaked by the murky stream. The waters and the plains clear in the dry season so that the fish are concentrated in the limpid, grassless waters of the rivers, while land animals and riparian fauna are all crowded together near the banks in their search for food and water.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

411 326 412

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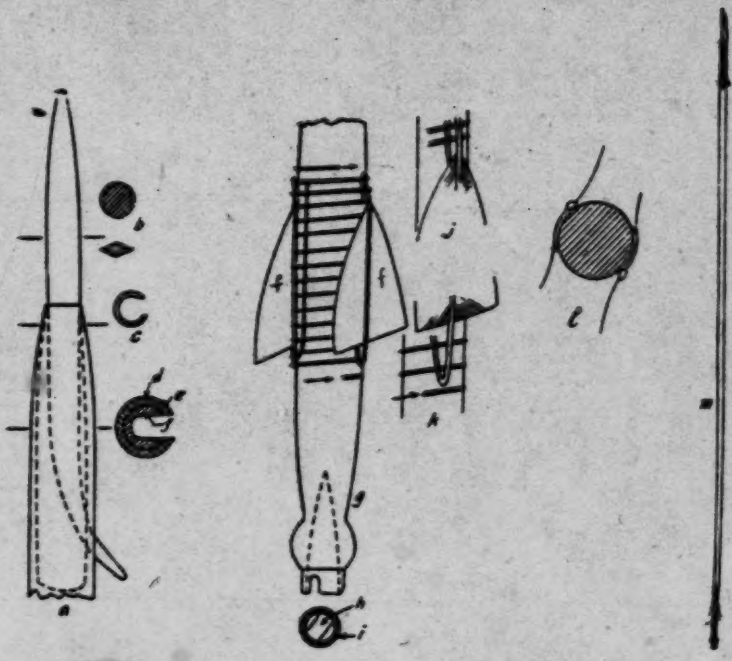

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[14] For the structure of argument which is involved here, see Leeds, 1960 b.

[15] 'Habitat' here refers to all physical objects and conditions of the environment which are relevant to the existence or production of resources as defined by the culture. For the most part, then, 'habitat' refers to those environmental conditions such as humidity, temperature, insolation, rainfall, etc., which affect the food supply, as well as the food and water available for animals and plants and other culturally relevant physical objects. By extension, it refers to daily, seasonal, annual, and long-term variations and cycles in the various relevant factors of the environment, whether climatic, geologic, or biotic, which affect any of these supplies.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

609 Yawalapiti village in Brazil; but the very silence was expressive of the mutual sorrow at our parting. Landaeta loaded me and my baggage in a canoe and we drifted slowly away, leaving on the vast beach a few human beings alone in a strange world, but not lonesome, since they live with their gods.

Economic Life

231 The Yaruros practice no agriculture and keep no domestic animals except the dog, even though they inhabit country over which roam wild horses and cattle, and they come in contact with the "llaneros," who are typically pastoral. Therefore, their daily dinner is dependent upon, and determined by, indigenous environment and their own 262 energy. The quality and abundance of their food supply depends upon seasonal variations of climate. A period of drought or a too prolonged period of rain may cause famine. They would be allowed a degree of freedom from the daily task of acquiring dinner were they able to store any food for future use. The tropics, however, offer special difficulties to this which are not present in more temperate climates. Their knowledge of what is edible in various localities, where to find it, how to gather it, and how to keep it and what is available at different times of the year are all factors important to the satisfaction of their most fundamental need. Technical knowledge in the making of tools and methods of hunting and fishing are also important.

262 784 As if not satisfied by the degree of their dependency on it, and on their technical knowledge, primitives often self-impose other limitations. There may be an abundance of a particular animal which could be hunted easily or a particular plant which could be gathered in quantity, yet the primitives very often raise barriers against such practices. The fact that they have religious and perhaps magical reasons for such attitudes explains but does not change the situation. Thus, for instance, among them deer may be plentiful in a region, the people may be starving, and yet no deer is killed and eaten.[8]

177 Limitations such as these are not entirely imposed by nature and by the culture of the people; often, the proximity and the attitude of other groups of mankind play their part. A weak tribe will be restricted in its lands over which it may wander, hunt, and claim ownership, and very often may be reduced to seeking a less desirable environment where food is even scarcer. Or a new people may seize its lands and they will be prohibited even from hunting on these lands. Or there may be an influx of peoples who will live partially on the hunt also, though their main source of food may be agricultural.

[8] The peoples of the Kuluene river, Matto Grosso, Brazil, will not hunt nor eat deer.

area is only such in reference to the presence of a given technology. The presence of such a technology is not guaranteed in any particular culture by any historical, evolutionary, geographical, or ecological necessity. Its presence may entail a particular historical explanation or a general evolutionary one. In any case, its absence entails the absence of the use of certain resources whose presence we can observe only in retrospect. 311

Other resource areas besides those utilized because of the presence of horticulture among the Yaruro become available by their possession of hunting, gathering, and fishing technologies, as well as recently acquired animal husbandry in the form of pig-herding. Hunter animals include deer, armadillo, capybara, paca, peccary (?), iguana, and a number of birds (see Table II, p. 4)[1]. These are variously distributed spatially according to the specific ecological niches for which they are adapted. Thus deer are apparently usually found dispersed in the somewhat damper, low-lying savanas where grass is greener and water more available away from the scene of human activity. Armadillo are found distributed throughout the savana. Other species, however, such as the capybara, live near the edge of permanent waters, mainly the rivers. Alligators also live only in the rivers. The faunal carrying capacity of the savanas appears to be quite low in the Cinaruco llanos since foraging foods for larger game animals are sparse. It is important to note that not only is the overall carrying capacity governed by the minimum average food supply of the savanas in the florally more restricted dry season,[1] but the distribution of animals varies considerably from the wet to the dry season. In the latter, animals tend to cluster nearer the rivers or the widely dispersed water holes. Consequently, the locus of hunting must also shift seasonally (see Maps)[2]. Savana hunting techniques are neccessarily different from those used in procuring food in the rivers, whether hunting alligators or capybara, or, of course, fishing. There is some seasonal variation in the locus of fishing, too, although this is much less marked on the Cinaruco than on the freely-flooding streams of the flatter, more north-easterly savanas of the Apure llanos. In the rainy season, fish move up the larger streams into somewhat shallower waters where more plant and insect food is available to them. However, they are apparently unable to move up smaller streams which often have rapids-like stretches interrupting their course. Thus fishing in the rainy seasons is directed towards the larger creeks and away from the smaller creeks and the river itself, where the water has become too deep for successful fishing since the fish are scarcer and more difficult to see in the deep, swift currents of winter. In respect to animal husbandry, recently introduced pigs are pastured anywhere in the savanas but preferably next to the village or quite a distance from it, in either case far from the nearest gardens (Sp. *conuco*, Y. *tadó*), an effort which is rarely successful, since the pigs, in their wisdom, are among the main predators on the garden crops. Gathering may be carried out in the dry or the wet savana depending upon the plant food to be gathered, or it may be carried out near the creeks especially for the fruit of the moriche palm. The rivers do not appear to be used in gathering.

224 137 [221] 226 133 231 [241] 222

[1] [See pp. 35-37, category 116 --Analyst]
[2] [See pp. 40-41, category 102 --Analyst]
[1] [for footnote, see p. 42, category 116 --Analyst]

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F s	W m-a	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food Prep. M	Food Prep. F	Q
ma"hikai	soto ??	?	savana, digging stick	½					½		½	1
ka'ta	changuanito savanero	?	as above	½½					½½		½	2?
pa'ta	barbaco	?	monte, digging stick	½½					½½		½	2
gwe'pe (=gwepe'ke)	chigo	? (seed)	near monte, big trees, ground			½½			½½		½	2
ge (=ke)	chigo	? (seed)	?, ? (as above?)								½	?
ANIMAL HUSBANDRY:												
o'bweia	marrano	pigs	savanas, herding (introd.)	½½	½½	½½	½½	½½	/	½½	½½	3
oka'taro	gallina	chickens	dunes near houses (")	½	½	½	½	½	/		½	1
ANIMALS HUNTED:												
(to)hu'rigu'ri(a'ni)	oso hormiguero	giant ant eater?	savana, bow and arrow	½	½	½	½	½		½	½	4
hu'ri	baba	alligator	rivers, heavy barbed arrow	½½	½½		½	½½		½½	½	3
mbwa	venado	deer	savanas, lance arrow, gun	½	½	½	½	½½		½½	½	3
ci'do	chigüire	capybara	monte, river, " ", fish arrow	½½	½	½	½	½½		½	½	3-
napu'ta	conejo	rabbit	savana, fish arrow	½	½	½	½	½		?	½	1?
puri	lapa	paca	caño, monte, traps, all arrows	½	½	½	½	½		?	?	1?
ya'tutu"mi	iguana	water lizard	rivers, montes, fish arrow	½	½	½	½	½		?	?	1?
'ge"te	cachicamo	armadillo	savanas, traps, sticks, hand	½	½	½	½	½		½	½	2-
'ipurime"ta	manto	?	savanas, traps, arrows	½	½	½	½	½		?	?	?

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[p.35]

222 the moriche palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*); several seeds, notably chiga (= chigo?; — *Campsiandra comosa*); calabashes (*Crescentia Cujete*), and bees' wax and honey. Non of the items gathered are large in size or difficult of access except the bees' wax, one or two of the fruits, and calabashes which grow on higher trees, or may be very far. Gathered foods may be picked up by hand or with the aid of a digging [412] stick or machete, and may be brought back in the harvesting baskets. Other items [415] which may be gathered include the raw materials for baskets and mat-making or 824 for food-processing tools such as the tipití, pots, or mortars and pestels. These [285] items include the fronds of the moriche palm, used for making cord, baskets, tipi- [323] tís, mats, and sacks; in some villages, clay for pots; reeds for arrows, wood for house beams, mortars and pestles, bows, and for cooking utensils. Wood, palm fronds, and many other items are gathered with the help of the all-purpose machete.

231 Pig herding is unsystematically done. The pigs, a recent acquisition, spend most of their time at will in the foraging grounds. The significant herding activity occurs only at times when one or another of the groups of pigs breaks into the gardens, an almost daily occurrence. They are then driven to the foraging grounds again, or if late in the day, into a close till morning when they are either driven forth again or allowed to scavenge in the village. There are several herds of pigs of sizes varying from perhaps a maximum of 20 including piglets to the more usual six or eight animals. The only tools used in pig care include a slaughtering [412] stick with which the pig is clubbed to death and knives to cut up the meat. The [262] close is built of logs cut with a machete and carried in by one or two men. Pig meat, though eaten with regularity, is definitely a secondary element of diet.

411 Hunting is done almost exclusively with the bow and arrow. There are several types of arrows. One for fish has a metal point approximately 4 inches long with a side hook about five inches from the tip, where the tip is set into the shaft. This may also be used for smaller animals. One for birds has a blunt wooden head, and does not appear to be used very often. A third type is used for larger animals such as deer and capybara. It has a blade about 6 inches long shaped like a laurel leaf and, at present, made of steel. At the base of the blade, a small cross-piece is affixed in order to prevent the precious blade from piercing so deeply into the animal that, if it escapes, it would carry the arrow away with it. The fourth type of arrow is used for turtles, tortoises, and alligators or other animals which submerge. The head is short and strong with a sharp recurved hook. The entire metal head is attached to a cord, and this in turn is attached to the arrow shaft, from which the head is detachable. On detaching, the shaft floats and the game can be followed in its underwater course. The bow is generally about 6 feet long or a little more. It is made rather crudely of the wood of the macanilla palm (*Bactris Gaspiaes*). Some animals, especially land tortoises and armadillos, may be caught [136] [324] by hand. Alligators may also be hunted with exceedingly heavy steel hooks and a strong line. In hunting, no traps, nets, surrounds, or drives are used.

226 Fishing is done chiefly with bows and arrows, though an arrow may sometimes be used as a spear, repeatedly jabbed into grassy waters near the river banks. Fishing may also be done with hooks and lines of different sizes. Bait is also used. A man may fish from a platform built by lashing logs horizontally to two trees

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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make it unable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses. [461]

Objects used by men are men's property and are inherited by the men; objects used by women are women's property and are inherited in the women's line. Immovable property such as gardens and houses are said to be inherited by the decedent's children of both sexes. Male animals, such as boars and dogs, are owned by men, the females by women. Thus the division of property is as sharp as the division of labor, a fact reflected throughout the ideology. 428 [422] [231]

No two producers produce the same quantity or inventory of goods, especially as each has great freedom to concentrate in the productive activities he prefers to the exclusion of others. Yet each producer contributes to household and community in what is felt to be equivalent value since most foods are considered good and of equal worth. Each household producing unit distributes supplies of raw or cooked foods to other households along the lines of coresidence and kinship. In this way, all villagers, as consumers, receive the same total amount of food and no one goes without. Thus all persons and households in the community are equivalent as producers, distributers, and consumers. All are tied together in a loosely formalized network of coordinate reciprocal exchanges and obligations in which scales of value are not necessary, since each person contributes approximately equally of all values. In this situation, accumulation of wealth by individuals is out of the question and management of production or of wealth distribution is unnecessary. Consequently, there are no economic status differentiations and no effective leadership among the Yaruro. 433 592 621 [435] [556] [554] [622]

Similarly, no purely social differentiations based on status ranking occur in Yaruro society, except by casual deference to those of age and experience like shamans and village spokesmen, called 'capitans'. The status of women is coordinate with that of men. The complementary and coordinate units, a man and a woman, combine into a series of coordinate but semi-autonomous units, the households. A group of these constitute the Yaruro social unit, the neither endogamous nor exogamous (Murdock's "agamous") village. All these units are tied together by links of bilaterally traced kinship, with coordinate relations on both sides, the ultimate tie being the reciprocal marriage of cross-cousins. Marriage is ideally matrilocal, and occurs most frequently within the village. As a consequence, the most immediate kinship ties in the village are matrilateral, whereas kinship among the men is more diffuse. The villages themselves are tied together by kinship ties, real or imputed, as well as by marriage and visiting, but by no other ties of an all-tribal nature. People who are known to any particular village —to 'us'— are considered part of our village's family, since their kinship ties to our members can be discovered or invented freely. Persons recognized as being of our linguistic and cultural stock will be included under the general term *pumé*, but may not be considered 'of our family' unless the kinship ties are recognized. Thus there is a Yaruro people, but no Yaruro tribal unit. Even the persons included in 'our family' do not constitute a unit, since there are no cross village unifying institutions other than real or imputed bilateral kinship ties. Even these vary from 554 621 [562] [592] 621 [612] [602] [619] [612]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

123 342 We camped on a large wind-swept beach on the Capanaparo and waited there for Landaeta. While waiting I made visits about the country, seeking out Yaruros wherever I could find them. In one nearby group I noticed that unlike most of the Yaruros, these had built permanent shelters, constructed similarly to the houses of the ranchers. However, there was one significant difference. With true Indian logic, they had left the walls open at the bottom, so that the wind could sweep through the house and keep it cool and free from insects.

791 One morning we embarked to visit a group led by Pablo Reyes, being on an island in the Orinoco, at the mouth of the Capanaparo. Pablo Reyes had been described to us as a very old and very wise man. Borrowing a small dugout, we set out to visit him, traveling mostly by night. On our way we saw and heard a great deal of [311] animal and bird life, for the lower part of the river was less hunted by the Yaruros than the upper part. On the banks we saw numerous tracks of the cats, we saw many capibaros or "chiguires" and we were often serenaded by the roar of the howlers.

133 Our entrance into the Orinoco was dramatic. We were catapulted out of the swift waters of the mouth of the Capanaparo and staggered about among the powerful cross currents and eddies at the confluence of the two rivers. The east wind made travel no easier, as it was blowing a gale. On the far side of the Orinoco were the hills of Guiana, rough and jagged, with gnarled vegetation, and dark patches of jungle growth. There were several islands of odd shape, and one of them, about halfway across the Orinoco, was the Linda Bara, to which we made our way.

177 Encamped on this island we found Pablo Reyes' band and a number of "Racionales," that is, "civilized," Venezuelans of the llanos, who during the dry season take to living like the Indians, except that they clutter their shelters with civilized equipment. The result is that their houses are infested with parasites of all kinds. However, they too live upon crocodiles, turtles, and the eggs of the latter.

311 237 This portion of the Orinoco is, in late March and early April, the gathering ground of both Indians and Racionales. The region teems with turtles. By common agreement, stretches of the beaches where the turtles are known to gather in large numbers are not hunted until April, at which time the people dig up thousands and thousands of newly laid eggs out of which they make an oil for export. The [438] center for this commerce is the little settlement of La Urbana, originally a Capuchin mission established about 1750.

791 Like Landaeta, Pablo Reyes had also learned of my coming, and was ready for me. He too is a shaman, and delights in speaking to a sympathetic listener about religious themes, of his conception of

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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not allowed to the neighboring peoples, such as the Otomacos or the Achaguas. The social and linguistic bonds seem to be strong enough to cause the Yaruros to recognize themselves as a distinct people.

FOODS

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In the llanos food is not plentiful except in and along the rivers; but the foraging activities of the Yaruros are restricted to the banks of the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers for another reason. The hunting of land animals has practically stopped for fear that they will be accused by the ranchers of killing cattle. In recent years the activities of the crocodile hunters have ruthlessly destroyed the game, and since such hunters live on the country they have consumed a portion of the available quantity of game on which the Yaruros depended for a livelihood.

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In the dry season game is concentrated along the rivers and the water holes. It is considerably easier to hunt it then than in the rainy season, when it is dispersed over the plains. The turtle, which is found in great quantities in the waters of the Orinoco and its tributaries, suffers a yearly mass hunt and destruction which has its effect on the food supply of the Yaruros. It has been discovered that the turtle fat and eggs will produce a fine grade of oil which sells for a high price. The result is that the breeding grounds of the turtles become yearly a scene of great activity and destruction. No one knows how many thousands of turtles and turtle eggs are gathered and converted into this oil late in the month of April.

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The meat staple of the Yaruros is the *Crocodilus babu*, a small crocodile which grows to about 6 feet long. This animal is hunted daily and eaten in its entirety. Its meat is esteemed above that of any other animal. On the other hand, the cayman, sought for its hide, is not hunted as a rule by the Yaruros. Perhaps this meat is not as savory as that of the babu, but the Yaruros give the reason that the large crocodile represents a race of mankind to which they are related. So that although occasionally it may be hunted for the price that its hide may bring, it is never eaten and never hunted consistently.

[825]

Next to the crocodile, turtles, including the matamata and tortoise, are to be found broiling over the fires in every Yaruro camp, and if they are not broiling they can be seen in shallow pools of water with their forelegs tied to their hindlegs. In this way they can keep alive but cannot walk away. The armadillo is seldom obtained and other meats appear occasionally on the diet of the Yaruros. Fishing is resorted to when neither crocodiles nor turtles are obtainable. The caribe, which is the piranha of Brazil, is esteemed but little. The tonino, which can be seen gracefully playing in the water or can be heard snorting in the rivers at night, is never hunted. It also is

[226]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

bow and arrows, digging sticks, baskets, small hammocks, a water jar or two, a mortar and pestle, several fishhooks, fire sticks, and scraps of clothing. As a rule, each family will possess the minimum of these objects.

CANOES.—A typical Yaruro canoe measured about 18 feet long. Its longitudinal cross section was as shown in plate 16, *3*. It was made of the "salao" wood.

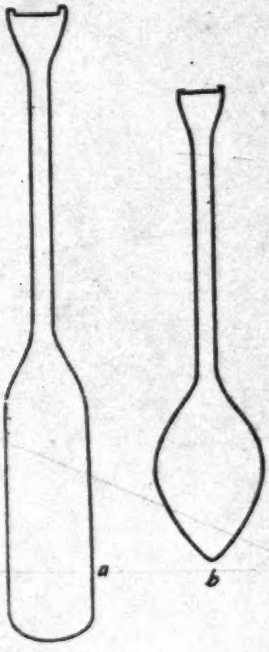

FIGURE 16.—Paddles. *a*, Type usually used by stern paddler. *b*, Generally used in the bow.

The only tools that the Yaruros have to fashion such a canoe are crude machetes, perhaps an ax, and fire. The canoes are never regular in outline and on the whole are rather crude. Both bow and stern end in a point and the bottom is round. These canoes are unstable, difficult to maneuver, and will split easily. No crosspieces are used to reinforce the canoe.

PADDLES.—Paddles are of two types, as shown in figure 16. The large paddles measure about 4 feet in length; the smaller paddles slightly over 3 feet. They are as crudely fashioned as the canoes and increase the difficulties of paddling.

BOWS.—The bows are fashioned from macanilla or the mahaguillo wood. A large bow will measure about 6 feet, but most of them are closer to 5 feet. The inner surface of the bow is generally flat and the outer is curved. The greatest width on one such bow was about 1½ inches and its thickness less than 1 inch. When the string is relaxed these bows are perfectly straight. They are not reinforced unless they show signs of splitting. On the whole, these bows are inferior to those made by many other tribes in South America. The bow string is tied as shown in figure 17, *e*, *f*, *g*,[1] with three clove-hitch knots.

ARROWS.—The Yaruros, like most other South American primitives, have a variety of arrows, each type being designed for a specific purpose. A fish arrow consists of a reed shaft to which is attached a bone point with resin and string. Often the upper end of the bone point will protrude away from the shaft to form a small barb. Three feathers are used and fastened as shown in figure 18, *f*, *j*, *k*.[2] At the feathers' end of the arrow a notched piece of Brazil-wood is inserted.

A somewhat similar arrow with an iron point is made. In this case the point is inserted into a worked piece of wood which, in turn,

1 [See category 116, p. 205. --- Analyst]
2 [See category 116, p. 206. --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

411 226 237 is inserted into the reed shaft (fig. 19, *a*, *f*). The barb on the iron point is obviously more effective than on the bone point.

225 For crocodiles the arrow point is always of iron, barbed and detachable. Its length is considerably less than the other, measuring about 4 feet or less. A string about 30 feet long is attached to the point and wrapped tightly around the shaft. When the point strikes the animal the string becomes unwound and if the animal dives into the water the hunter can trace it by the shaft floating on the surface. He then proceeds to pull up the animal.

411 224 For deer and chiguire, land animals, a broad iron blade is used for the point, so heavy that one would suppose it would be a lance head. This is inserted into the shaft and at the point of insertion a crosspiece is fashioned to the shaft so that the point cannot penetrate more than 4 or 5 inches. The reason for this is that the Yaruro is afraid to lose his arrow should he fail to kill the animal and it were to run away. A barbless arrow will tend to fall out of the wound if the animal races away and then the hunter can recover it.

411 223 For birds, the bone-pointed arrows are used and sometimes a special arrow consisting of a shaft with a wooden knob. However, since birds are hunted so seldom there is very little use for special arrows.

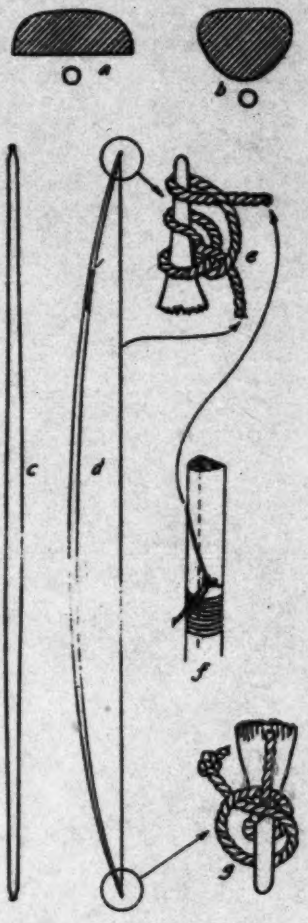

FIGURE 17. — Yaruro bows. *a*, *b*, Cross sections of bows. Circles represent original shape of wood, measuring about 7 cm before it is cut down to shape "*a*" and "*b*." *c*, *d*, Yaruro bow. One specimen measured 195 cm in length, 3.2 cm wide in cross section, 2 cm in thickness. *e*, *f*, *g*, Detail of knots on bow string.

411 326 412 The iron points are well made. Each man tries to possess himself of a stone and an iron hammer, but actually in the entire group that I saw, there were only two stones and one hammer. Iron is hard to obtain, and any scrap which comes into their possession is employed either as a knife or an arrow point. The iron is shaped both by hammering and by filing. I saw only one file in the group. At best, it must cause them a great deal of labor to fashion any of these points.

1 [see category 116, 207 --- Analyst]

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
pa'be	cotua	duck species	rivers, caños, arrows	≠≠	≠	≠	≠	≠≠		?	?	2?
pou'nâ	pato	duck species	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
MISCELLANEOUS MATERIALS COLLECTED FOR USE IN PRODUCTION:												
ya'ro	capuruna	leaf to wrap and store corn sticks	savana, picking			≠			≠		≠	1
karam'ba	?	cigar wrapping	savana, picking	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠ ?		≠	≠	1
ngam'bi	tabaco	tobacco	savana, picking	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	1
u'de	curagua, macanilla	macanilla palm	near caños (?) a) for bows, b) for string, fibres for objects	≠ ≠	≠ ≠	≠ ≠	≠ ≠	≠ ≠		≠ ≠ ≠ ≠	≠ ≠	2 2
chara't'o	anlau (salado?)	canoe wood (?)	montes, for making canoes	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠ ≠		≠ ≠		4
citô't'o	caña brava	cane for arrows	near caños for foreshafts	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠ ≠		≠ ≠		4-
tu	moriche	moriche	near or in caños, used for making house roofs, baskets, cords, fibres, hammocks	≠ ≠	≠ ≠	≠ ≠	≠ ≠	≠ ≠ ≠	≠ ≠	≠ ≠ ≠	≠ ≠ ≠	5
ago	moriche frond	ditto	as above, often picked up from ground, or tree cut and fronds collected, last for years, may be reused.		as above							
biri't'o-i	guasca	bark strips	montes, caños, for lashing	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠ ≠		≠ ≠		3
ê-im'bu	cera de abeja	beeswax	near caños, from large trees	≠	≠			≠		≠		1
ê-'ke	miel	honey	as above	≠	≠			≠				-
e'ra	peramán	tree wax	as above? for arrows	≠ ?	≠ ?			≠		≠		2

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[p.87]

241 With respect to these habitat conditions, the single most important, and, in the case of the Yaruro, predominant subsistence activity is swidden-ing, also called brand tillage, slash and burn horticulture, milpa, or shifting horticulture, a type of subsistence which peoples in both tropical and temperate forested areas of the world have practiced and still practice widely. The procedure followed by the Yaruro is very much like that of other swiddeners.[A] A garden site is chosen in virgin forest or preferably in second growth. During the dry season, the underbrush is first cut out and then the larger trees are felled by a variety of techniques including the use of machetes, axes, or girdling. The cut trees and brush are left to dry during the remainder of the dry season. Just as the first rains are approach-ing, these logs, along with whatever smaller underbrush may be standing, are set afire. The smaller materials largely burn up while the charred remnants of large trees lie scattered about. Burning partially destroys the
[134] humus, as does removal of the forest cover, and to a degree disturbs the soil structure,[A] consequently often speeding the decline of soil fertility despite the addition of organic material from the rotting of partially burned tree boles. Also ash from the burned wood contributes some fertilizing minerals to the soil, thus increasing the short-term fertility of the soil before it is exhausted by man, plants, and rain.

134 The destruction of the forest cover and of the humus layers exposes
241 the plots to more drastic leaching or erosion by tropical rains. This fact, together with a decrease in fertility from continual replanting and harvesting in unweeded and uncultivated soils, accompanied by a gradual but drastic invasion by weeds and grasses, makes further use of the plot uneconomical at best and impossible at worst. It is abandoned in favor of some entirely new plot or one which has been reconstituted by long fallowing. Abandoned plots overgrown by weeds and grasses, though they may soon recover their fertility, are so difficult to work with the characteristic swidden horticul-tural tools,[A] the digging stick and the machete, that they generally cannot be recultivated until a new forest cover has grown up and shaded out smaller vegetation. This usually takes a number of years, in general a minimum of 10 to 15 years, though, in other parts of the world this range may be extended in both directions.[A]

241 Planting is carried out beginning just before or just at the inception of the rains and just after the burning. It may be continued at intervals during the rainy season in order to stagger the harvests. Plantings may be staggered through part or all of the dry season, if climate and horticultural conditions permit, to create a more or less continuous crop, and the probability of a correspondingly higher annual productivity per capita and per land area. Where marked differences between seasons are not found, the entire process may be more or less continuous throughout the year. Irrigation, terracing, and fertilization (other than natural fertilization resulting from silting) are not used.

311 The remaining land surface presents resource areas of various types. In passing, it should be noted, though it is too often thought to be self-evident and consequently not specified, that what constitutes a resource

[A] 3, 4, 5, 6 [for footnote see category 116, p. 42--Analyst]

area is only such in reference to the presence of a given technology. The presence of such a technology is not guaranteed in any particular culture by any historical, evolutionary, geographical, or ecological necessity. Its presence may entail a particular historical explanation or a general evolutionary one. In any case, its absence entails the absence of the use of certain resources whose presence we can observe only in retrospect. 311

Other resource areas besides those utilized because of the presence of horticulture among the Yaruro become available by their possession of hunting, gathering, and fishing technologies, as well as recently acquired animal husbandry in the form of pig-herding. Hunter animals include deer, armadillo, capybara, paca, peccary (?), iguana, and a number of birds (see Table II, p. 4)[k]. These are variously distributed spatially according to the specific ecological niches for which they are adapted. Thus deer are apparently usually found dispersed in the somewhat damper, low-lying savanas where grass is greener and water more available away from the scene of human activity. Armadillo are found distributed throughout the savana. Other species, however, such as the capybara, live near the edge of permanent waters, mainly the rivers. Alligators also live only in the rivers. The faunal carrying capacity of the savanas appears to be quite low in the Cinaruco llanos since foraging foods for larger game animals are sparse. It is important to note that not only is the overall carrying capacity governed by the minimum average food supply of the savanas in the florally more restricted dry season,[l] but the distribution of animals varies considerably from the wet to the dry season. In the latter, animals tend to cluster nearer the rivers or the widely dispersed water holes. Consequently, the locus of hunting must also shift seasonally (see Maps)[a] Savana hunting techniques are neccessarily different from those used in procuring food in the rivers, whether hunting alligators or capybara, or, of course, fishing. There is some seasonal variation in the locus of fishing, too, although this is much less marked on the Cinaruco than on the freely-flooding streams of the flatter, more north-easterly savanas of the Apure llanos. In the rainy season, fish move up the larger streams into somewhat shallower waters where more plant and insect food is available to them. However, they are apparently unable to move up smaller streams which often have rapids-like stretches interrupting their course. Thus fishing in the rainy seasons is directed towards the larger creeks and away from the smaller creeks and the river itself, where the water has become too deep for successful fishing since the fish are scarcer and more difficult to see in the deep, swift currents of winter. In respect to animal husbandry, recently introduced pigs are pastured anywhere in the savanas but preferably next to the village or quite a distance from it, in either case far from the nearest gardens (Sp. *conuco*, Y. *tadó*), an effort which is rarely successful, since the pigs, in their wisdom, are among the main predators on the garden crops. Gathering may be carried out in the dry or the wet savana depending upon the plant food to be gathered, or it may be carried out near the creeks especially for the fruit of the moriche palm. The rivers do not appear to be used in gathering. 224 137 [221] 226 133 231 [241] 222

k'[See pp. 35-37, category 116 --Analyst]
l[a][See pp. 40-41, category 102 --Analyst]
l[7][for footnote, see p. 42, category 116 --Analyst]

311 In short, the habitat conditions are as follows, given that the Cinaruco
22 Yaruro have a technology including hunting, gathering, fishing, and animal husbandry, and horticulture. All resources are found within a narrow band of about 4-5 miles between the Cinaruco river and the high sand dunes occurring in the interfluve to the north, in which only an occasional deer is found. Within this space there are three major resource areas distinguishable: 1) the open savanas for hunting and gathering, the former involving much greater dispersion of resources than the latter and consequently quite different techno-social conditions. Both activities change location markedly with the seasons. 2) The rivers and *caños* are used for water-animal hunting and for fishing. Fishing also displays a seasonal shift between river and *caño*, whereas river hunting for alligator and turtle becomes totally impracticable in the wet season. 3) The wooded areas, themselves dispersed, include the gallery forests of smaller streams where flooding is limited but water
● [241] and soil abundant and the *montes* occurring here and there in mid-savana. These areas provide the Yaruro with garden sites. Away from the streams, there are also occasional tiny patches of suitable soil not close enough to the water table for dry season use, but which get enough rain to be used for planting of seasonal crops in the wet season. Schematically, the situation is shown on Table II_4^1, a list of foods entering into Yaruro economy and their relative seasonal occurrences, and on Maps I and II_4^2 of the seasonal locations of these resources.

182 The particular relationship between a peculiar habitat, such as the one we have just described, and the technology operating within it, here preponderantly a swidden technology, sets upper limits to territorial, socio-economic, or cultural expansion, and limits to changes in socio-cultural forms. With regard to the habitat dimension of the relationship, we may
[121] say in Harris's words, "Limitations imposed by the manner in which plants and animals convert solar energy into comestible material in combination with the availability of land and water resources, the rate of reproduction of the natural biota, and the total ecological balance, furnish conditions unalterable by individual or collective whim",[3] at least with the given level of technological development possessed by the Yaruro. The Yaruro are in no position to change the total ecological balance, to increase the carrying capacity of the land or water for plant or animal species. For
182 example, under the llanos conditions, the use of slash-and-burn horticulture
241 exhausts arable land at a rate greater than it recovers. The proportion of land held in reserve for future cultivation must be several times greater
311 than that under cultivation at any given moment, the proportion varying with such factors as the rate of fertility recovery, the type of weed and grass invasion, the rate of growth of the secondary forest, the rate of mechanical reconstruction of the soil, and so on. Thus of the total amount of land potentially available in a given expanse of territory, only a part can be horticulturally exploited at any one time. Where the total potentially arable land in a given expanse is itself only a small proportion of the total area, the amount of land available for cultivation at any one moment is, of course, minute. This ecological balance in turn limits the human population

1[1] [See pp. 31-39, Category 116 -- Analyst]
1[2] [See pp. 40-41, Category 102 -- Analyst]
1[3] [For footnote, see p. 42, Category 116 -- Analyst]

and socio-economic forms. Nor can any immediate desire or fancy of the Yaruro change the limitations which the ecological relationship imposes: the carrying capacity of the land for horticultural food plants has, with the given technology, a fairly fixed upper limit. That such limitations exist for their horticulture is recognized by the Yaruro themselves to some extent. First, they recognize that, given the types of soils extant in the habitat, only certain kinds of crops can be used in certain places. Their knowledge in this regard seems to be quite accurate, and, of course, determines where a garden will be prepared at any given time according to projected needs, existing resources, and past exploitations. Again, they know that a swidden lasts three years, a fact not only confirmed by the evidence of conditions in recently abandoned patches but also by the results of soil analyses.[9] After the three years, they say, the swidden must be allowed to fallow for a number of years. They use the word 'five', but the writer believes 'five' is intended to mean 'some' years. The conditions of abandoned gardens, with their rank growth of lush grasses, unmanageable with dibble or machete, and of the places chosen for preparing new gardens, all cut out of relatively large second growth, suggest that the fallow period is at least 10 years, and probably upwards. We shall use 10 years as a basis for calculations below, since after such a time, the shade has driven out the succulent grasses which are replaced by herbaceous plants or woody underbrush. In view of these considerations, it may be said that Yaruro horticultural practices have been well-adapted to the particular soil and water conditions of their habitat on the basis of explicit recognition of these conditions.

Without basic change in their technology, the balance between the Yaruro's present technology and the habitat conditions we have described set real upper limits both on production and on productivity, the latter defined as production per capita per year, and therefore sets limits on the absolute size and the form of the society. Let us suppose optimal population conditions unlike the present continuing depopulation due to western diseases and massacres by Venezuelans were present as an hypothetical ideal state. The tendency of any plant or animal population is to increase until it balances in a stable equilibrium with the available nutritional resources, other factors constant.[10] If the population increases beyond this point, either a portion of the population must seek elsewhere for its food, or a portion must die, or the population will exploit the resources so as temporarily or permanently to reduce them to lower potentials, as in the case of cattle overgrazing pastures. A new land-population equilibrium is then reached at a somewhat lower level. The only other possibility is to innovate new forms of exploitation, a point we return to below.

Under optimal conditions, then, we may estimate maximum Yaruro population within the boundaries of such a territory as presently occupied by the Caño Totúdoro Yaruro of the Central Cinaruco, a territory bounded for all practical purposes by walking-and-working distance from the village. Within this area of about 65 sq. mi. a maximum of about 800 acres, or that 3% of the total area which is wooded, contains all tillable land. However,

9,10 [for footnotes see p. 42-48, category 116 -- Analyst]

311 within these 800 acres, much is occupied by the streams, calculated at their flood maxima which define non-gardenable areas, while other parts are
● 241 inadequate in soils or water for use as gardens. Consequently, the actually tillable areas comprise a maximum of about 200 acres or about 0.5% of the land surface. It should be noted, of course, that all these 200 acres are not usable for crops since those in the *montes* cannot be used for cane and bananas, while the wet areas nearest the streams cannot be used for corn or manioc. Thus the maximum area for the staple crops, manioc, corn, and bananas, is about 145 acres (see Table I)[1]. [11]

168 Using Carneiro's equations, [12] we may estimate the maximum population
311 which would be in equilibrium with this acreage, estimating .5 acres as an approximate amount of land required to provide the average person with the food he ordinarily derives from cultivated plants per year. [13] The calculation gives us 92 persons (see Figure 1). [14] We may also estimate the number of years (L) the group may stay in the present locality with its present population of 24 before wearing out the available tillable land so that they would have to move (see Figure 2). This would be 50 years. Since the entire fallow and planting cycle of any piece of land is only 13 years, under present circumstances, the Totúdoro Yaruro will not have to move from their present territory at all, in view of their small and decreasing population.

[128]

Figure 1

$$P = \frac{\frac{T}{(R+Y)} \times Y}{A}$$

$$P = \frac{\frac{200}{10+3} \times 3}{.5}$$

$P = 92$ (=67 if R is 15)

Figure 2

$$L = \frac{\frac{T}{P \times A}}{Y}$$

$$L = \frac{\frac{200}{24 \times .5}}{3}$$

$L = 50$ years

R = year of fallow
Y = years of productivity
A = land used to provide plant food for one person a year
P = population
L = number of years group located in one place
T = acres of cultivable land within walking-working distance of village

[262] The ideal figures given above would be somewhat modified upwards by the additional foods provided by fishing, hunting, and gathering which, in the wet season, constitute about 30% of the diet and, in the dry, perhaps

[1] [For Table I see pp. 28-30, category 116--Analyst]
[11,12,13,14] [For footnotes, see p. 43, category 116--Analyst]

182 First, through time, the gardens tend to radiate further and further from any given residence point since, given the 13-year planting-fallow
241 cycle, plots near the village will be exhausted. Since the major garden
361 resource areas lie in a crudely east-to-west direction, there will be a slow westward migration of the geographic center of garden activities, enough so that at some point, the village is suspended, as it were, among distant resource points (see Maps), and enhanced by the dispersed nature of the hunting and fishing, and to some extent the gathering, areas. If the "suspension" is weighted more in one direction than another, there will be some tendency either to move the village or to send out temporary or permanent branches of it, respectively in the form of work cottages in the swiddens or in larger long-term house groups which are intermittently occupied. This process is, in fact, easily observed among the Yaruro in existent and abandoned house and subsidiary village sites scattered over the whole territory. Similarly, the locus of gathering, so important in
[221] summer, moves further and further from the village. This, together with the considerable shift to fishing and river-hunting in summer, as well as the need for water, causes an extensive seasonal transhumance to occur within the territory. These factors contribute to fissioning as well as to inhibiting the development of permanently located villages, let alone larger aggregations. Thus, with a radiating ecology, a degree of group dispersion and geographical mobility within the territory is to be expected and is indeed characteristic of the Yaruro.

512 Second, if one examines the location of all resources it will be seen that, taken together, they constantly enjoin a dispersal of the labor force in all directions, regardless of season, so that more or less equivalent quantities of labor are being used at the same time in many varying kinds of productive activity independently of each other — at the peripheries of the territory, in the areas between, or in the village centers themselves,
[462] where the women are constantly doing the significantly important work of
[252] converting otherwise unusable food resources, like raw, bitter manioc or uncooked corn, into edibles.

476 Third, it will be noted that none of the Yaruro technological processes require cooperative work, even when they may permit it, if it were so desired. On the whole, the productive activities might be described as dispersive of labor, whether it is individuals or small groups of twos or threes who go out to keep each other company. Even the work of preparing
[241] the swiddens is carried out individually, though two or three men may
[463] work as neighbors in what appears as a single plot. Further, the technology is such as to require no highly specific and difficult or esoteric skills. The
[242] most difficult skill to acquire is the knowledge of the soil types and appropriate planting procedures attached to each. Thus, each adult is in a position to learn the inventory of technological knowledge appropriate
462 to his or her sex, and somewhat of that belonging to the other sex too, and
463 to apply it by himself whenever he wants or must. A man, well-instructed in Yaruro technology, could probably subsist alone successfully for long periods of time. One divorced adult man, although he was largely fed by his

mother's and sister's households, nevertheless hunted and harvested for himself, and often cooked for himself meals of the type ordinarily cooked only by women. 462 463

The forms and characteristics of surpluses, as defined by Harris, [16] shed further light on the structure of the ecology. The technological surplus, defined as the difference between total calories annually produced by any definable group and the calories used to produce them, or as the ratio between these two figures, may be estimated at about 8 or 9 to 1 as compared with Harris's estimated figures of 2:1 for the Sirionó or 33:1 for the Pencuyut Maya. [17] Since as Harris remarks, the degree of social stratification in a large number of cases correlates with the size of the technological surplus, we would scarcely expect to find social stratification among the Yaruro, nor even any significant ranking. Where the technological surplus is low, the producer's surplus, defined as the difference between total calories produced by any given group and the total calories used by the producers for all purposes must also be low. Therefore the number of persons other than producers who can be supported by the producers is also limited. The producers' surplus may provide an index of the degrees of specialization which might be expected. In the case of the Yaruro one would expect no, or very low, specialization. Again, with a low producers' surplus, one would expect to find a greater proportion of the group involved in production than where such surpluses are high, for otherwise there would be insufficient calories to support more than a few people other than the producers. With a low producers' surplus, one would expect, in general, to find a greater proportion of both sexes engaged in the food quest. This is, of course, born out in the case of the Yaruro. Finally, Harris's harvest surplus is defined as the difference between the amount produced at any given moment, especially at seasonal maxima, and the amount consumed at that time. The actual amount consumable is governed by the seasonal *minima*, since the population cannot rise higher than the food supply at minimum periods permits unless special technological features such as storage, are present. Where the harvest surpluses are of non-storable goods, the population level is in equilibrium with the absolute minima of the harvests. The greater the degree of storability through a nonproductive season, or the less marked a crop is by seasonality, the higher the level to which the minimum population can be raised as compared with the number of people supportable at levels of production comparable to those at the time of harvest. Storability, however, is only one dimension of the harvest surplus. Absolute size of the peak surpluses, their regularity over the years, their distribution in space and time in the annual cycle, their utility in raw form, and the proportion of labor needed to harvest them relative to the time allotted for the harvest are all important dimensions of the harvest surplus. Thus, manioc, the Yauro's chief food resource has no clear peak, is regular over the years (the Yaruro disclaim any famines), is storable both in raw form and in prepared forms, is, in the case of the Yaruro, so located as not to permit of a concentration of labor at any one time and needs no massive labor for harvesting because of short harvest periods. Thus, in general, the very nature of manioc as a crop, and the labor requisites for

121 433 182 [56] [463] [462] [262] [251] [241]

16, 17 [For footnotes see p. 43, category 116--Analyst]

harvesting it, require no centralized authority and render it possible and even probable that the management of production or distribution be carried on without it. The same may be said, on the whole, for all the hunting, fishing, and gathering harvests, a notable and probably permanent feature of Yaruro ecology. Perhaps the only crop which has a marked seasonality is corn, but its absolute size in the total production, its geographical distribution in production, and its position relative to all other harvests renders it insignificant as an effective promoter of managerial functions and formal arrangements of social stratification. It is unlikely, given Yaruro ecology that the forms of surplus would change; consequently their concomitants in social structure would remain constant.

On the basis of the formal characteristics of the ecology and of the surpluses one may deduce an essentially egalitarian social organization, with minimal ranking and leadership and with dispersion of the acts of economic distribution among a number of adult males or females any one of whom may produce a small harvest surplus at any time. With a relatively steady and reasonably comfortable total subsistence base, and with ecological arrangements which are spatially repeated in identical form up and down river, no necessity exists for stringent rules of local exogamy as an institution to regulate the labor force by redistributing its members. One would expect frequent marrying in the village according to the convenience of the contractants, and out-marriages to occur either as ecoomic opportunity offered elsewhere or lack of women at home urged one out. The combined biological and productive role of women, with their particularly important technical roles in gathering and in food preparation, suggest sedentary communities and a matrifocal emphasis in the rules of residence. However, the importance and location of the men's economic contribution might be expected to balance this to a degree so that one might deduce male uxorimatrilocal residence but with other, subsidiary patterns. This in fact occurs, occasional male matrilocality or patrilocality [A] comprising the subsidiary residence rules. Political authority would be vested in the community, mainly among its elders, since little or no ranking or stratification is to be expected. In fact, Yaruro socio-political forms, in general, conform to all of these deduced conditions. They represent a model for any society based on the kinds of ecological conditions or form of ecology we have described. Where the ecology is even more restricted the deduced characteristics should be matched even more closely by the observed data. In this respect, the Sirionó, for example, tend to confirm the hypothesis, in that their partial sedentariness which revolves about horticulture is associated with matrifocal social organization: matrilocality and matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. They also possess autonomous local communities.[18] [A] The Apinayé also tend to confirm the hypothesis.[19] [A]

Where our analysis permits us to predict about the course of the ecological conditions, we should also be able to extend this prediction to the social structure. Since, under the given ecology, we can establish a maximum population for each Yaruro socio-cultural unit, and under the given technology we would expect no significant change in the ecology, no significant

[A] 18,19,20 [For footnotes see pp. 43-44 category 116 --Analyst]

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TABLE I

Number, Size, and Crop Areas of Gardens of the Totudoro Yaruro: % [1] of Garden Planted to Each Crop and Areas in Acres.

Gardens #	Sq. Ft.	Acres		Manioc % Acres	Corn % Acres	Bananas % Acres	Cane % Acres	Squashes % Acres	Inyame % Acres	Other[2]
OLD: Totally abandoned (4th and 5th years)										
3.	15,000	0.35								
36.	10,000	0.23								
37.	15,000	0.35								
38.	8,000	0.19								
39.	8,000	0.18								
40.	12,000	0.28								
43.	10,000	0.23								
44.	10,000	0.23								
Total	88,000	2.04	2.04							
OLD: 3d and 4th years										
6.	13,500	0.31				sparse[3]				
8.	5,000	0.12				sparse				
11.	8,500	0.20				negligible				
12.	13,000	0.30				sparse				
16.	32,500	0.74				little				
20.	6,500	0.15		sparse						
41.	15,000	0.35				negligible				
42.	15,000	0.35				negligible				
Total	109,000	2.52	4.56							

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TABLE I (cont.)

Gardens #	Sq. Ft.	Acres		Manioc %	Manioc Acres	Corn %	Corn Acres	Bananas %	Bananas Acres	Cane %	Cane Acres	Squashes %	Squashes Acres	Inyame %	Inyame Acres	Other[2]
25.	9,500	0.22		35	0.08	35	0.08	20	0.04	10	0.02	—	—	—	—	—
27.	1,950	0.05		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	200[7]	0.10	—	—	—
29.	2,500	0.06		100	0.06	100[8]	0.06	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
30.	15,000	0.35		80	0.28	80[9]	0.28	20	0.07	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
32.	13,000	0.30		—	—	—	—	—	—	100	0.30	—	—	—	—	—
33.	13,000	0.30		55	0.17	55[10]	0.17	20	0.06	20	0.06	—	—	10[11]	0.03	—
35b.	10,000	0.22		50	0.12	60[12]	0.14	30	0.07	10	0.02	10	0.02	—	—	+[13]
Total	142,950	3.29	14.61		1.26		0.84		0.65		1.09		0.12		0.07	Acres
IN PREPARATION																
2.	15,000	0.35		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21.	20,000	0.46		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	35,000	0.81	15.42													

1. These percents are highly approximate since crops were often distributed quite irregularly around gardens, often even interplanted. They represent impressionistic guesses.
2. These mostly include yautía ('ocumo'), pineapples.
3. 'Sparse' means that trees are scattered here and there, bearing lightly; 'negligible' refers to a few atrophied bunches in an entire patch; 'little' means a very small production, above sparse.
4. These were very sparse.
5. Pineapples, yautía.
6. Pineapples, pumpkins, yautía.
7. Successively planted to melons and squash in same season.
8. Double cropped in same area.
9. Corn and manioc double cropped in same area.
10. Corn and manioc double cropped in same area.
11. Inyame interplanted among corn and manioc.
12. Double cropped with manioc.
13. Yautía, pineapples, melons, pumpkins.

TABLE II

FOODS: THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL PROVENIENCES, TECHNIQUES AND SEASONS OF PRODUCTION; THE DIVISION OF LABOR IN PRODUCTION AND FOOD PREPARATION

Symbols: S,F W,S — summer, fall, winter, spring
M F, — male, female
Q — evaluation of the quantitative importance of the food or raw material in Yaruro subsistence and productive activity: 5 — major staple or resource; 4 — major crop, but not a staple; 3 — important food (or other) resource, but a secondary crop; 2 — minor crop (or other resource) serving as a more or less regular but seasonal delicacy; 1 — mostly a delicacy for occasional enjoyment (very secondary resource)
≠ — indicates both presence, and by doubling or tripling importance of crop or resource; three ≠≠≠'s do not necessarily mean "3 times as important as 1 ≠", merely 'of outstanding importance".
/ — sporadically or slightly present
d-m — December to March; a — April; m-s — May-September; o-m — October to November.

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
CROPS PLANTED:												
ŋae-ka'ra (x)	yuca amarga	bitter manioc	swiddens, cuttings, dibble	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠	/	≠	5
1. p. tao-ka'ra	cachicamo	" (variety?)	as above									
2. p. a'punda''ki b$_e$'reb$_e$ri''a	ceibita (?) (blanca)	" (light)	as above									
3. p. a'pund''ki-k'a'Ra	ceibita (?) (obscura)	" (dark)	as above									
'hurari''ā-'pae	yuca dulce	sweet manioc	as above	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠		≠≠	4
1. p. ngaā'kw$_e$	yema de huevo	" (variety?)	as above									
2. p. ici'kw$_e$	pata de zamuro	" (variety?)	as above									
3. p. valenciana	valenciana	" (", introd)	as above									

(x) Phonetics: *ā*, etc. = nasalized vowel. *e* = mid central unrounded vowel. *ch* = palatal c., *y* = palatalized fricative; *R* = flapped r, *ng* = palatalized nasal continuant, as in English sing, *j* = palatalized affricate, as in English job.

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
pwɛ	maiz	corn, maize	swiddens, hills, dibble			≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠	≠	≠≠≠	4
1. pume'pwɛ	maiz yaruro	Yaruro corn	as above (3 mo., 1 ear/stalk)									
2. 'hamburu"apwɛ	maiz guahibo	Guahibo corn	as above (4 mo., 2 ears/ ")									
3. p. kwɛ"kwɛia	maiz amarillo	yellow corn	as above (5 mo., 1 ear/stalk)									
'parare"nâ	plátano, topocho, banana	plantains, bananas	swiddens, machetes to cut on specially prepared mounds, slips	≠?	≠?	≠≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	4
1. p. 'nâ	plátano	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
2. p. wo'ko	topocho	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
3. p. to'kwi	dos militos	banana	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
4. p. ka'ru	?	plantain	as above (?)								?	
5. ececha'mɛ p.	guineo (?)	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
6. ka'mure	cambur	banana	as above (raw)									
hu'ra	ñame	yams	dry swiddens, dibble	≠?	≠?	≠	≠≠	/			≠≠	2
e'de	patilla	melons, pumpkins, squashes	swiddens dibble	≠≠	≠?	≠	≠≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	3
1. kwɛ"bohurariâede	"	water-melon	as above									
2. chumaniâe.	"	pumpkins	as above									
3. 'yako"da	"?	bottle gourd	as above									
cheni'â	caña	sugar cane	wet swiddens, dibble, machete	≠?	≠?	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠	/		3
1. ch. mo'ra	caña ?	" (variety ?)	as above									
2. ch. bɛ'rebɛrei"a	caña blanca	white cane	as above									
	caña criolla	introd var.	as above									

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
'cɛtame"kwɛ	ñam[illegible]	yams	swiddens, dibble	≠?	≠?	≠	≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	2
ôa"ri	batata	sweet potato	as above	≠?		≠?	≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	2
ô	ananá	pineapple	swiddens, dibble				≠	≠			/	1
iu	capacho	?	swiddens, ?				≠?	≠			1	?
cɛ'da(=cɛda"dakwɛ	ocumo (yauta)	xanthosoma	swiddens, dibble	≠?		≠	≠	≠			≠	2
(ñô'tɛa"nâ	ají	chili pepper	doubtful if raised on Cinaruco)									
FISHES CAUGHT:												
yagu'pe	agua dulce	?	rivers, caños, hooks, arrows	≠				≠		/	≠	3-
e(='chamachi"ro)	cachama	?	rivers, hooks, arrows	≠				≠		/	≠	1
gui'te	sardina	?	rivers, fish arrows, small hook	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2
dap'we	guavina	?	caño fishhooks	≠			≠	≠		/	≠	?
ho'nô	palambre	?	rivers, caños, arrows, hooks	≠?		≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2
ip:'â	pinte tigre	?	rivers, caños, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	3-
pa'chowán"ti	bagre	catfish	rivers, caños, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2-
'meô"dakwɛ	viejita	?	as above	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
'chôanda-"yti	"	?	as above	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
ninda'ô	"	?	caños, hooks, sardine bait	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
tuji'ri-ka"Râ	" negra	?	caños, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
u'ru-u'ru	de tierra	?	rivers, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
da're	pavón	?	rivers, hooks, sardine bait	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?

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[p. 33]

represent his people to the outside world without consultation and to make arbitrary decisions for them inside the community — mainly in his own interest — was, with the consent of the community, assassinated by one of the members, now in excellent standing in that community as a respected shaman. The chief in question had stepped beyond the bounds designated for his status. In sum, the position of chief, even though formally recognized by Yaruro society and reinforced by formal recognition and appointment by Venezuelan authorities, is feeble as an institution and as a status.[6] It is our hypothesis that ecological conditions of Yaruro life determine the form of the chieftainship in such a way that its stronger institutionalization would be impossible, and we turn to this question now.

III

Yaruro subsistence activities[7] comprise swiddening, gathering, pig herding, hunting and fishing, mentioned in the order of their importance as contributors to the total food supply as measured in calories.[8] Horticulture probably provides 60—70% of the total annual food supply. The horticulture practiced is characteristic of tropical forest slash-and-burn gardens, with a slow rotation of plots in order to permit soil renewal and weed control. Trees are cut, at present with steel axes and formerly, apparently, with axes of bone or shell, and then burnt. Occasional fences are roughly made of the logs to keep out pigs. Bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*),[9] in several varieties, is the main crop, though sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*), also in several varieties, is planted too, as are corn, bananas, sugar cane — each in several varieties — and a number of lesser crops such as melons, squashes, pumpkins, pineapples, sweet potatoes, and yautia or ocumo (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*). Crops are planted with a digging stick which may also be used in harvesting. Gardens are weeded, once only, early in the growth of the crops. Other than clearing, the only soil preparation is the construction of hills for planting bananas. This is done by burning hills made by a certain species of ants (*huachaquero*). The hills, which are quite wide and low, are filled with organic matter enriching the soil.[10] Harvesting is aided with baskets for carrying the crops. Baskets contain about half a bushel or less. No fertilization, no terracing, no drainage, no irrigation, no extensive turning of the soil is done.

The gathered resources include a number of roots, particularly changuango, changuanito, and guapo (*Marante arundinacea*);[11] varied fruits, especially that of

[6] Professor Benjamin N. Nelson informs me that in medieval Spain, village communities had an official, also called *capitan*, whose function was to treat with state functionaries representing the world beyond the village community's frontier. It is possible that the Yaruro capitan, and many others in Venezuela, are an acculturative transfer of this office to tribal groups. In the case of the Yaruro, this would have happened some 250—300 years ago.

[7] The use, here, of the terms 'activity', 'tasks', 'techniques', 'tools', 'resources', and 'habitat' corresponds to the definitions given in Leeds, 1960 b.

[8] Cf. Leeds, 1961, which gives this data in detail and describes the habitat and horticulture *in extenso*.

[9] Native terms for these crops are given *ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, note 9, contains data on soil values.

[11] Identifications are from Pittier, 1926.

and then shooting into the still side pools of a stream into which he has driven a post with bait attached. He may also stand in a canoe to shoot. It is reported, though I have not myself seen it, that barbasco (*Jacquinia revoluta* or *mucronulata*) poison is used by some Yaruro.[12] No nets, weirs, traps, sweeps, or artificial fish pools are used.

Given the techniques and tools of the Yaruro, all the subsistence activities described can conveniently be done by one person. Some *must* be done by one person only, since the tools and techniques themselves do not permit two or more persons to operate jointly. As it were, the logic of the tools and techniques concerned demands utilization by single persons.[13] Some of the tools and techniques might conveniently involve two or more persons, e. g. lashing tree trunks together to make a fence or cornering a capybara, but do not definitively *require* more than one person. Activities of all sorts may be done by aggregates of persons, each utilizing his own tools and techniques individually but neither the activity, the tools nor the techniques entail the aggregation of individuals. Thus, from the point of view of human organization, the technology, by itself, entails no managerial functions, no coordination of tasks which must be overseen by someone occupying an appropriately defined status.[14] That is, there are no technologically determined positions of leadership in Yaruro society. Further, the technology as such entails no significant cooperation in work organization, even when this is convenient, and correspondingly, no standard work groups or management functions, as represented in some defined status, for facilitating cooperation are to be expected or to be found. In fact, Yaruro technology and resource distribution are such as to elicit considerable dispersion of activities and actors at any given time of work, and to inhibit the development of rank and the personal acquisition of superordinating prestige.

IV

We may now examine the habitat aspect of the ecological relationship. A clearly marked annual cycle occurs in the Yaruro habitat.[15] However, despite a sharp seasonal change from heavy rains up to 60 inches in one half of the year to almost

[12] Personal communication from Mr. Thomas Rootes who has studied Yaruro linguistics for a number of months, having visited several groups.

[13] Different kinds of tools require different kinds of organization. A simple hand saw can be used by only one person at a time. A logging saw, though it can awkwardly be used by one person, is surely best used by two persons. Certain other saws, e. g. jig saws, make up one of a series of machine processes on a single part of a product, the entire series being the unit of operation which requires a still more complex level of organization. Cf. Leeds, 1960 b.

[14] For the structure of argument which is involved here, see Leeds, 1960 b.

[15] 'Habitat' here refers to all physical objects and conditions of the environment which are relevant to the existence or production of resources as defined by the culture. For the most part, then, 'habitat' refers to those environmental conditions such as humidity, temperature, insolation, rainfall, etc., which affect the food supply, as well as the food and water available for animals and plants and other culturally relevant physical objects. By extension, it refers to daily, seasonal, annual, and long-term variations and cycles in the various relevant factors of the environment, whether climatic, geologic, or biotic, which affect any of these supplies.

desert-like conditions in the other, temperature, sun, soil, and water-table conditions are such that plants will grow all year round, supplying a steady flow of vegetable foods to the people. The change of the water level in the rivers and in the water-table and the sharp increases and decreases of rain strongly affect the patterns of animal and plant life in the Yaruro environment. Annual cyclical variations in wind, humidity, and temperature are also quite marked. Plants and most especially animals, experience a kind of seasonal pulsation. As the rivers fill during the rainy season, the larger animals, such as the cayman, alligator, manati, and dugong, move upstream to somewhat shallower waters, where their food supply is easier of access. Fish also move upstream and even up small brooks, where this is possible. If the savannas flood, many fish swim out into the savannas where numerous insects and other foods are now to be found. The insects themselves multiply and are distributed farther and farther back from the rivers as the rains progress and the savanna floods widen. Meanwhile, foraging animals move farther from the rivers and ponds, and range over greater distances as the rains and the elevated water-tables foster greater plant food resources. Insects in part follow the animals, in part the vegetation as it wakens to winter life in the interfluves. As the dry season begins to return, the reverse process takes place, and all life concentrates nearer and nearer the permanent waters such as the big rivers and some lakes, or at points where the land surface is near enough the permanent water-table to maintain some vegetation, notably the gallery forests and the woodlots, called *montes* in Spanish. Thus one may ideally describe a summer and a winter organization of the habitat. The incidence of resources varies accordingly, and consequently so do the technological activities and tasks to be done. In the dry season, there is a marked increase of gathering, particularly of roots and seeds which appear to store starches for dry season use in the wet season, whereas fruits appear mainly in the rainy season. Hunting increases in the dry season when animals are more highly concentrated in and near the rivers and tributary brooks and streams. Fishing also increases in the dry season as the waters become shallower, less grass-choked, and no longer laden with muds from upstream erosion which makes it impossible to see the fish. Garden production appears to decrease in summer as the dry season precludes growing some crops, such as pineapples, altogether, and reduces the possibility of growing sugar cane and corn.

Despite this marked seasonality, the habitat conditions of both seasons resemble each other in certain formal respects vital to our argument.[10] First, at any given moment of either season, from the point of view of work organization, the resources are what we may call dispersive. Thus, in mid-rainy season, swiddens are to be found dispersed along the streams and brooks flowing into the rivers and these adits are distributed irregularly over the land within a distance of 4—5 miles of the river. Even low slip-off slopes of the river may be used for growing sugar cane in the wet season, though they are too dry in the dry season. Game, such as tortoise, armadillo, deer, birds, and occasional other animals, are to be found throughout the savannas and about the river banks. Fish are found in most streams and in the rivers including those which have no useful banks for horticulture.

[10] Cf. Leeds, 1961, for further details and maps of the seasonal resource locations.

3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 S519 Yaruro S519

Gathered resources are found near the streams in marshy places where the moriche palm grows, and to a lesser extent in the savannas.[17] The dry season resources are also distributively located though the pattern is somewhat different. Quanta of production from these resources at any one time are rarely great. The larder, as it were, must be filled from a number of sources at once, even though one crop, particularly bitter manioc, and occasionally sweet manioc and corn, may rise briefly to as much as 50 or 60% of the food supply. Thus the available quanta of resources and their distribution at given moments in time are such as to demand a distributive form of labor organization: workers, as individuals or in very small groups, must go off in different directions at the same time. The obverse of this, of course, is that no sizable or permanent working groups are to be expected and none in fact occur. Further, because a dispersion of the labor force and a constant flux in the constitution of work groups is entailed by the relationships between the technology and the habitat, organized and permanent managerial functions can scarcely occur, and no fixed status with significant managerial powers would be expected. The observed data of leadership among the Yaruro and many other tribes in South America and other parts of the world, such as Melanesia, having fundamentally similar ecologies, corresponds precisely with what one is led to expect logically from the form of the ecology.

The absolute size of work groups achievable in the Yaruro habitat is limited not only by the dispersed locations and temporal harvest patterns of resources, but also by the absolute productivity of the ecology. If one calculates the distribution per land area of those calories potentially convertible to human energy, the rate of calories per unit of land surface is so low that even at maximum utilization only a very low population density of about 2 persons per square mile would be possible. If concentrated in the center of an effective walking distance for exploiting resources of, say, six miles radius from a village, with a resultant total area of about 110 square miles, there would be about 220 souls. Of these, perhaps 70% (all persons over age 10), at maximum, might constitute the labor force, i. e. 154 adults and older children. The actual conditions are, of course, much more limiting, since the efficiency of the technology is such that it cannot exploit the totality of calories potentially available for conversion to human energy at any one time.[18] The actually harvested calories are considerably less, though I have no estimates as to how much less. Let us estimate half, or enough to support one person per square mile, that is, 110 persons. With a somewhat smaller per cent of the population available for the labor force, say 60% of the 110, the force would have only about 67 persons at most. This appears to be a reasonable number for the Cinaruco Yaruro groups, although due to depopulation from disease and mas-

[17] *Ibid.*, Map I.

[18] *Ibid.*, Map II.

[19] For example, all the fish available in the streams at a given time cannot be caught. More could be caught with an improved technology, such as the use of fish traps, weirs, or fish poisons, which, as we have said, are absent from the technology of the Cinaruco Yaruro. Density of fish, or any other biotic population, can be estimated (cf. Dice, 1952, Ch. IV), and then compared with rates of harvesting. Furthermore, it should be noted that often the totality of an actually harvested resource may not be available. For example, in

sacre, the labor force actually observed in "my" group was a little more than 25% of that number, or 18, and neighboring groups were generally still smaller. These 154, 67, and especially the actual 18 workers, even if, at any given moment, *all* were working at subsistence activities, would be distributed over various parts of the 110 square miles of territory under the kind of dispersive habitat and technological conditions described. They are in fact so thinly scattered as to preclude any sort of continuing managerial functions.

V

A consideration of the forms of the harvest surplus[20] is relevant to our discussion. Harvest surpluses must be considered with respect both to individual subsistence resources and to all subsistence resources taken together. In the annual cycle, there is considerable variation in the amount produced of any given crop, except for sweet and bitter manioc which together constitute perhaps 40% of the annual food supply of the Yaruro. Manioc produces throughout the year. Given that the manioc-growing areas are widely dispersed and that considerable labor is drawn from manioc areas by still more dispersed resources, it follows that most work units for manioc gardens will consist of only one or two men, each having their own swidden or sharing it with one or two others to supply themselves and their immediate families throughout the year. As might be expected, land tenure and land usage patterns are in accord with this inference. Occasionally small oscillations in the manioc crops may produce small harvest surpluses. These, at least nominally, belong to the man in whose swidden they grow and are his for disposal. The quantities, however, are exceedingly small, and present no problems of storage or disposal necessitating more centralized supervision and allocation. Most other resources display a similar pattern though to an even smaller degree. Fish are obtainable, for the Cinaruco Yaruro, all year round with almost equal ease, though the Palmariteños have a more difficult time because of the grassy and muddy waters in the rainy season. Hunting windfalls and large pigs are the only animal sources which present harvest surpluses of any size. However, these are small enough so that they last at most two or three days, and they are so irregular both as to occurrence and as to personnel involved that no regular centralized institutional mode of handling them is entailed. The virtual absence of meat storage

the Trobriand Islands, in a good year, all the yams harvested cannot be eaten at once, nor can they be stored. Some portion of the crop is then lost by spoilage. We may construct, in terms of calories or other significant food values, two ratios:

$$\frac{C_h}{C_p} \qquad \frac{C_c}{C_h}$$

C — Calories
c — consumed
p — potential
h — harvested (= available for use)

The first may be used as a measure of the efficiency of the productive capacity of the technology; the second as a measure of the efficiency of the distributive capacity of the technology.

[20] The technological, producers, and harvest surpluses are defined in Harris, 1956, and implied in Harris, 1959. They are dealt with in detail with respect to the Yaruro in Leeds, 1961. Other relevant discussions of surplus are found Sahlins, 1958; Jacobs and Stern, 1952, Ch VI.

also inhibits any such development because it forces the immediate distribution of most of the meat of the slaughtered pig or captured game. There is no constantly or repeatedly stored supply to be supervised or allocated. In fact swine and windfall game, properly considered, correspond to the small oscillations of the manioc supply and are totally different from the regularly occurring massive incidence of food sources like buffalo herds, salmon runs, and wheat harvests of temperate climates or crab runs in the tropical Orinoco delta of Venezuela.[21]. Of all the food resources, the only one with a marked harvest surplus is corn. The significance of even this harvest surplus is reduced by a) the smallness of the quanta involved relative to the total food supply, and b) the fact that there are two corn seasons, one beginning in June, one about the beginning of February. Temporary harvest surpluses of corn may, however, contribute slightly to the enhanced prestige of those individuals who by their own will and work have been most productive.[22] They say with appreciation, "He is a hard worker", but the prestige is relevant only to the sphere in which it is gained. It does not necessarily give him prestige in some other spheres of cultural life, such as, for example, the ceremonial or decision-making activities.

In taking an overall view of the food resources, it will be noted that there are no clear harvest surpluses, and that the oscillations in supply, which are in truth minute and momentary harvest surpluses, are so small and irregular and varied in location as to be insignificant determiners of managerial functions. At most one might expect the harvest surplus of corn to elicit some small allocative function, generally none. Storage, too, in this case, is not a technique requiring administration as with wheat in grain elevators. It would in fact be better to consider this kind of storage as a steady presence of food rather than as storage at all, even though it functions as such.

The extra labor requirements of these small upward oscillations of the harvest surplus are likewise, in general, indistinguishable from regular labor requirements and are easily absorbed by individual workers. Or a worker may take along a child, who goes as much for the fun of being with his father or grandfather, but nevertheless carries back some produce. This type of situation is in sharp contrast with, say, the labor requirements of a large harvest surplus like the wheat crop in the United States which demands a large amount of labor quickly and temporarily. Such a harvest surplus entails a number of organizational problems foreign to the harvest oscillations.

[21] Personal communication from Johannes Wilbert who has done extensive fieldwork with the Warrau in the Amacuro Delta of the Orinoco River.

[22] Yaruro individuals differ in productivity not only because of inborn qualities such as strength and native abilities, but also by choice based on tastes. Some do not like to grow corn, others do not like to grow pigs, others still prefer to hunt or trade. The food quanta produced by these several activities vary greatly. The individual may exercise these choices in a cultural setting where any such choice benefits the community. All produce eventually finds its way into the community at large through the distribution mechanism. The person is not acting as an individualist regardless of the interest of others, but at his own optimum, given his unique person, in the community as a whole. Cf Fn 5 *supra*.

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221 Finally, the Yaruro deny any considerable long-term oscillations in the
262 environment and consequently in the resources. The extremes, particularly the minima, of habitat factors which regulate food and population balances, according to Liebig's Law, fall within narrow limits and again elicit no special institutions of management or of equilibrium maintenance to compensate for them, as in the case of the potlatches of the Northwest Coast of America, the buffalo hunts in the Great Plains of the United States, or the use of pigs in Melanesia.[22]

VI

868 One more point may be made regarding the ecology as limiter of chieftainship among the Yaruro. The tools, techniques, and resources require no very extensive, highly specialized or esoteric knowledge. In fact any man or woman, and any child as well, has access to such knowledge, and it is easily acquired by all members of the society who thus have, at least potentially, equal access to control over the means of life. There is no specialized knowledge, at least with respect to technology and habitat, which requires a specialized repository in the form of a chief or learned person. Yaruro knowledge, itself dependent upon the inventory of tools, techniques, and resources, inhibits any tendency towards the development of any
[463] sort of specialists in technical or managerial knowledge. As one might expect, there are no true specialists in Yaruro society. Here and there women make pots and certain women seem to have a special bent for making woven sacks but these
[756] are not properly specialities. Nor, from a technological or ecological point of view, is male or female shamanism in any way a speciality. They do not appear to be specialists even in esoteric knowledge. Knowledge of the general type described here might be called 'dispersive' or 'egalitarian' since it tends to become more or less uniformly distributed among the members of the society. A consequence of the existence of this type of knowledge, associated with the kind of technology described, is that there will be no specialised training of any specialists and, of course, no specialised personnel to do such training. This is the situation which obtains among the Yaruro both with respect to technical and managerial activities. Thus, in Yaruro knowledge, there is no source for the support of an institutionalized and strong chieftainship.

VII

221 In one respect, the ecology encourages chiefly functions. A balance is struck
● 241 between the cultural resources, the possibilities that the habitat affords for their
361 production, and the length of time that areas of land can be exploited. This is
622 particularly true of the horticultural lands since they can no longer be used after three years of cropping, and it becomes necessary to move on. The result is that there is a slow migration of resource areas, chiefly of horticultural areas across the tribal territory. The lands in cultivation move further and further from any given village until a point of suspension is reached at which the walking and working

[22] Cf. Suttles, 1960 a, 1960 b; Llewelly and Hoebel, 1941; Vayda, 1961; Vayda, Leeds, and Smith, 1961.

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distance of the gardens is too far from the village for effective or efficient exploitation. At this point a village or part of a village must move. Moving the villages involves decision-making with respect to time, new location, and so on. Plainly, moving a village involves a community decision. A community institution for handling the decision-making is necessary. Technologically speaking, the moving itself is not a community task and does not involve supervision and direction. Therefore, one would not expect the institution of decision-making to be a directive one, but a consultative one. Again this corresponds to the observed modes of action of the Yaruro chiefs. The chiefs' function is to facilitate the formation of the decisions of the community by funnelling and interpreting individuals' feelings and expressions to the rest of the members of the community.

In sum, I have presented a model of a form of ecology which, hypothetically, determines the limits within which any sort of chiefly functions may operate. This model, again hypothetically, is applicable to all cultures having the kind of technological and habitat characteristics and forms of surplus here described. I think the model applies particularly to cultures which grow root-crops such as manioc, which utilize no labor-concentrative techniques, such as irrigation, and for whose food resources notable seasonality is absent. Such cultures have been noted widely in tropical South America and also in Melanesia. In both areas, chiefly functions are notably limited as contrasted, say, with Circum-Caribbean corn-raising cultures with some irrigation and other intensive techniques [24] and with Polynesian high cultures with elaborate irrigation and other public works. [25] It should be noted, first, that the Yaruro were not far from these Circum-Caribbean chiefdoms and even show a number of trait similarities, and, second, that the Yaruro have been under Spanish acculturation, which has involved encouragement of chiefly functions, for probably 250 years. Yet, despite the pressures of both diffusion and acculturation to produce a more developed chieftaincy, the attenuated form described persists. The explanation of this persistence seems to me to be ecological. I suggest that the model of explanation presented here is based on a set of analytic dimensions — the characteristics of the technology, those of the habitat, those of the harvest surplus, and the interrelationships of these — which may be used for all cultures, but whose formal, systemic relations vary from culture to culture, or class of cultures to class of cultures, thus giving different models for different cultures or classes of cultures. By using such dimensions, one can account for cultural differences by means of a standard set of principles, thus faciliating genuine comparisons and generalizations.

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[24] Cf. Sturtevant, 1961; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961.
[25] Cf. Sahlins, 1958.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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along the west-to-east flowing rivers in ribbons some kilometers wide. Most significant fauna and flora of economic use occur in these ribbons. This ecological distribution of resources governs subsistence activities whether they be mainly hunting, fishing, collecting, or horticulture.

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Yaruro subsistence comprises all these activities. (2). Horticulture in the rainy season appears considerably to outweigh all other sources of food together, but in the dry season, hunting, fishing, and collecting perhaps equal or outstrip horticulture. In any case, slash and burn gardening of manioc, corn, plantains, and a number of lesser crops is by far the single most important economic activity. The technology is exceedingly simple in all aspects of
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production, the main tools being the machete and digging stick. The most elaborate technology occurs in the conversion of food into edibles and in the manufacture of hammocks, pottery, objects of wood such as canoes, and woven containers of all types.

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The economic organization displays a sharp division of labor between men's and women's work. Men do all hunting and fishing, make all objects of wood, haul lumber and householding materials, make hammocks, and carry out the heavy labor of gardening. Women do most of the collecting of roots,
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seeds, and fruits. Since collecting contributes a substantial portion of the food supply in summer, woman's contribution, here, is of considerable communal importance. Women's work, a continuous activity from dawn to dusk, is, first, the conversion of raw foodstuffs into edibles. Second, women make all pottery, mats and baskets, the manioc squeezers, and much of the cord used to make hammocks. Another important contribution of women is their help in harvesting in the gardens. Men sometimes help the women with the cookery.

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Men may work alone, in groups of 2 or 3, or in larger groups on rare occasions. No occasion exists for all men to work at a single task since there is no technological need for it. Women's work groups for collecting or householding are of similar size. Work group alignments are often based on choice or
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accident but in other instances coresidence and kinship are determinants. The household, however, constitutes the only really necessary cooperative group for production. The man is a funnel for produce which the woman converts to

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(2) The present description applies to the Cinaruco River Yaruro where the major part of the writer's field work, supported by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, was done. The Capanaparo River Yaruro were reported by Petrullo (1939) and Le Besnerais (1948) as being hunters and gatherers, although Le Besnerais observed small horticultural patches which he claimed were diffusions from Venezuelan farmers which had occurred recently. Le Besnerais in 1954 states directly that they were horticulturalists, omitting any mention of possible diffusions from Venezuelans. The passing mention of horticulture by Fiasson (1947) confirms the present writer in his opinion that, although horticulture may be more restricted on the Capanaparo than on the Cinaruco and Cunaviche-Arauca (where the writer also spent several weeks) which are not discussed at all by Petrullo or Le Besnerais, nevertheless, the absence of horticulture is probably not aboriginal with the Yaruro as has been suggested by Kirchhoff (1948, p. 456). Rather the restricted gardening is a result of ecological conditions on the Capanaparo which are less favorable to horticulture than on the neighboring rivers, combined with extremely violent acculturation, including large-scale massacres of natives. The only other possibility, in my opinion,
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is that horticulture was introduced by the missionaries in the early part of the Eighteenth Century, which is certainly the period when the Yaruro first became acquainted with iron tools (cf Lodares, 1922).

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5. This paragraph had been published when we learned of Anthony Leeds' articles (see "infra" IV List...42 and 43). The latter considers that agriculture, which exists among the Yaruro, as we acknowledge further along, was introduced by missionaries at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

descendants of the first inhabitants, hunters and gatherers who invaded South America at the beginning of the Neolithic Age, as Father Cooper suggests, or are they groups of Indians who after diverse vicissitudes have degenerated and adapted their civilization to a new way of life, as Levi-Strauss insists?"

121 Immigrants or not, hunters, fishers, and gatherers who evolved, or agriculturists who regressed, we shall not make a choice here between these alternatives and shall limit ourselves to presenting two observations which, gone into more deeply, will eventually permit opting in favor of one of the theses before us.

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241 1) The tropical savanna inhabited by the Yaruro, as a consequence of the absence of extensive forests, is hardly propitious for primitive agriculture. The latter could, however, be carried out there on a small scale.

114
121
241 The Yaruro, in fact, and contrary to Vicenzo Petrullo's observations, are not only gatherers, fishers, and hunters, but also practice agriculture, in general on land cleared in the forest corridors. Petrullo probably did not observe this aspect of their way of life (6) because he carried out his investigations

6. We made, moreover, the identical error in the course of our first investigations (see "infra" IV List...40).

at the height of the dry season--when the soil /9/ is no longer

/9 cont./

productive and the Yaruro are living mainly on sandy shores, leading the life of fishers and nomadic gatherers--and limited them to the lower Capanaparo. There these Indians do not work the land, or at least very little; apparently for reasons linked with the proximity of Venezuelan peasants, such as: interdiction on the part of the latter who, with or without title, are masters of the land, the risk of being overrun by the free-roaming livestock, or simply work as peons on the farms, which would hardly allow them time to cultivate the land.

In fact, agriculture is only practiced on certain portions of their territory and particularly on those where they do not have contact with the Venezuelan peasants. This statement excludes at first sight the recent acquisition of it from the latter. Such a deduction is moreover corroborated by the accounts of the Jesuits (7) who lived for a while in the region in the eigh-

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

teenth century and who already described them as agriculturists--without specifying whether they had been before their arrival--and by the present Yaruro themselves, who affirm that they all formerly had conucos (8). But these points still do not

8. Kitchen gardens, in Venezuelan.

allow us to assert that they were in possession of the technique in the pre-Hispanic period.

2) The region, on the other hand; is rich in archaeological sites containing objects (pottery remains, figurines of baked clay and lignite, polished stone axes, funeral urns) which are of a completely different make from those made by the present-day Yaruro, who, moreover, do not recognize them as being of their making. Is it a question of remains of objects of forerunners or remains of objects of the Otomaco, who at the time of the Jesuits apparently lived in the present-day territory

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Some Problems of Yaruro Ethnohistory*

Anthony Leeds

I was first led to consider Yaruro history because the ethnographic phenomena I found differed radically from those described by Petrullo (1939 *a*). Only historical research could resolve these differences. I shall first examine the discrepancies, then turn to the kinds of historical sources relevant to resolving the problems and to some of the material already examined, and, finally, briefly discuss the direction that the results appear to be taking.

I

Petrullo, describes the Yaruro of the Capanaparo River as being hunters of river and llanos animals, fishers of river fish, and gatherers of seeds, roots, and fruits. He denies the presence of horticulture, except among a few "acculturated" groups. As far as the monograph informs us, he visited only Yaruro near the mouth of the Capanaparo and on islands in the Orinoco during the months of the dry season. He did not visit the Arauca, Cunaviche, upper Capanaparo, Riecito, and Sinaruco rivers, on all of which Yaruro are found today, and apparently have been living indefinitely into the past, according to old maps.[1] On the basis of the groups visited, he asserts that the Yaruro were not horticultural. Kirchhoff (1948 *a*: 456) repeats this assertion, adding that Gilij (1780-1784: Vol. 3) mentions the use of green corn — a sign, according to Kirchhoff, of the recent adoption of corn at that time. No basis is given for this statement. Le Besnerais, in several publications (1948; 1950*a;* 1951; and, with Dreyfus-Roche, 1954), repeats that the Yaruro were hunters and gatherers, but, in his most recent work (1950 *b;* 1954; Ms.; Personal communication,

* I wish to thank Juan Friede for a number of bibliographical suggestions. The research is being supported by the American Philosophical Society and the Research Institute for the Study of Man. My thanks and appreciation go to both.

1 Cf. maps listed in the special section of the bibliography, many of which show the location of the Yaruro, Otomaco, Achagua ("as Chaguas"), Sáliva, Aruaca, Caribe, or a number of other tribes at various points in history.

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1939), on the basis of later field research, he completely rejects his previous stand.

In 1949, after his earlier publications, Le Besnerais (cf. 1954) made a census of the entire Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, discovering among other things:

A) That most Yaruro settlements had dry season locations on or near the river, banks or on the sand bars in the river, and wet season locations back from the rivers on higher sand dunes,

B) that there were corresponding house types for each kind of location,

C) that a great many of these settlements appear to have had two divisions mainly in the wet season locations — often at considerable distances from each other, sometimes very close,

D) that near all winter locations and in all settlements along the entire length of the Riecito and Capanaparo rivers gardens existed with standard crops mentioned in my own work (1961 *a*, 1962),

E) and, by implication, that these garden plots are not readily visible from the river nor from dry season locations.

Fiasson (1947), speaking of a trip probably made in 1945, mentions gardens for the Yaruro in the Capanaparo-Meta area. The missionary, Raymond Kook, showed me pictures in 1958 of gardens on the upper Sinaruco. And, in the neighborhood of the mission station, near Guachara and along the Caño del Medio and the Cunaviche River, all the Indians had horticulture. These Indians also reported gardens along the Arauca River. The linguist, Thomas P. Rootes, describes gardens along the Riecito and Sinaruco, and I have myself published in detail on Yaruro horticulture (1961 *a*).

In sum, present sources indicate horticulture for all Yaruro, going back at least to 1945 or 1946 and undoubtedly earlier — a period at maximum no more than twelve years after Petrullo's *dry-season* visit in 1934. It is hard to believe that the horticultural practice was diffused the length and breadth of Yaruro-land and integrated into a well-organized transhumance and even into the world view all in fifteen years. Nevertheless belief is not adequate proof. The only recourse is to try to resolve the problem by earlier evidence.

The second major difference between my findings and those of Petrullo relates to the asserted existence of matrilineal "clans", characterised, in localities, by a sib core of women and their children plus the locally inmarried husbands. Nowhere in Petrullo is proof given for the *unilineality* which is implied by the term clan, though the *matrifocality* seems genuinely confirmed by the genealogies reproduced. Matrifocality is not congruent with matrilineality, and, try as I might, I was not able to establish the latter. I am not ready to assert that matrilineality therefore does not, or did not, exist but I was quite unable to elicit any evidence for it.

A related aspect is, of course, exogamy. Petrullo claims that marriage can only occur reciprocally between the two clans, marriage *within* which would

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Second is the rate of deculturation. It is quite clear from comparing the material culture items observed by Petrullo with those that I observed, as well as from the present distribution of culture traits, which shows a gradient of trait loss as one goes from less acculturated to more acculturated groups, that the Yaruro once had a more elaborate culture content than at present. Though temporal extrapolations backwards can of course only be securely made by means of the written historical sources, items gleaned here and there from sources so far examined tend to confirm the inference from spatial distributions.[6] The implication of this is that the Yaruro were formerly considerably more complex, at least in their cultural content if not also in their cultural structure, than at the periods of ethnographic observation.

Third, a series of arguments concerning the ecological relations of the Yaruro to the land, and of the various tribes to each other and the food supply, could be presented which would suggest ecological specialization by tribal or subtribal groups among the Yaruro, Sáliva, Guahibo, Kuiva, Achagua, and Otomaco, all in a complex system (cf. Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*).

Fourth, an interesting ecological argument can be made which would resolve the disagreement about horticulture: that Petrullo's statement regarding horticulture might possibly be correct for the small, highly special area he studied and — the Orinoco sand bars and the estuary of the Capanaparo River in which wet-season flooding appears to be exceedingly extensive, hence sharply limiting horticultural possibilities — but that they do not apply to other zones of the llanos which do not have the ecological peculiarities of the river-mouth area.[7] I have discussed some aspects of this in previous publications, especially with regard to the importance of flooding, the area of gallery forest available for horticulture, and the pattern of transhumance (Leeds, 1961 *a*, especially pp. 13-18). An ecological-geographical survey of the entire region between the Orinoco highlands and the Andean spurs to the west is needed.

III

We may now turn to the question of written historical evidences. No published work on the Yaruro or the llanos has made use of much more than a dozen

[6] Cf. Crévaux, 1883: 570; Carriazo, 1910: 59; Acosta Saignes, 1961: 97, etc., as well as the loss of culture traits observable between Petrullo's and my visits.

[7] That this area is rather unique is clearly indicated by many maps which represent it as entirely flooded or as a welter of water-ways (cf. Gumilla, 1791). Acosta Saignes, in a foreword to Carvajal, points out that it was quite simple to mistake one river for another since, at least during the rainy season, they all flowed into each other near the mouth. The flooding makes any ordinary gardening impossible for a large part of the year. The hypothesis tends, however, to be contradicted by Le Besnerais's findings (1954; also, Leeds, 1961 *a*). It may be noted that in the almost absolutely flat Guachara area, between the Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, at the Indian village of Palmarito- much of the llanos floods. The loamy-mud soils are excellent for crops, but crops are only grown in those areas which remain a few inches or a foot or two above highest rainy-season water-level.

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social features reported, ideological features reported, and relations with other tribes mentioned. The card sets will be arranged by geographical location of the tribe so that for any given time period one may pull out all the sets and arrange the tribes in their spatial order. Thus for any time period a picture of the trait distributions, cultural-ecological conditions, inter-tribal socio-ecological relations, and acculturational-social contacts and events should be obtainable.

V

Though, to date, I have been concerned mainly with collecting bibliography and documentary materials rather than with their analysis, I should like to hazard several very tentative conclusions, or perhaps guesses, with respect to the ethnohistory of the llanos, and particularly of the Yaruro, based on the geographic, ethnographic, archeological, linguistic, and historical data known to me now. Some, however, are presented more as hypotheses for proof or disproof through continued research.

First, Petrullo's description is erroneous at least as respects the subsistence economy. Late Nineteenth Century travellers like Crévaux and Vela and several persons in this century mention horticulture. Still earlier reports go back to the earlier Eighteenth Century when missionaries speak of horticulture. Their reports apply to the Yaruro, Otomaco, Guahibo, and other groups. It has not yet been possible to decide whether they introduced or found horticulture among these peoples. Petrullo's error appears to have several explanations:

A) That he was incapacitated for several weeks by sore feet and was unable to travel about the land away from the rivers. In my experience, a careful criss-crossing of the land on foot is an absolute necessity if one is to know how these peoples carry on their subsistence activities. I have paced off with a pedometer the entire area used by the group I worked with. In the course of so doing I discovered all kinds of gardens, houses, and other evidences of their land use. These would not otherwise have been discovered by an observer nor mentioned by the Yaruro, since mainly what is physically present is, to them, worthy of mention.[10] I should say a great portion of my most important data came from such accidental discoveries made while walking about.

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[10] I would stand at a certain spot in a garden and ask "Whose garden is this?" "Juan's." Then I might walk perhaps ten feet and say, "Juan keeps his garden well." "But this is not Juan's garden." "You just said that this was Juan's garden." "That was over there on the other side of that row of corn." This happened a number of times. I also asked once, "Is there female shamanism here?" "No." Several days later, a group from an neighboring village came to visit. After an all-night session of the *tou'be*, several women performed shamanistic rites. I said, "I thought you said there is no female shamanism here?" "There isn't anyone here [i. e. in our locality] who practices — these women are from upstream." The same cleaving to locus was observed with respect to time. I was told that Miguel was a shaman ("musico"). I said "Miguel, are you not a musico?" "I am not a musico. I cannot sing." A few weeks later, he was singing. I said,

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B) Petrullo restricted his visits to the sand banks along and in the river, and, after his first arrival, most of his travelling was done on the streams. Gardens are never to be found on the sand banks and bars, but rather, usually, on the affluent creeks which are just above flood level of the rivers in the rainy season. Therefore he was not in a position to see the gardens which Le Besnerais later saw in the same area when he explored back from the river.

C) Petrullo was in the llanos in the dry season when the Yaruro move nearer the rivers both to secure a water supply as the water table lowers and to avail themselves of the much more plentiful and accessible river fauna[11] at a time when vegetable harvests are reduced because of drought. He was therefore observing dry-season subsistence — and perhaps only a part of it.

D) The probability that he observed only a part of the dry-season subsistence pattern in his area is reinforced by two considerations:

1) He reports the fact that 150 Yaruro had been massacred by Venezuelans a month before his arrival (p. 181). Their response under such circumstances is, as fast as possible, to get off the land that the Venezuelans want and to move to the rivers. I myself had occasion to observe such a diaspora, occurring in response to a smaller massacre. In view of this sort of response, it is likely, therefore, that Petrullo's group was living off river resources and away from their gardens at the time of his visit.

2) Maps indicate that in the lower part of the Capanaparo River, the flooding is greater and the number and size of side creeks suitable for horticulture is smaller than upstream on any of the large rivers. In other words, the available area for garden plots is much smaller, and riverine subsistence proportionately more important. Upriver, and more especially on the Sinaruco and on the middle and upper Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, there is much more tillable ground.

"I thought you said you could not sing and were not a musico?" "Yes, that was true last week when I had the grippe, but now my grippe is better I can be a musico again." And many similar examples of the extreme caution one needed to exercise regarding negative responses in order to be sure they were not merely descriptive of the place and moment. If Petrullo asked "Do you raise crops?", his informants would most likely have said, "No, we have no crops here", under the circumstances in which he found them.

[11] The river fauna is more plentiful and accessible in dry season because, first, it is more concentrated, and, second, it is more visible. During the wet, flooding season, fish, and other animals spread even into smaller streams and out upon the watery llanos — we caught a small piranha on the grassy, watercovered plain itself. On the plains, the fish are lost among the grasses and are virtually impossible to spear or shoot with bow and arrow. The river turbulence of the rainy season, meanwhile, has brought so much mud from further upstream that many of the rivers are opaque, especially in those parts of the llanos constructed of mud rather than sandy soils. Fish and the water reptiles and mammals are well-cloaked by the murky stream. The waters and the plains clear in the dry season so that the fish are concentrated in the limpid, grassless waters of the rivers, while land animals and riparian fauna are all crowded together near the banks in their search for food and water.

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Guahibo SC14

Petrullo's own linguistic data includes the words for corn, *(pwa)*, manioc *(pae)*, and other planted foods. The words for corn and manioc are certainly not word borrowings from Spanish. This tends to confirm the hypothesis of an aboriginal presence at least of these crops.

A second point is that Yaruro and Guahibo subsistence is transhumant, consisting of a wet-season gardening predominance and a dry-season hunting and/or fishing predominance. Guahibo, both presently and in various historical sources,[12] are described as being horticulturalists as well as hunters. It is of first importance to note which season is being discussed when the tribal subsistence is being described. With this sort of transhumance, one would expect the decriptions in the literature to disagree; as they do, according to the season of description. Similarly there is much local ecological variation, which appears to determine variations in the predominance of horticulture or hunting or fishing or collecting.

Third, the various tribes — Yaruro, Guahibo, Kuiva, Síliva, Achagua, and possibly the Otomaco, as well as more distant groups -- maintained a complex ecological relationship to llanos and extra-llanos resources by means of three major institutions, trade, war, and raiding. For example Kuiva, described by my Yaruro informants and others as being "muy brabos",[13] even today raid both Guahibo and Yaruro villages, but apparently only when these are well supplied, *after* harvesting (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961). That is, they drain off a certain amount of the harvest surplus (cf. Leeds 1961 *a*: 23) from the horticultural groups. With this food, they are able to maintain a larger population in the hunting areas away from the rivers, which they regularly inhabit. Presumably it also compels or encourages the groups concerned to produce more as a hedge against such depredations, thus contributing to overall population maximinization. The raiding pattern may also account for the use of green corn as remarked before.

At the same time, the Guahibo raid Yaruro gardens as the corn and manioc ripen, but are limited from so doing by the frequent presence of Yaruro in their gardens during the harvest period and by the distance of the gardens from the Guahibo villages. The Guahibo were also reported as formerly having carried on extensive warfare, which, it is my guess, had a subsistence foundation (cf. Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*). The peaceable Yaruro, on the other hand, have apparently always done a considerable amount of trading up and down river in their canoes. Trade is also reflected archeologically in the stone artifacts mentioned above, since the kinds of stones used are not found in the llanos and must come from extra-llanos sources.

In short, the entire llanos area appears to me a complex ecological system involving hunting, gathering, fishing, and horticulture, with trade, raiding,

[12] Cf. Crévaux, 1883; Marcano, 1883; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1944; Vela, 1889; Wilbert, 1957.

[13] Cf. Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961. He described the generally harsh behavior of the men, the raiding pattern, and the rough manhandling he received from the women.

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and warfare as supra-tribal distribution mechanisms. It is interesting to note that the cultural characteristics ascribed to each of the peoples — "warlike," "peaceable," "brabo" — are ecologically funcional, in that they mirror value orientations which tend to drive people to maximize the food resources in ways appropriate to their socio-ecological environments.

Fourth, the evidence seems to me at present to point to the existence throughout the area, of pre-hispanic horticulture, enjoyed by at least some groups within each tribe, if not by all groups in part of every year. The evidence comes from the reports of travellers, missionaries, and from the archeological remnants, such as they at present are. The main Spanish and Venezuelan acculturational effects with respect to subsistence appear to have been the introduction of iron tools; seeds and plants not of native origin, such as sugar cane and bananas; and, here and there, cattle, pigs, or chickens.

Fifth, the evidence suggests a steady deculturation in an area capable of maintaining a more elaborate level of culture. One may hypothesize either that groups like the Yaruro came into the area with a level of culture reflected by the Arauquín-style remants and then gradually deculturated both pre-hispanically and in post-conquest times, to their present level, or that they intruded into such a culture at a time when they themselves were at a more elaborate level, and then deculturated largely under Spanish influence. It will probably be possible to shed light on this question with the historical data.

In summary, if these hypotheses are correct, the entire interpretation of the llanos area between the Andes and the Orinoco highlands, as well as of other nearby areas assertedly inhabited by so-called marginal tribes, is quite different from that presented by the *Handbook of South American Indians*. The marginals of northern South America seem to evanesce, and a picture of a highly complex ecological system in which horticulture is of central importance, even if not quantitatively predominant in this ecologically restricted area, appears. This picture seems to conform better to the recent archeological hypotheses of Cruxent and Rouse (1958-1959), to the historical mentions of horticulture, to the presently scanty archeological and linguistic materials, and to more recent ethnological data.

I have not, as yet, been able to make any determination whatever with respect to clanship, totemism, or matricross-cousin marriage. I hope that with a study of the word lists discovered and with possible older ethnographic data that this problem may be resolved. My own field data suggests an organization into demes with bilateral marriages between cross-cousins or between an ego and his parallel cousin's offspring. This interpretation incidentally tallies with, or at least does not contradict, the data, such as the genealogies, kin terminology, and locality features described by Petrullo in all pasages where inferences and assertions as to the existence of these institutions do not occur.

182 First, through time, the gardens tend to radiate further and further from any given residence point since, given the 13-year planting-fallow 241 cycle, plots near the village will be exhausted. Since the major garden 361 resource areas lie in a crudely east-to-west direction, there will be a slow westward migration of the geographic center of garden activities, enough so that at some point, the village is suspended, as it were, among distant resource points (see Maps), and enhanced by the dispersed nature of the hunting and fishing, and to some extent the gathering, areas. If the "suspension" is weighted more in one direction than another, there will be some tendency either to move the village or to send out temporary or permanent branches of it, respectively in the form of work cottages in the swiddens or in larger long-term house groups which are intermittently occupied. This process is, in fact, easily observed among the Yaruro in existent and abandoned house and subsidiary village sites scattered over the whole territory. Similarly, the locus of gathering, so important in [221] summer, moves further and further from the village. This, together with the considerable shift to fishing and river-hunting in summer, as well as the need for water, causes an extensive seasonal transhumance to occur within the territory. These factors contribute to fissioning as well as to inhibiting the development of permanently located villages, let alone larger aggregations. Thus, with a radiating ecology, a degree of group dispersion and geographical mobility within the territory is to be expected and is indeed characteristic of the Yaruro.

512 Second, if one examines the location of all resources it will be seen that, taken together, they constantly enjoin a dispersal of the labor force in all directions, regardless of season, so that more or less equivalent quantities of labor are being used at the same time in many varying kinds of productive activity independently of each other — at the peripheries of the territory, in the areas between, or in the village centers themselves, [462] where the women are constantly doing the significantly important work of [252] converting otherwise unusable food resources, like raw, bitter manioc or uncooked corn, into edibles.

476 Third, it will be noted that none of the Yaruro technological processes require cooperative work, even when they may permit it, if it were so desired. On the whole, the productive activities might be described as dispersive of labor, whether it is individuals or small groups of twos or threes who go out to keep each other company. Even the work of preparing [241] the swiddens is carried out individually, though two or three men may [463] work as neighbors in what appears as a single plot. Further, the technology is such as to require no highly specific and difficult or esoteric skills. The [242] most difficult skill to acquire is the knowledge of the soil types and appropriate planting procedures attached to each. Thus, each adult is in 462 a position to learn the inventory of technological knowledge appropriate 463 to his or her sex, and somewhat of that belonging to the other sex too, and to apply it by himself whenever he wants or must. A man, well-instructed in Yaruro technology, could probably subsist alone successfully for long periods of time. One divorced adult man, although he was largely fed by his

represent his people to the outside world without consultation and to make arbitrary decisions for them inside the community — mainly in his own interest — was, with the consent of the community, assassinated by one of the members, now in excellent standing in that community as a respected shaman. The chief in question had stepped beyond the bounds designated for his status. In sum, the position of chief, even though formally recognized by Yaruro society and reinforced by formal recognition and appointment by Venezuelan authorities, is feeble as an institution and as a status.[8] It is our hypothesis that ecological conditions of Yaruro life determine the form of the chieftainship in such a way that its stronger institutionalization would be impossible, and we turn to this question now.

III

Yaruro subsistence activities[7] comprise swiddening, gathering, pig herding, hunting and fishing, mentioned in the order of their importance as contributors to the total food supply as measured in calories.[9] Horticulture probably provides 60—70% of the total annual food supply. The horticulture practiced is characteristic of tropical forest slash-and-burn gardens, with a slow rotation of plots in order to permit soil renewal and weed control. Trees are cut, at present with steel axes and formerly, apparently, with axes of bone or shell, and then burnt. Occasional fences are roughly made of the logs to keep out pigs. Bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*),[9] in several varieties, is the main crop, though sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*), also in several varieties, is planted too, as are corn, bananas, sugar cane — each in several varieties — and a number of lesser crops such as melons, squashes, pumpkins, pineapples, sweet potatoes, and yautia or ocumo (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*). Crops are planted with a digging stick which may also be used in harvesting. Gardens are weeded, once only, early in the growth of the crops. Other than clearing, the only soil preparation is the construction of hills for planting bananas. This is done by burning hills made by a certain species of ant (*huachaquero*). The hills, which are quite wide and low, are filled with organic matter enriching the soil.[10] Harvesting is aided with baskets for carrying the crops. Baskets contain about half a bushel or less. No fertilization, no terracing, no drainage, no irrigation, no extensive turning of the soil is done.

The gathered resources include a number of roots, particularly changuango, changuanito, and guapo (*Marante arundinacea*);[11] varied fruits, especially that of

[8] Professor Benjamin N. Nelson informs me that in medieval Spain, village communities had an official, also called *capitan*, whose function was to treat with state functionaries representing the world beyond the village community's frontier. It is possible that the Yaruro capitan, and many others in Venezuela, are an acculturative transfer of this office to tribal groups. In the case of the Yaruro, this would have happened some 250—300 years ago.

[7] The use, here, of the terms 'activity', 'tasks', 'techniques', 'tools', 'resources', and 'habitat' corresponds to the definitions given in Leeds, 1960 b.

[8] Cf. Leeds, 1961, which gives this data in detail and describes the habitat and horticulture *in extenso*.

[9] Native terms for these crops are given *ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, note 9, contains data on soil values.

[11] Identifications are from Pittier, 1926.

also inhibits any such development because it forces the immediate distribution of most of the meat of the slaughtered pig or captured game. There is no constantly or repeatedly stored supply to be supervised or allocated. In fact swine and windfall game, properly considered, correspond to the small oscillations of the manioc supply and are totally different from the regularly occurring massive incidence of food sources like buffalo herds, salmon runs, and wheat harvests of temperate climates or crab runs in the tropical Orinoco delta of Venezuela.[21]. Of all the food resources, the only one with a marked harvest surplus is corn. The significance of even this harvest surplus is reduced by a) the smallness of the quanta involved relative to the total food supply, and b) the fact that there are two corn seasons, one beginning in June, one about the beginning of February. Temporary harvest surpluses of corn may, however, contribute slightly to the enhanced prestige of those individuals who by their own will and work have been most productive.[22] They say with appreciation, "He is a hard worker", but the prestige is relevant only to the sphere in which it is gained. It does not necessarily give him prestige in some other spheres of cultural life, such as, for example, the ceremonial or decision-making activities.

In taking an overall view of the food resources, it will be noted that there are no clear harvest surpluses, and that the oscillations in supply, which are in truth minute and momentary harvest surpluses, are so small and irregular and varied in location as to be insignificant determiners of managerial functions. At most one might expect the harvest surplus of corn to elicit some small allocative function, generally none. Storage, too, in this case, is not a technique requiring administration as with wheat in grain elevators. It would in fact be better to consider this kind of storage as a steady presence of food rather than as storage at all, even though it functions as such.

The extra labor requirements of these small upward oscillations of the harvest surplus are likewise, in general, indistinguishable from regular labor requirements and are easily absorbed by individual workers. Or a worker may take along a child, who goes as much for the fun of being with his father or grandfather, but nevertheless carries back some produce. This type of situation is in sharp contrast with, say, the labor requirements of a large harvest surplus like the wheat crop in the United States which demands a large amount of labor quickly and temporarily. Such a harvest surplus entails a number of organizational problems foreign to the harvest oscillations.

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[21] Personal communication from Johannes Wilbert who has done extensive fieldwork with the Warrau in the Amacuro Delta of the Orinoco River.

[22] Yaruro individuals differ in productivity not only because of inborn qualities such as strength and native abilities, but also by choice based on tastes. Some do not like to grow corn, others do not like to grow pigs, others still prefer to hunt or trade. The food quanta produced by these several activities vary greatly. The individual may exercise these choices in a cultural setting where any such choice benefits the community. All produce eventually finds its way into the community at large through the distribution mechanism. The person is not acting as an individualist regardless of the interest of others, but at his own optimum, given his unique person, in the community as a whole. Cf Fn 9 *supra*.

132 desert-like conditions in the other, temperature, sun, soil, and water-table conditions
136 are such that plants will grow all year round, supplying a steady flow of vegetable
[137] foods to the people. The change of the water level in the rivers and in the water-table and the sharp increases and decreases of rain strongly affect the patterns of animal and plant life in the Yaruro environment. Annual cyclical variations in wind, humidity, and temperature are also quite marked. Plants and most especially animals, experience a kind of seasonal pulsation. As the rivers fill during the rainy season, the larger animals, such as the cayman, alligator, manati, and dugong, move upstream to somewhat shallower waters, where their food supply is easier of access. Fish also move upstream and even up small brooks, where this is possible. If the savannas flood, many fish swim out into the savannas where numerous insects and other foods are now to be found. The insects themselves multiply and are distributed farther and farther back from the rivers as the rains progress and the savanna floods widen. Meanwhile, foraging animals move farther from the rivers and ponds, and range over greater distances as the rains and the elevated water-tables foster greater plant food resources. Insects in part follow the animals, in part the vegetation as it wakens to winter life in the interfluves. As the dry season begins to return, the reverse process takes place, and all life concentrates nearer and nearer the permanent waters such as the big rivers and some lakes, or at points where the land surface is near enough the permanent water-table to maintain some vegetation, notably the gallery forests and the woodlots, called *montes* in Spanish. Thus one may ideally describe a summer and a winter
221 organization of the habitat. The incidence of resources varies accordingly, and
132 consequently so do the technological activities and tasks to be done. In the dry season, there is a marked increase of gathering, particularly of roots and seeds which appear to store starches for dry season use in the wet season, whereas fruits appear mainly in the rainy season. Hunting increases in the dry season when animals are more highly concentrated in and near the rivers and tributary brooks and streams. Fishing also increases in the dry season as the waters become shallower, less grass-choked, and no longer laden with muds from upstream erosion which makes it impossible to see the fish. Garden production appears to decrease in summer as the dry season precludes growing some crops, such as pineapples, altogether, and
[249] reduces the possibility of growing sugar cane and corn.

221 Despite this marked seasonality, the habitat conditions of both seasons resemble
241 each other in certain formal respects vital to our argument.[10] First, at any given
132 moment of either season, from the point of view of work organization, the resources are what we may call dispersive. Thus, in mid-rainy season, swiddens are to be found dispersed along the streams and brooks flowing into the rivers and these adits are distributed irregularly over the land within a distance of 4—5 miles of the river. Even low slip-off slopes of the river may be used for growing sugar cane in the wet season, though they are too dry in the dry season. Game, such
[249] as tortoise, armadillo, deer, birds, and occasional other animals, are to be found
[136] throughout the savannas and about the river banks. Fish are found in most streams and in the rivers including those which have no useful banks for horticulture.

[10] Cf. Leeds, 1961, for further details and maps of the seasonal resource locations.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

thought to be related to the race of mankind. On the other hand, the manatee is hunted occasionally. Birds are hunted but seldom, but the meat of the iguana is prized. This animal is not found in great quantities, however, in the open plains.

The vegetable diet is somewhat more plentiful and varied. There are no restrictions or taboos on what can be eaten. In the dry season it is the potato-like changuango, which is gathered by the women and which is to be seen broiling over the fires at all times, and which is the only food which the Yaruros are able to keep for a few days by burying it in the sand. In the rainy season it is the chigua seed and the barbaco which form the basic foods. The following list includes most of the foods eaten by the Yaruros:

DRY SEASON

Eggs.—Terracai (small water turtle) (mostly in February), turtle (March, April), galapago (tortoise—December), crocodile (cayman—February), babu (December).

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire (capibara), birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Changuango (root found in the savanna), barbaco (root found in the forest, mostly in May), guapo (a root found in the forest), wild yam (found in the savanna and the forests), fruit of the macanilla palm, honey, hearts of palm (in April).

DRY AND RAINY SEASON

Fish.—(Local Spanish names) tapuara, caribe, toporo, tachiama, palumeta, pavon, cajani, temblador (electric eel).

RAINY SEASON

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire, birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Fruit of the moriche, chigua, barbaco.

PROPERTY

The Yaruros do not have much personal property. Nevertheless, what each person possesses is respected scrupulously. This attitude is especially in evidence when, for instance, a visitor attempts to purchase such a thing as a pot. In my case I was forced to ask the men. In spite of any price that I might offer they never allowed themselves to give any kind of an answer to my offer. Instead they offered the explanation that the pots were the property of the women and, therefore, they had to be asked if they wished to sell them. My own property I left in camp often without anyone to watch over it, but never did I miss even a sheet of paper.

77136—39——14

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

252 462 successful if the men do not come back with a number of crocodiles, the men build larger fires, upon which the crocodiles are laid. As the hide cracks the animals are split open, the meat is stuck on spits and upon reaching a stage of being warm it is eaten. Contrary to popular [261] ideas that crocodile eaters only consume the tail, the Yaruro eat the entire animal but stop short at the entrails, which are thrown to the dogs. However, they accuse the neighboring Guahibos of eating the entrails as a special delicacy. Turtle meat and eggs are often boiled.

263 261 Salt is known to these people but it is by no means considered an indispensable condiment in their food. In the only historical reference we have to the Yaruros they are referred to as clay eaters. Today, even though they are in occasional touch with civilized com- [317] munities, the salty clay banks are still their only source of supply for salt. The food is generally eaten saltless, since they have no means of purchasing salt from the Racionales and they do not know how to make salt from the clay. As a result, they obtain the amount of salt necessary to life by chewing clay which they pick up in their wanderings over the plains. Food which I prepared with salt was always left untouched by them as being unsavory. In this respect, therefore, they act like the cattle and the deer which can be seen over the plains licking salt clay banks.

STORING OF FOOD

251 The only foods that can be kept for any length of time in the lowland tropics are the roots and seeds. In the rainy season even this is impossible. The Yaruros during the dry season leave caches of changuango on various sandbars. They dig pits into which they place the roots. The hole then is filled and soon the wind will leave no mark indicating that the sand has been disturbed. In some cases where the landmarks are plain, and the Yaruros expect to return in a day or two, no markers are placed anywhere. But if they expect to be delayed, or the sandbar is so large that they might forget the exact spot of the cache, they will thrust a stick into the ground [151] at some distance away. Apparently by sighting with this stick and some other chosen point, they are able to locate the food store. However, on a number of occasions I saw the Yaruros march to a place on the sands with certitude and excavate changuango. In such cases I saw no markers.

In similar fashion they may store turtle eggs, provided they expect to return within a few hours. Baskets and other objects may also be left in the sand, to be retrieved when they are needed. Asabache, which is found in certain localities, may be gathered in quantities and stored until it is to be used.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

251 During the rainy season the seed of the chigua is gathered. It is crushed, toasted, and stored in small quantities in the same way as the changuango, provided, of course, that a spot is found high enough to keep it dry.

Social Organization and Social Customs

596 616 622 791 554 Economically the family hunting group is the basic unit, as has been shown in the previous chapter. In social matters, however, it is the moiety. Each family hunting group recognizes a headman and each moiety recognizes a chief who in all cases is the shaman. Both of these positions of authority are acquired only through personal merit. There is no inheritance of chieftainship or shamanism. If the nephew of a headman shows ability he may inherit his uncle's position, and theoretically this is the scheme. In natural practices we find that not only the Yaruros but perhaps a great many other primitive peoples are very realistic and are loath to give authority to an individual whose personality does not stand for leadership.

616 428 Every Yaruro is born in either the "Itciai" or "Puaná" moiety. Descent, with its social affinities, prerogatives, and obligations, being traced through the female line, the child belongs to its mother's moiety. Nothing is inherited from the father, who belongs to the other moiety, except obligations.

616 773 There is a legend among the Yaruros that two young men not finding any marriageable girls among their own people mated with the Jaguar and with the Snake. From these two unions are descended the two moieties. Since only among animals do brothers and sisters mate it has become a rule that two descendants of the Jaguar, "Itciai", cannot marry with each other; nor can two descendants of the Snake, "Puaná", marry with each other. They must seek a mate from the other group. Thus an "Itciai" must always marry a "Puaná", and vice versa. Cross-cousin marriage solves this problem.

582

In this system, therefore, a man's children belong to his wife's moiety, from which he is socially excluded. His sister's children, on the other hand, are socially close to him since they too inherit moiety membership from their mother which is the same as his own. Deprived of his own children to carry on his traditions, a man looks to his sister's children to take their place. It is his nephews who will help him in hunting, who will come to his defence, who will take care of him in old age. As if in payment of such attention he gives them his daughters in marriage. Thus his sisters' sons become his sons-in-law.

604

121 596 Yaruro society is built around the hunting group, which in numbers is never stable. The hunt and the gathering of food such as roots and fruits calls for a certain amount of cooperative effort, but

mother's and sister's households, nevertheless hunted and harvested for himself, and often cooked for himself meals of the type ordinarily cooked only by women. 462 463

The forms and characteristics of surpluses, as defined by Harris, [16] shed further light on the structure of the ecology. The technological surplus, defined as the difference between total calories annually produced by any definable group and the calories used to produce them, or as the ratio between these two figures, may be estimated at about 8 or 9 to 1 as compared with Harris's estimated figures of 2:1 for the Sirionó or 33:1 for the Pencuyut Maya. [17] Since as Harris remarks, the degree of social stratification in a large number of cases correlates with the size of the technological surplus, we would scarcely expect to find social stratification among the Yaruro, nor even any significant ranking. Where the technological surplus is low, the producer's surplus, defined as the difference between total calories produced by any given group and the total calories used by the producers for all purposes must also be low. Therefore the number of persons other than producers who can be supported by the producers is also limited. The producers' surplus may provide an index of the degrees of specialization which might be expected. In the case of the Yaruro one would expect no, or very low, specialization. Again, with a low producers' surplus, one would expect to find a greater proportion of the group involved in production than where such surpluses are high, for otherwise there would be insufficient calories to support more than a few people other than the producers. With a low producers' surplus, one would expect, in general, to find a greater proportion of both sexes engaged in the food quest. This is, of course, born out in the case of the Yaruro. Finally, Harris's harvest surplus is defined as the difference between the amount produced at any given moment, especially at seasonal maxima, and the amount consumed at that time. The actual amount consumable is governed by the seasonal *minima*, since the population cannot rise higher than the food supply at minimum periods permits unless special technological features such as storage, are present. Where the harvest surpluses are of non-storable goods, the population level is in equilibrium with the absolute minima of the harvests. The greater the degree of storability through a nonproductive season, or the less marked a crop is by seasonality, the higher the level to which the minimum population can be raised as compared with the number of people supportable at levels of production comparable to those at the time of harvest. Storability, however, is only one dimension of the harvest surplus. Absolute size of the peak surpluses, their regularity over the years, their distribution in space and time in the annual cycle, their utility in raw form, and the proportion of labor needed to harvest them relative to the time allotted for the harvest are all important dimensions of the harvest surplus. Thus, manioc, the Yauro's chief food resource has no clear peak, is regular over the years (the Yaruro disclaim any famines), is storable both in raw form and in prepared forms, is, in the case of the Yaruro, so located as not to permit of a concentration of labor at any one time and needs no massive labor for harvesting because of short harvest periods. Thus, in general, the very nature of manioc as a crop, and the labor requisites for

121 433 182 [56] [463] [462] [262] [251] [241]

16, 17 [For footnotes see p. 43, category 116--Analyst]

46 433 sacre, the labor force actually observed in "my" group was a little more than 25% of that number, or 18, and neighboring groups were generally still smaller. These 154, 67, and especially the actual 18 workers, even if, at any given moment, *all* were working at subsistence activities, would be distributed over various parts of the 110 square miles of territory under the kind of dispersive habitat and technological conditions described. They are in fact so thinly scattered as to preclude any sort of continuing managerial functions.

V

241 433 A consideration of the forms of the harvest surplus[39] is relevant to our discussion. Harvest surpluses must be considered with respect both to individual subsistence resources and to all subsistence resources taken together. In the annual cycle, there is considerable variation in the amount produced of any given crop, except for sweet and bitter manioc which together constitute perhaps 40% of the annual food supply of the Yaruro. Manioc produces throughout the year. Given that the manioc-growing areas are widely dispersed and that considerable labor is drawn from manioc areas by still more dispersed resources, it follows that most work units for manioc gardens will consist of only one or two men, each having their own swidden or sharing it with one or two others to supply themselves and their immediate families throughout the year. As might be expected, land tenure and land usage patterns are in accord with this inference. Occasionally small oscillations in the manioc crops may produce small harvest surpluses. These, at least nominally, belong to the man in whose swidden they grow and are his for disposal. The quantities, however, are exceedingly small, and present no problems of storage or disposal necessitating more centralized supervision and allocation. Most other resources display a similar pattern though to an even smaller degree. 262 Fish are obtainable, for the Cinaruco Yaruro, all year round with almost equal ease, though the Palmariteños have a more difficult time because of the grassy and muddy waters in the rainy season. Hunting windfalls and large pigs are the only animal sources which present harvest surpluses of any size. However, these are small enough so that they last at most two or three days, and they are so irregular both as to occurrence and as to personnel involved that no regular centralized [251] institutional mode of handling them is entailed. The virtual absence of meat storage

[171] For example, in the Trobriand Islands, in a good year, all the yams harvested cannot be eaten at once, nor can they be stored. Some portion of the crop is then lost by spoilage. We may construct, in terms of calories or other significant food values, two ratios:

[146 464] $\frac{C_h}{C_p}$ $\frac{C_c}{C_h}$

C — Calories
c — consumed
p — potential
h — harvested (= available for use)

The first may be used as a measure of the efficiency of the productive capacity of the technology; the second as a measure of the efficiency of the distributive capacity of the technology.

[39] The technological, producers, and harvest surpluses are defined in Harris, 1958, [114] and implied in Harris, 1959. They are dealt with in detail with respect to the Yaruro in Leeds, 1961. Other relevant discussions of surplus are found Sahlins, 1958; Jacobs and Stern, 1952, Ch VI.

also inhibits any such development because it forces the immediate distribution of most of the meat of the slaughtered pig or captured game. There is no constantly or repeatedly stored supply to be supervised or allocated. In fact swine and windfall game, properly considered, correspond to the small oscillations of the manioc supply and are totally different from the regularly occurring massive incidence of food sources like buffalo herds, salmon runs, and wheat harvests of temperate climates or crab runs in the tropical Orinoco delta of Venezuela.[21]. Of all the food resources, the only one with a marked harvest surplus is corn. The significance of even this harvest surplus is reduced by a) the smallness of the quanta involved relative to the total food supply, and b) the fact that there are two corn seasons, one beginning in June, one about the beginning of February. Temporary harvest surpluses of corn may, however, contribute slightly to the enhanced prestige of those individuals who by their own will and work have been most productive.[22] They say with appreciation, "He is a hard worker", but the prestige is relevant only to the sphere in which it is gained. It does not necessarily give him prestige in some other spheres of cultural life, such as, for example, the ceremonial or decision-making activities.

In taking an overall view of the food resources, it will be noted that there are no clear harvest surpluses, and that the oscillations in supply, which are in truth minute and momentary harvest surpluses, are so small and irregular and varied in location as to be insignificant determiners of managerial functions. At most one might expect the harvest surplus of corn to elicit some small allocative function, generally none. Storage, too, in this case, is not a technique requiring administration as with wheat in grain elevators. It would in fact be better to consider this kind of storage as a steady presence of food rather than as storage at all, even though it functions as such.

The extra labor requirements of these small upward oscillations of the harvest surplus are likewise, in general, indistinguishable from regular labor requirements and are easily absorbed by individual workers. Or a worker may take along a child, who goes as much for the fun of being with his father or grandfather, but nevertheless carries back some produce. This type of situation is in sharp contrast with, say, the labor requirements of a large harvest surplus like the wheat crop in the United States which demands a large amount of labor quickly and temporarily. Such a harvest surplus entails a number of organizational problems foreign to the harvest oscillations.

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[21] Personal communication from Johannes Wilbert who has done extensive fieldwork with the Warrau in the Amacuro Delta of the Orinoco River.

[22] Yaruro individuals differ in productivity not only because of inborn qualities such as strength and native abilities, but also by choice based on tastes. Some do not like to grow corn, others do not like to grow pigs, others still prefer to hunt or trade. The food quanta produced by these several activities vary greatly. The individual may exercise these choices in a cultural setting where any such choice benefits the community. All produce eventually finds its way into the community at large through the distribution mechanism. The person is not acting as an individualist regardless of the interest of others, but at his own optimum, given his unique person, in the community as a whole. Cf Fn 3 *supra*.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

512 grains of sand, they wait patiently and quietly, though hungry.
461 They seek no shelter from the wind, preferring it to the myriads of insects lurking in any sheltered spot. And then, too, it is cool in the wind, terrifically hot away from it.

About midafternoon the hunters and food gatherers straggle in.
512 They bring small crocodiles and turtles, crocodile eggs, turtle eggs,
224 perhaps some honey; and the women return with full baskets con-
222 taining changuango, a wild root that they have dug up in the savanna. They, too, may bring turtle eggs. Not always, of course. The men and the women may return with empty hands and empty baskets. In any event there is no boisterous reception, but the same silence, the same quiet acceptance of the day and what it brings as they have shown at its beginning. Fires are built larger, the women roast the
512 roots, the men help with the turtles and the crocodiles. These are
● 252 placed whole on the fire until the shells are toasted and then they
515 are cracked open. Wives become busy delousing their husbands, using a carved stick to help in the search. Sometimes the lice are picked and eaten. But the bodies of the men are covered with numerous black blisters, showing that they have suffered the daily torment from the insects. The wife crushes all of these blisters with the same delousing tool.

Dinner is a gala time. Calabash dishes containing the various
512 courses are placed in the center of the ring formed by each family.
264 The food is picked up and carried to the mouth with the fingers.
262 There are crocodile eggs. These are opened and the contents are sucked up raw. The same is done with the turtle eggs. There is the course of roasted changuango, and the pieces of turtle meat. But the real delicacy is crocodile, the best meat of all. The crocodile is eaten in its entirety, except for the entrails, and when the dinner is over some of it is left by the fire, an open invitation to anyone to fill any empty portion of his stomach. The stomachs become distended as tremendous quantities of food are swallowed. This is the only real meal of the day, and the fear of a dinnerless tomorrow drives the eaters to exceptional feats of gourmandizing until their bodies can hold no more. The lean dogs fight among themselves over the refuse heaps. The vultures glide overhead or are busy at crocodile entrails.

There is no after dinner work—no kitchen or table ware to wash,
512 nothing to spoil the proper enjoyment of a full stomach. They eat
517 until they have had enough, and then they move to the east of the
776 fires to lie on the clean sands and watch the sun hide beneath the western horizon. For about half an hour they watch the ever-changing colorful western sky and when rays of light emanate from below the horizon to streak the heavens with blue and gold and white, they

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

252 Several fires were burning, and over them there were pots containing turtle eggs. Several large turtles and small crocodiles were broiling over a fire. The shells of the turtles and the hides of the crocodiles had not been removed, and for a moment we thought that they were being cooked alive, but soon discovered that they had been killed before being placed over the fire. There was little else to be seen. It was easy to understand the reaction of the casual traveler who, upon coming in contact with a primitive group, stops, looks, and goes away quickly with the impression that there is nothing there more than the glance takes in.

123 609 On approaching the camp, Pedro, the guide, shouted words of greeting in Yaruro, "keramai" (brother-in-law). He patted some of them on the back, asked after their health in Spanish, called everyone brother or sister-in-law, and tried to make himself generally agreeable. Maria busied herself with the women. The Yaruros' only response to their demonstrations of friendship was to extend their arms half-heartedly, in a llanero gesture of greeting, and to answer their questions monosyllabically.

In spite of our friendly overtures they would not accept me as friend or guest. They remained reserved and aloof. The young man pointed out as the headman resisted my attempt to draw him into conversation. The Yaruros watched us closely, taking in our least movement, and only averted their gazes when we looked directly at them. If one has never come in contact with South American primitives before, such a reception is decidedly disheartening.

123 522 An accident relieved some of the tension. I picked up a bow. Choosing the remnants of an old basket about 50 feet away for a target, I took careful aim and shot the arrow. I missed by more than 10 feet. The eyes watching me lighted with amusement and contempt, for it was inconceivable to them that anyone could exist in this world without knowing how to shoot a bow better than that. I shot again and this time I came within 6 inches of hitting my mark, a feat which aroused some interest. I placed another arrow on the bow, raised it, pulled back the string, as far back as my ear, and then, with a loud snap, the bow broke. Laughter greeted this exploit, not so much directed at me as at the owner of the bow who had spent several days fashioning it. He was adequately compensated but that did not remove his feeling of resentment.

123 That evening we again visited the camp. The camp fires were low, so we were scarcely able to see our way about. Pedro and Maria sang out cheery greetings, while we picked our way between scarcely distinguishable groups of humanity and piles of debris. A few grunts and a few indifferent gestures of greeting were the only acknowledgments of our presence. Even the distribution of several yards of tobacco failed to melt their reserve. They did, however, put up a

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

iron hoe, which is also made by the Yaruro out of any heavy scrap of iron that they may gather. Sometimes they will work for the ranchers and with their earnings purchase this type of hoe from a trader. However, such a digging tool is quite a luxury and sharpened sticks are more common.

MORTARS AND PESTLES.—During the rainy season, the Yaruros gather chigua, a seed, which they dry and pound into flour. Mortars of wood shaped as shown in figure 20, *a*, *b*, are used and the pestle is any ordinary hard stick.

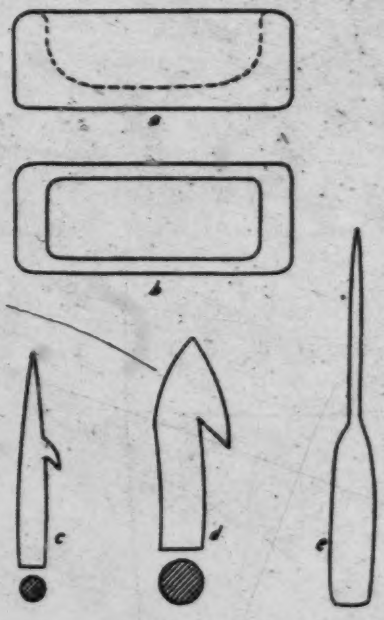

FIGURE 20.—*a*, *b*, Wooden mortar. *c*, Bone or iron point used for hunting chiguire. *d*, Hook used for manatee. *e*, Cooking paddle.

COOKING LADLES.—These are small wooden paddles used in cooking, especially when meat is boiling in a pot (fig. 20, *e*).

HAMMOCKS.—The Yaruros prefer to sleep on the sands, especially during the dry season. The men make hammocks, however, small ones generally used by children as cradles, and by the women shamans when they sing, during the day. During the rainy season they may employ them for sleeping.

The fiber employed to make the hammock string comes from the moriche leaf. The string may be very fine, of course, depending on the interest of the maker. It is made by the men. To weave the hammock a loom is made of two poles thrust into the sand to which are fastened two crosspieces at both the top and bottom. The string is then wound around these crosspieces. The weaver employs a knotter's netting technique. When the entire hammock has been woven the weaving is held in place by another string thrust through one of the woven rows.

ROPE.—The fiber mostly employed by the Yaruros is taken from the leaf of the moriche and the macanilla. The inner cortex of the leaf is stripped off and dried and then is taken apart strand by strand. These long fibers are then moistened and twisted together in two's and th..ee's into a string by rolling them on the thigh with the palm of the hand. A stronger string is made in the same way and used for making hammocks. The bow strings are made from the fiber of the macanilla.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

291 177 after I had been among the Yaruros for a time the women often discarded their camisoles, even though I were present.

291 286 462 The men would normally wear a breechclout which originally was woven by the women from the fibers of the moriche palm leaf, but now it consists of a piece of cloth. Formerly the women wove wide belts of the same fiber for the men, but this is no longer done. The breechclout is held in place by a string tied around the waist.

291 287 The women, underneath their camisoles, still wear the old-fashioned Yaruro girdle, which is made from the fibers of the moriche palm. The fibers, which are about 2 feet long, are fastened together at one end. This end is slipped through a hair rope tied around the waist, and the whole mass of fibers passes between their legs and under the waist string. Plate 25, 4,[1] shows a Yaruro woman wearing one of these girdles. It is fastened in such a way that an enormous knot is formed in the rear, and when wearing their camisole the women have the appearance of sporting large tails.

562 291 301 The women on the whole seem to be more conservative than the men in their clothing and body decorations. Below the knees and around the ankles they wear a thin string, and often they have necklaces of carved asabache figures, which are shown in plate 21.

DELOUSING TOOL

412 515 An implement that is in great vogue is the delousing tool shown in plate 20, 2. The serrated end is used as a comb to expose the lice, which are seized between the fingers and crushed between the teeth. The pointed end is employed to crush blisters raised on the body by

462 302 mosquito bites. These tools, also fashioned by the men, are used exclusively by the women to groom their menfolk and each other.

CARRYING NETS

482 286 854 Carrying nets, of the knotless variety, are woven and used to carry children and food. When carrying children the net is slung across the chest from one shoulder; when carrying food it is supported by the head.

COOKING

252 462 The culinary art among the Yaruro is poorly developed. Much of the fruit and the eggs are eaten raw. Fish is eaten half raw and the meat of the crocodiles and turtles is merely warmed over the fire. Sometimes the meat is boiled. In the afternoon the women who have gathered firewood are to be found in camp waiting patiently for the men. On the hot coals they will have eggs and changuango. If the hunt is successful, and no hunt is considered

1 [see category 116, and plate 15, - - - Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

successful if the men do not come back with a number of crocodiles, the men build larger fires, upon which the crocodiles are laid. As the hide cracks the animals are split open, the meat is stuck on spits and upon reaching a stage of being warm it is eaten. Contrary to popular ideas that crocodile eaters only consume the tail, the Yaruro eat the entire animal but stop short at the entrails, which are thrown to the dogs. However, they accuse the neighboring Guahibos of eating the entrails as a special delicacy. Turtle meat and eggs are often boiled.

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182 241 361 First, through time, the gardens tend to radiate further and further from any given residence point since, given the 13-year planting-fallow cycle, plots near the village will be exhausted. Since the major garden resource areas lie in a crudely east-to-west direction, there will be a slow westward migration of the geographic center of garden activities, enough so that at some point, the village is suspended, as it were, among distant resource points (see Maps), and enhanced by the dispersed nature of the hunting and fishing, and to some extent the gathering, areas. If the "suspension" is weighted more in one direction than another, there will be some tendency either to move the village or to send out temporary or permanent branches of it, respectively in the form of work cottages in the swiddens or in larger long-term house groups which are intermittently occupied. This process is, in fact, easily observed among the Yaruro in existent and abandoned house and subsidiary village sites scattered over the whole territory. Similarly, the locus of gathering, so important in [221] summer, moves further and further from the village. This, together with the considerable shift to fishing and river-hunting in summer, as well as the need for water, causes an extensive seasonal transhumance to occur within the territory. These factors contribute to fissioning as well as to inhibiting the development of permanently located villages, let alone larger aggregations. Thus, with a radiating ecology, a degree of group dispersion and geographical mobility within the territory is to be expected and is indeed characteristic of the Yaruro.

512 Second, if one examines the location of all resources it will be seen that, taken together, they constantly enjoin a dispersal of the labor force in all directions, regardless of season, so that more or less equivalent quantities of labor are being used at the same time in many varying kinds of productive activity independently of each other — at the peripheries of the territory, in the areas between, or in the village centers themselves, [462] where the women are constantly doing the significantly important work of [252] converting otherwise unusable food resources, like raw, bitter manioc or uncooked corn, into edibles.

476 Third, it will be noted that none of the Yaruro technological processes require cooperative work, even when they may permit it, if it were so desired. On the whole, the productive activities might be described as dispersive of labor, whether it is individuals or small groups of twos or threes who go out to keep each other company. Even the work of preparing [241] the swiddens is carried out individually, though two or three men may [463] work as neighbors in what appears as a single plot. Further, the technology [242] is such as to require no highly specific and difficult or esoteric skills. The most difficult skill to acquire is the knowledge of the soil types and appropriate planting procedures attached to each. Thus, each adult is in a position to learn the inventory of technological knowledge appropriate 462 to his or her sex, and somewhat of that belonging to the other sex too, and 463 to apply it by himself whenever he wants or must. A man, well-instructed in Yaruro technology, could probably subsist alone successfully for long periods of time. One divorced adult man, although he was largely fed by his

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Food M	Prep F
COOKED DISHES AND THE DIVISION OF LABOR — CONVERSION OF FOODSTUFFS IN VILLAGE					
chum'pe	arepa	corn cakes	kernels crushed after shelling, fried in deep fat or boiled; grater often used	/	♂♂♂
ui'ta	?	corn purée	crushed corn (after frying raw kernels in deep fat, or simply boiling) mixed with water; grater may be used for mashing	/	♂♂♂
pwɛ-u'ni	?	corn powder	dry hard kernels grated on metal grater (men make holes with nails) and then eaten dry	/	♂♂♂
iu	?	corn on cob?	boiled		♂
po'nô	?	corn kernels	dry, relatively hard kernels are shelled from cob, then roasted in deep fat, salted, and eaten	♂	♂♂
cɨ'dɛ	capuruna	corn sticks	shelled kernels grated into mush, carefully wrapped in capuruna leaves, boiled; stored or eaten directly	/	♂♂♂
'pwɛ-e"ro	guarapo de maíz	corn juice	kernels are mashed to express juice, thick liquid	♂	♂♂
tambɛ	cazabe	bitter manioc	manioc flower prepared by cutting, grating, squeezing in tipiti, etc.		♂♂♂
1. tam'bɛ	cazabe	manioc cakes	flour prepared in flat cakes and roasted		♂♂♂
2. tam'bɛ-ɛ'ro	guarapo de cazabe	boiled m. juice	juice is boiled to break down prussic acid	/	♂♂
3. tam'bɛ ?	carato	fermented "	flour and juice added to corn juice, ferments ca. 12 hr.	♂♂	♂
'oka"raru-"ni	huevos	chicken eggs	usually fried		♂
'hurari"à-'pae	yuca dulce	sweet manioc			
1. ?	?	fried slices	fried in relatively shallow fat	/	♂♂
2. ?	?	deep fried	fried in deep fat		♂♂
3. ?	?	boiled	boiled whole after peeling (as above)		♂♂

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Food M	Food F	Prep M	Prep F
'pasuwa	plátanos, topochos, bananas	plantains and bananas	many types often eaten raw; below are considered only those which are cooked				
1. ?	?	boiled	peeled and put in water to boil till soft	/		½	
2. ?	?	fried slices	peeled, sliced, put in deep fat till hard			½+½	
o'bwela	marrano	pork	most of the work of killing and preparing is done, as with most meats, by the men; only boiling is usually done by women who own pots				
1. ?	?	boiled	small chunks boiled till almost mushy	/		½+½	
2. ?	?	roasted	put on sticks over fire, facing it	½+½			
3. ?	chicharrones	cracklings	hide with thick layer of fat fried in its own fat till fat (and hide) are hard; stored for some time	½+½			
4. ?	?	deep fried	meat parts are deep fried till almost crisp			½+½	
5. agwei ka"piaka"ro	?	blood sausages	blood carefully caught on slaughtering and saved in vessell till coagulated then stuffed into unwashed (?) intestines and cooked	½+½+½			
chwai"i-e'ro	guarapo de caña	cane juice	squeezed out on "chaqui-chaqui", a wooden hand press	½		/	

NB—Preparation of foods produced only in the dry summer months, such as changuango root and changuanito savanero root were not observed and are not included here. These roots are both boiled by the women. Most meats, unless boiled, are prepared by the men by roasting. Fish, in general are prepared by women. Most fruits and seeds which are not eaten directly upon collecting are cooked by women.

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[p.39]

/11 cont./
out of reach of the waters, having refused to shelter themselves on an elevated knoll as Iʂiai ordered them to do. The latter, to punish them, condemned them and all their family to become "monos and araguatos who will eat henceforth," he told them, "leaves, fruit, chiga (18), etc...."

18. Chigo grain (Campsiandra comosa), from which the Yaruro apparently extract flour.

The origin of the chigüíre is illustrated on its part by the text reproduced next:

1st version (literal translation)

"Once upon a time, when the Kuma still lived on earth, an old Otomaco pume (19). The Kuma had a little gourd

19. In Yaruro: man or Yaruro.

full of mosquitos (20) and plaga (21) and one day the Otomaco

20. Diurnal wounding gnats (Similium haemapotum Malloch), in Venezuelan.

21. Nocturnal mosquitoes, in Venezuelan.

asked her: "What is this, grandmother?" "No, son," she answered him, "do not try to uncork it because they are Iʂiai's sons. If you uncork it, /12/ the little beasts will eat you." The Otomaco, the old pume, was stubborn and in an inattentive moment of the Kuma uncorked the little receptacle near a river. In an instant he was covered with bites and threw himself into the water. Then Iʂiai said to him that for

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

successful if the men do not come back with a number of crocodiles, the men build larger fires, upon which the crocodiles are laid. As the hide cracks the animals are split open, the meat is stuck on spits and upon reaching a stage of being warm it is eaten. Contrary to popular ideas that crocodile eaters only consume the tail, the Yaruro eat the entire animal but stop short at the entrails, which are thrown to the dogs. However, they accuse the neighboring Guahibos of eating the entrails as a special delicacy. Turtle meat and eggs are often boiled.

Salt is known to these people but it is by no means considered an indispensable condiment in their food. In the only historical reference we have to the Yaruros they are referred to as clay eaters. Today, even though they are in occasional touch with civilized communities, the salty clay banks are still their only source of supply for salt. The food is generally eaten saltless, since they have no means of purchasing salt from the Racionales and they do not know how to make salt from the clay. As a result, they obtain the amount of salt necessary to life by chewing clay which they pick up in their wanderings over the plains. Food which I prepared with salt was always left untouched by them as being unsavory. In this respect, therefore, they act like the cattle and the deer which can be seen over the plains licking salt clay banks.

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

512 grains of sand, they wait patiently and quietly, though hungry.
461 They seek no shelter from the wind, preferring it to the myriads of insects lurking in any sheltered spot. And then, too, it is cool in the wind, terrifically hot away from it.

About midafternoon the hunters and food gatherers straggle in.
572 They bring small crocodiles and turtles, crocodile eggs, turtle eggs,
224 perhaps some honey; and the women return with full baskets con-
222 taining changuango, a wild root that they have dug up in the savanna. They, too, may bring turtle eggs. Not always, of course. The men and the women may return with empty hands and empty baskets. In any event there is no boisterous reception, but the same silence, the same quiet acceptance of the day and what it brings as they have shown at its beginning. Fires are built larger, the women roast the
512 roots, the men help with the turtles and the crocodiles. These are
252 placed whole on the fire until the shells are toasted and then they
515 are cracked open. Wives become busy delousing their husbands, using a carved stick to help in the search. Sometimes the lice are picked and eaten. But the bodies of the men are covered with numerous black blisters, showing that they have suffered the daily torment from the insects. The wife crushes all of these blisters with the same delousing tool.

Dinner is a gala time. Calabash dishes containing the various
512 courses are placed in the center of the ring formed by each family.
264 The food is picked up and carried to the mouth with the fingers.
● 262 There are crocodile eggs. These are opened and the contents are sucked up raw. The same is done with the turtle eggs. There is the course of roasted changuango, and the pieces of turtle meat. But the real delicacy is crocodile, the best meat of all. The crocodile is eaten in its entirety, except for the entrails, and when the dinner is over some of it is left by the fire, an open invitation to anyone to fill any empty portion of his stomach. The stomachs become distended as tremendous quantities of food are swallowed. This is the only real meal of the day, and the fear of a dinnerless tomorrow drives the eaters to exceptional feats of gourmandizing until their bodies can hold no more. The lean dogs fight among themselves over the refuse heaps. The vultures glide overhead or are busy at crocodile entrails.

There is no after dinner work—no kitchen or table ware to wash,
512 nothing to spoil the proper enjoyment of a full stomach. They eat
517 until they have had enough, and then they move to the east of the
776 fires to lie on the clean sands and watch the sun hide beneath the western horizon. For about half an hour they watch the ever-changing colorful western sky and when rays of light emanate from below the horizon to streak the heavens with blue and gold and white, they

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Yawalapiti village in Brazil; but the very silence was expressive of the mutual sorrow at our parting. Landaeta loaded me and my baggage in a canoe and we drifted slowly away, leaving on the vast beach a few human beings alone in a strange world, but not lonesome, since they live with their gods.

Economic Life

The Yaruros practice no agriculture and keep no domestic animals except the dog, even though they inhabit country over which roam wild horses and cattle, and they come in contact with the "llaneros," who are typically pastoral. Therefore, their daily dinner is dependent upon, and determined by, indigenous environment and their own energy. The quality and abundance of their food supply depends upon seasonal variations of climate. A period of drought or a too prolonged period of rain may cause famine. They would be allowed a degree of freedom from the daily task of acquiring dinner were they able to store any food for future use. The tropics, however, offer special difficulties to this which are not present in more temperate climates. Their knowledge of what is edible in various localities, where to find it, how to gather it, and how to keep it and what is available at different times of the year are all factors important to the satisfaction of their most fundamental need. Technical knowledge in the making of tools and methods of hunting and fishing are also important.

As if not satisfied by the degree of their dependency on it, and on their technical knowledge, primitives often self-impose other limitations. There may be an abundance of a particular animal which could be hunted easily or a particular plant which could be gathered in quantity, yet the primitives very often raise barriers against such practices. The fact that they have religious and perhaps magical reasons for such attitudes explains but does not change the situation. Thus, for instance, among them deer may be plentiful in a region, the people may be starving, and yet no deer is killed and eaten.[8]

Limitations such as these are not entirely imposed by nature and by the culture of the people; often, the proximity and the attitude of other groups of mankind play their part. A weak tribe will be restricted in its lands over which it may wander, hunt, and claim ownership, and very often may be reduced to seeking a less desirable environment where food is even scarcer. Or a new people may seize its lands and they will be prohibited even from hunting on these lands. Or there may be an influx of peoples who will live partially on the hunt also, though their main source of food may be agricultural.

[8] The peoples of the Kuluene river, Matto Grosso, Brazil, will not hunt nor eat deer.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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not allowed to the neighboring peoples, such as the Otomacos or the Achaguas. The social and linguistic bonds seem to be strong enough to cause the Yaruros to recognize themselves as a distinct people.

FOODS

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In the llanos food is not plentiful except in and along the rivers; but the foraging activities of the Yaruros are restricted to the banks of the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers for another reason. The hunting of land animals has practically stopped for fear that they will be accused by the ranchers of killing cattle. In recent years the activities of the crocodile hunters have ruthlessly destroyed the game, and since such hunters live on the country they have consumed a portion of the available quantity of game on which the Yaruros depended for a livelihood.

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In the dry season game is concentrated along the rivers and the water holes. It is considerably easier to hunt it then than in the rainy season, when it is dispersed over the plains. The turtle, which is found in great quantities in the waters of the Orinoco and its tributaries, suffers a yearly mass hunt and destruction which has its effect on the food supply of the Yaruros. It has been discovered that the turtle fat and eggs will produce a fine grade of oil which sells for a high price. The result is that the breeding grounds of the turtles become yearly a scene of great activity and destruction. No one knows how many thousands of turtles and turtle eggs are gathered and converted into this oil late in the month of April.

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The meat staple of the Yaruros is the *Crocodilus babu*, a small crocodile which grows to about 6 feet long. This animal is hunted daily and eaten in its entirety. Its meat is esteemed above that of any other animal. On the other hand, the cayman, sought for its hide, is not hunted as a rule by the Yaruros. Perhaps this meat is not as savory as that of the babu, but the Yaruros give the reason that the large crocodile represents a race of mankind to which they are related. So that although occasionally it may be hunted for the price that its hide may bring, it is never eaten and never hunted consistently.

[825]

Next to the crocodile, turtles, including the matamata and tortoise, are to be found broiling over the fires in every Yaruro camp, and if they are not broiling they can be seen in shallow pools of water with their forelegs tied to their hindlegs. In this way they can keep alive but cannot walk away. The armadillo is seldom obtained and other meats appear occasionally on the diet of the Yaruros. Fishing is resorted to when neither crocodiles nor turtles are obtainable. The caribe, which is the piranha of Brazil, is esteemed but little. The tonino, which can be seen gracefully playing in the water or can be heard snorting in the rivers at night, is never hunted. It also is

[226]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

thought to be related to the race of mankind. On the other hand, the manatee is hunted occasionally. Birds are hunted but seldom, but the meat of the iguana is prized. This animal is not found in great quantities, however, in the open plains.

The vegetable diet is somewhat more plentiful and varied. There are no restrictions or taboos on what can be eaten. In the dry season it is the potato-like changuango, which is gathered by the women and which is to be seen broiling over the fires at all times, and which is the only food which the Yaruros are able to keep for a few days by burying it in the sand. In the rainy season it is the chigua seed and the barbaco which form the basic foods. The following list includes most of the foods eaten by the Yaruros:

DRY SEASON

Eggs.—Terracai (small water turtle) (mostly in February), turtle (March, April), galapago (tortoise—December), crocodile (cayman—February), babu (December).

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire (capibara), birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Changuango (root found in the savanna), barbaco (root found in the forest, mostly in May), guapo (a root found in the forest), wild yam (found in the savanna and the forests), fruit of the macanilla palm, honey, hearts of palm (in April).

DRY AND RAINY SEASON

Fish.—(Local Spanish names) tapuara, caribe, toporo, tachiama, palometa, pavon, cajani, temblador (electric eel).

RAINY SEASON

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire, birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Fruit of the moriche, chigua, barbaco.

PROPERTY

The Yaruros do not have much personal property. Nevertheless, what each person possesses is respected scrupulously. This attitude is especially in evidence when, for instance, a visitor attempts to purchase such a thing as a pot. In my case I was forced to ask the men. In spite of any price that I might offer they never allowed themselves to give any kind of an answer to my offer. Instead they offered the explanation that the pots were the property of the women and, therefore, they had to be asked if they wished to sell them. My own property I left in camp often without anyone to watch over it, but never did I miss even a sheet of paper.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

842 773 Biological conception is clearly understood. One of the myths tells of Kuma's desire to have a child. She asked Puaná to impregnate her in the thumb, but Puaná, who in these myths appears both as trickster and wise man, told her that such impregnation would result in an overpopulation and advised her to allow herself to be impregnated in the ordinary way. She allowed herself to be persuaded, and Hatchawa was born. It may be worth noting that though Hatchawa was the issue, he is referred to as the grandson of Kuma. Whether this inconsistency is to us merely an unexplainable situation, or whether it has greater significance, I was not able to find out.

844 846 676 262 When delivery is imminent a shelter is built for the prospective mother, apart from all other people. Her husband's moiety brothers build a similar structure for him also apart from the camp. The woman is tended by the women of her family and moiety and the husband by the men belonging to his moiety. Both abstain from eating fish, turtle, and crocodile. Iguana and deer meat and the usual vegetable diet are allowed. During delivery and for 10 days after the husband lies in a hammock and engages in no physical activity. Ordinarily he would sleep on the ground. His moiety brothers bring him food. After 10 days he visits his wife but continues to live alone and apart for a month. Now he hunts in the company of other men and is expected to supply his wife with food. The food taboos continue in effect for the full month for both husband and wife. Strict continence is practiced by the husband. When the month is over the family is reunited.

MENSTRUATION

152 841 The Yaruro's actual attitude toward menstruation is not one of fear or wonder. The phenomenon is accepted much as it is among us, as a disturbing but unavoidable event. In the literature on primitive peoples it is often reported that menstruation is held to be a dangerous period for the woman and for the people. One may question the correctness of this observation, if observation it be, with the suspicion that because certain taboos are observed fear is the motivating response. I have found the observance of taboos among a dozen South American tribes with whom I have had personal contact but there has been no indication of actual fear. One wonders if such events have not been too highly dramatized and rationalized by the civilized visitor rather than by the primitives.

841 Among the Yaruros the first period in a girl calls for special treatment at the hands of the women. The girl's face is covered with a

311 241 within these 800 acres, much is occupied by the streams, calculated at their flood maxima which define non-gardenable areas, while other parts are inadequate in soils or water for use as gardens. Consequently, the actually tillable areas comprise a maximum of about 200 acres or about 0.5% of the land surface. It should be noted, of course, that all these 200 acres are not usable for crops since those in the *montes* cannot be used for cane and bananas, while the wet areas nearest the streams cannot be used for corn or manioc. Thus the maximum area for the staple crops, manioc, corn, and bananas, is about 145 acres (see Table I).[1,11]

168 311 Using Carneiro's equations,[12] we may estimate the maximum population which would be in equilibrium with this acreage, estimating .5 acres as an approximate amount of land required to provide the average person with the food he ordinarily derives from cultivated plants per year.[12] The calculation gives us 92 persons (see Figure 1).[14] We may also estimate the number of years (L) the group may stay in the present locality with its present population of 24 before wearing out the available tillable land so that they would have to move (see Figure 2). This would be 50 years. Since the entire fallow and planting cycle of any piece of land is only 13 years, under present circumstances, the Totúdoro Yaruro will not have to move from their present territory at all, in view of their small and decreasing population.

[128]

Figure 1

$$P = \frac{\frac{T}{(R+Y)} \times Y}{A}$$

$$P = \frac{\frac{200}{10+3} \times 3}{.5}$$

P = 92 (=67 if R is 15)

Figure 2

$$L = \frac{\frac{T}{P \times A}}{Y}$$

$$L = \frac{\frac{200}{24 \times .5}}{3}$$

L = 50 years

R = year of fallow
Y = years of productivity
A = land used to provide plant food for one person a year
P = population
L = number of years group located in one place
T = acres of cultivable land within walking-working distance of village

The ideal figures given above would be somewhat modified upwards by the additional foods provided by fishing, hunting, and gathering which, in the wet season, constitute about 30% of the diet and, in the dry, perhaps

● [262]

[1] [For Table I see pp. 28-30, category 116--Analyst]
[11,12,13,14] [For footnotes, see p. 43, category 116--Analyst]

50% of the diet or a little less. The ideal figures would again be reduced, on the other hand, by allowing for the predations on gardens of animals, especially the pigs, which eat manioc and corn, the Guahibo Indians who allegedly steal sugar cane, and insect losses. Our figures, then, will be modified only a few units by the additional sources of foods. We may thus revise our population figure to between 100 and 105 (or, if a 15-year fallow period is assumed, the figure would be 75-80), figures which correspond to the Yaruro's own ideal of what a proper population for this area should be. If the population increased beyond this number of people, the Yaruro would have to exploit their gardens at a rate greater than the rate of land reconstitution, and also expand hunting, fishing, and gathering beyond the average long-term carrying capacity of the savanas and the rivers, thus reducing their potential productivity. Adding together the maximum populations supportable by these food resources, as well as by the recently introduced pigs, a figure approximating 125-150 persons might be reasonable for this particular territory. This gives a density of 2 persons per sq. mile, a characteristic figure for tropical forest tribes.[15]

If the population rose beyond this maximum capacity of the land-technology relationship, groups would either have to fission off, go on the warpath, regulate population by any of a number of internal institutions such as infanticide, or die either from extreme famines or from steady nutritional deficiency. Under present population conditions none of these is necessary, yet both fissioning and population regulation by contraception occur. Fissioning appears to be fostered by the search for settlement locations requiring minimum labor for maximum return and also to establish community authority under the person leading the fissioning group independent of that excercised by the community from which fissioning took place. Contraception appears to be a matter of choice revolving about maintaining a certain freedom from the cares of motherhood until such time as the marriage partners are reasonably convinced that the marriage is permanent. Indirectly, this contributes to the distribution of more effective female producers among the more effective male producers in the most productive areas, since a second marriage often involves shifting to a generally more effective husband whereas a shift to a less effective husband is scarcely to be found. Both fissioning and contraception, however, give evidence of techniques which were developed to handle man-food balance in happier days.

A number of formal characteristics of any ecology may permit us to deduce the form of society which would be expected on the basis of such characteristics. In so far as the ecological forms were to remain essentially unchanged over great periods of time, no changes in the forms of the social order attached to the ecological conditions would be expected. An internal equilibrium is maintained until such time as a dynamic imbalance occurs because of changes from internal or external sources. It is essential to examine to what extent the internal equilibrium prevents or fosters the occurence of dynamic imbalances in any particular ecological setting. We shall return to this question after the following itemization of Yaruro ecological forms.

[15] [for footnote see p. 43, category 116 -- Analyst]

mother's and sister's households, nevertheless hunted and harvested for himself, and often cooked for himself meals of the type ordinarily cooked only by women. 462 463

The forms and characteristics of surpluses, as defined by Harris,[16] shed further light on the structure of the ecology. The technological surplus, defined as the difference between total calories annually produced by any definable group and the calories used to produce them, or as the ratio between these two figures, may be estimated at about 8 or 9 to 1 as compared with Harris's estimated figures of 2:1 for the Sirionó or 33:1 for the Pencuyut Maya.[17] Since as Harris remarks, the degree of social stratification in a large number of cases correlates with the size of the technological surplus, we would scarcely expect to find social stratification among the Yaruro, nor even any significant ranking. Where the technological surplus is low, the producer's surplus, defined as the difference between total calories produced by any given group and the total calories used by the producers for all purposes must also be low. Therefore the number of persons other than producers who can be supported by the producers is also limited. The producers' surplus may provide an index of the degrees of specialization which might be expected. In the case of the Yaruro one would expect no, or very low, specialization. Again, with a low producers' surplus, one would expect to find a greater proportion of the group involved in production than where such surpluses are high, for otherwise there would be insufficient calories to support more than a few people other than the producers. With a low producers' surplus, one would expect, in general, to find a greater proportion of both sexes engaged in the food quest. This is, of course, born out in the case of the Yaruro. Finally, Harris's harvest surplus is defined as the difference between the amount produced at any given moment, especially at seasonal maxima, and the amount consumed at that time. The actual amount consumable is governed by the seasonal *minima*, since the population cannot rise higher than the food supply at minimum periods permits unless special technological features such as storage, are present. Where the harvest surpluses are of non-storable goods, the population level is in equilibrium with the absolute minima of the harvests. The greater the degree of storability through a nonproductive season, or the less marked a crop is by seasonality, the higher the level to which the minimum population can be raised as compared with the number of people supportable at levels of production comparable to those at the time of harvest. Storability, however, is only one dimension of the harvest surplus. Absolute size of the peak surpluses, their regularity over the years, their distribution in space and time in the annual cycle, their utility in raw form, and the proportion of labor needed to harvest them relative to the time allotted for the harvest are all important dimensions of the harvest surplus. Thus, manioc, the Yauro's chief food resource has no clear peak, is regular over the years (the Yaruro disclaim any famines), is storable both in raw form and in prepared forms, is, in the case of the Yaruro, so located as not to permit of a concentration of labor at any one time and needs no massive labor for harvesting because of short harvest periods. Thus, in general, the very nature of manioc as a crop, and the labor requisites for

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16, 17 [For footnotes see p. 43, category 116--Analyst]

TABLE II

FOODS: THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL PROVENIENCES, TECHNIQUES AND SEASONS OF PRODUCTION; THE DIVISION OF LABOR IN PRODUCTION AND FOOD PREPARATION

Symbols: S.F W.S — summer, fall, winter, spring
M F. — male, female
Q — evaluation of the quantitative importance of the food or raw material in Yaruro subsistence and productive activity: 5 — major staple or resource; 4 — major crop, but not a staple; 3 — important food (or other) resource, but a secondary crop; 2 — minor crop (or other resource) serving as a more or less regular but seasonal delicacy; 1 — mostly a delicacy for occasional enjoyment (very secondary resource)
ɸ — indicates both presence, and by doubling or tripling importance of crop or resource; three ɸɸɸ's do not necessarily mean "3 times as important as 1 ɸ", merely 'of outstanding importance".
/ — sporadically or slightly present
d-m — December to March; a — April; m-s — May-September; o-m — October to November.

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S	F	W	S	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food Prep. M	F	Q
CROPS PLANTED:												
ŋoe-ka'ra (x)	yuca amarga	bitter manioc	swiddens, cuttings, dibble	ɸɸɸ	ɸɸɸ	ɸɸɸ	ɸɸɸ	ɸɸɸ	ɸ	/	ɸ...	5
1. p. ŋo-ka'ra	chichicame	" (variety?)	as above									
2. p. a'punda"ki bi'ŋbɛri"a	orfbita (?) (blanca)	" (light)	as above									
3. p. a'pund"ki-k'a'Ra	orfbita (?) (obscura)	" (dark)	as above									
'hurari"ä-'pue	yuca dulce	sweet manioc	as above	ɸɸ	ɸɸ	ɸɸ	ɸɸ	ɸɸ	ɸ		ɸɸ	4
1. p. ŋuä'kw,	yema de huevo	" (variety?)	as above									
2. p. ki'kw,	pata de zamuro	" (variety?)	as above									
3. p. valenciana	valenciana	" (", introd)	as above									

(x) Phonetics: *ä*. etc. = nasalized vowel. *ə* = mid central unrounded vowel. *čh* = palatal c.. *y* = palatalized fricative; *R* = flapped *t*. *ñz* = palatalized nasal continuant, as in English sing, *j* = palatalized affricate, as in English job.

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-o	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
pw$_{ɪ}$	maiz	corn, maize	swiddens, hills, dibble			≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠	≠	≠≠≠	4
1. pumɪ'pw$_{ɪ}$	maiz yaruro	Yaruro corn	as above (3 mo., 1 ear/stalk)									
2. 'hamburu"spw$_{ɪ}$	maiz guahibo	Guahibo corn	as above (4 mo., 2 ears/ ")									
3. p. kw$_{ɪ}$'kw$_{ɪ}$ɪa	maiz amarillo	yellow corn	as above (3 mo., 1 ear/stalk)									
'parau"aɪ	plátano, topocho, banana	plantains, bananas	swiddens, machetes to cut, on specially prepared mounds, slips	≠?	≠?	≠≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	4
1. p. 'aɪ	plátano	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
2. p. wo'ko	topocho	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
3. p. so'kwi	dos millos	banana	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
4. p. ka'ru	?	plantain	as above (?)								?	
5. ecocha'mɪ p.	guineo (?)	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
6. ka'muce	cumbur	banana	as above (raw)									
ku'ra	ñame	yams	dry swiddens, dibble	≠?	≠?	≠	≠≠	/			≠≠	2
o'de	patilla	melons, pumpkins, squashes	swiddens dibble	≠≠	≠?	≠	≠≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	2
1. kw$_{ɪ}$"bohurarilede	"	water-melon	as above									
2. chumanile.	"	pumpkins	as above									
3. 'yako"da	"?	bottle gourd	as above									
chesi'ã	caña	sugar cane	wet swiddens, dibble, machete	≠?	≠?	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠	/		3
1. ch. mo'ra	caña ?	" (variety ?)	as above									
2. ch. b$_{ɪ}$'reby$_{ɪ}$ci"a	caña blanca	white cane	as above									
	caña criolla	introd var.	as above.									

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
'cɛrame''kwɛ	ñame	yams	swiddens, dibble	≠?	≠?	≠	≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	2
ôa''ri	batata	sweet potato	as above	≠?		≠?	≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	2
ô	ananá	pineapple	swiddens, dibble				≠	≠			/	1
iu	capacho	?	swiddens, ?				≠?	≠			1	?
cɛ'da (=cɛda''dakwɛ	ocumo (yauta)	xanthosoma	swiddens, dibble	≠?		≠	≠	≠			≠	2
(ñô'tɛa''nâ	aji	chili pepper	doubtful if raised on Cinaruco)									
FISHES CAUGHT:												
yagu'pe	agua dulce	?	rivers, caños, hooks, arrows	≠				≠		/	≠	2-
e (='chamachi''ro)	cachama	?	rivers, hooks, arrows	≠				≠		/	≠	1
gui'te	sardina	?	rivers, fish arrows, small hook	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2
dap'we	guavina	?	caño fishhooks	≠			≠	≠		/	≠	?
ho'nô	palambre	?	rivers, caños, arrows, hooks	≠?		≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2
ip:'â	pinte tigre	?	rivers, caños, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2-
pa'chowén''ti	bagre	catfish	rivers, caños, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2-
'meô''dakwɛ	viejita	?	as above	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
'chôânda-''yii	"	?	as above	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
ninda'ô	"	?	caños, hooks, sardine bait	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
toji'ri-ka''Râ	" negra	?	caños, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
u'ru-u'ru	de tierra	?	rivers, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
da're	pavón	?	rivers, hooks, sardine bait	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
chu'me	-	?	rivers, cañas, hooks, sardine bait, from platform	-				+		/	+	?
'paka'ra	-	?	as above, also arrows	+	+	+	+	+		/	+	2?
'Yopok'e"se	" colorado	?	rivers, caños, hooks	+	+	+	+	+		/	+	?
šš	caribe blanco	white piranha	rivers, arrows, hooks with especially heavy cord	+				+		/	+	1
(hòle'cis	caribe	piranha	doubtful if caught on Cinaruco)									
(pu'pu	cajarro	catfish	doubtful if caught on Cinaruco)									
FRUITS, ROOTS, AND SEEDS GATHERED:												
t'o'cho	?	?	in mata from big tree, at foot	-				+				1?
gu're (cho'nó)	guayaba	guava	bushes and low trees, distant			+		+				1
t'u	fruta de moriche	miriti palm fruit	near caños in wet savana, from foot of trees			+/+		+			+	2
'mtam"be	?	?	?, from big tree (monte?)			+		+			1	?
tam'be	?	?	?, ?			+						1
mu,to'ui	cardón	teasel (?)	?, from tall trees (prob monte)			+		+				1?
mkai'cho	cacaño	?	?, ?			+						1?
nuri"m	?	?	?, ?			+						1?
pi'hol,	totumo	calabash	monte (?), picked				+	+?			+	3
ni'pi,	chanchango	?	wet savanas, digging stick	+/-					+/+		+	3
cho'kai	guapo	?	monte, savana, digging stick	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-		+/+		+	2

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
ma"hikai	sebu ??	?	savana, digging stick									1
ka'ta	chaguanito sevanero	?	as above									2?
pa'ta	barbaco	?	monte, digging stick									3
gwe'pe (=gwepe'ke)	chigo	? (seed)	near monte, big trees, ground									2
ge (=ke)	chigo	? (seed)	?, ? (as above?)									?
ANIMAL HUSBANDRY:												
o'bweia	marrano	pigs	savanas, herding (introd.)						/			3
oka'taro	gallina	chickens	dunes near houses (")						/			1
ANIMALS HUNTED:												
(so)ha'rigu'ri(a'nà)	oso hormiguero	giant ant eater?	savana, bow and arrow									4
ha'ri	baba	alligator	rivers, heavy barbed arrow									3
mba	venado	deer	savanas, lance arrow, gun									3
ci'do	chigüire	capybara	monte, river, " ", fish arrow									3-
aapu'ta	conejo	rabbit	savana, fish arrow						?			1?
puri	lapa	paca	caño, monte, traps, all arrows						?		?	1?
ya'tutu"mi	iguana	water lizard	rivers, montes, fish arrow						?		?	1?
'ge"te	cachicamo	armadillo	savanas, traps, sticks, hand								/	2-
'ipurime"ta	mante	?	savanas, traps, arrows						?		?	?

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S e-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
'yacra"tr	picure	? (aguti?)	monte, caño, fish arrow	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	?
'iku"ri	tortuga	tortoise	rivers, fishhooks; on Capanaparo, use detachable arrow	≠≠			≠	≠		?	?	2
poda'me	tevecai	terrapin?	rivers, fishhooks " "	≠≠			≠	≠		?	?	2
poda'me	morrocoy	boxturtle	mata, by hand - doesn't run	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	1
ci'rida"me	galapago	river turtle	rivers, detachable arrow	≠≠			≠	≠≠		?	?	2
('hôi-obwei"a	chácharo	peccary	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
(be'ri	manati	manatee	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
BIRDS HUNTED:												
bé'we	coina negro	duck species	rivers, caño, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
hà'na	carétero	?	rivers, lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
andu'ra	garza morena	grey heron	rivers, lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
o'kara	garza blanca	white heron	lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
'huidiga'ra	garza paleta	painted heron?	lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
'hue	gaviota (?)	?	lakes, arrows, bird arrow	≠				≠		?	≠	1
'kwinchi"ai	perdiz	partridge?	savana, bird arrow (?)	≠				≠		≠	?	1
hu'ru-yu'ru	pavo	curassow	rivers, monte, arrows	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		≠	?	2
ta'ra	jivaro (?)	jivaro stork?	lakes, arrows, shotgun	≠				≠		≠	?	2?
aoraha'te	pato real	duck species	lakes, arrows	≠≠				≠		?	?	?

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
pi'be	entua	duck species	rivers, caños, arrows	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		?	?	2?
pos'ná	pato	duck species	(doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
MISCELLANEOUS MATERIALS COLLECTED FOR USE IN PRODUCTION:												
ya'ro	capuruna	leaf to wrap and store corn sticks	savana, picking			✓?			✓		✓	1
karam'bu	?	cigar wrapping	savana, picking	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓?		✓	✓	1
agam'bi	tabaco	tobacco	savana, picking	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
u'dę	curagua, macanilla	macanilla palm	near caños (?) a) for bows, b) for string, fibres for objects	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓		✓ ✓	✓ ✓	2 2
chara'ť'o	salau (salado?)	canoe wood (?)	montes, for making canoes	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ ✓		✓ ✓		4
cinó'ť'o	caña brava	cane for arrows	near caños for foreshafts	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ ✓		✓ ✓		4
tu	moriche	moriche	near or in caños, used for making house roofs, baskets, cords, fibres, hammocks	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	5
ngo	moriche frond	ditto	as above, often picked up from ground, or tree cut and fronds collected, last for years, may be reused.		as above							
biri'ť'o-i	guasca	bark strips	montes, caños, for lashing	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ ✓		✓ ✓		3
é-im'bu	cera de abeja	beeswax	near caños, from large trees	✓	✓			✓		✓		1
é-'ke	miel	honey	as above	✓	✓			✓				1
é'ra	peramán	tree wax	as above? for arrows	✓?	✓?			✓		✓		2

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Food M	Prep F
COOKED DISHES AND THE DIVISION OF LABOR — CONVERSION OF FOODSTUFFS IN VILLAGE					
cham'pe	arepa	corn cakes	kernels crushed after shelling, fried in deep fat or boiled; grater often used	/	♂♂♂
ui'ta	?	corn purée	crushed corn (after frying raw kernels in deep fat or simply boiling) mixed with water; grater may be used for mashing	/	♂♂♂
pwɛ-u'ni	?	corn powder	dry hard kernels grated on metal grater (men make holes with nails) and then eaten dry	/	♂♂♂
iu	?	corn on cob?	boiled		♂
po'nô	?	corn kernels	dry, relatively hard kernels are shelled from cob, then roasted in deep fat, salted, and eaten	♂	♂♂
ca'dɛ	capuruna	corn sticks	shelled kernels grated into mush, carefully wrapped in capuruna leaves, boiled; stowed or eaten directly	/	♂♂♂
'pwɛ-e''ro	guarapo de maiz	corn juice	kernels are mashed to express juice, thick liquid	♂	♂♂
tambɛ	cazabe	bitter manioc	manioc flower prepared by cutting, grating, squeezing in tipiti, etc.		♂♂♂
1. tam'bɛ	cazabe	manioc cakes	flour prepared in flat cakes and roasted		♂♂♂
2. tam'bɛ-e'ro	guarapo de cazabe	boiled m. juice	juice is boiled to break down prussic acid	/	♂♂
3. tam'bɛ ?	carato	fermented "	flour and juice added to corn juice, ferments ca. 12 hr.	♂♂	♂
'oka''raru-''nâ	huevos	chicken eggs	usually fried		♂
'hurari''â-'pae	yuca dulce	sweet manioc			
1. ?	?	fried slices	fried in relatively shallow fat	/	♂♂
2. ?	?	deep fried	fried in deep fat		♂♂
3. ?	?	boiled	boiled whole after peeling (as above)		♂♂

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Food M	Prep F
'parsænâ	plátanos, topochos, bananas	plantains and bananas	many types often eaten row; below are considered only those which are cooked		
1. ?	?	boiled	peeled and put in water to boil till soft	/	≠
2. ?	?	fried slices	peeled, sliced, put in deep fat till hard		≠≠
o'bweia	marrano	pork	most of the work of killing and preparing is done, as with most meats, by the men; only boiling is usually done by women who own pots		
1. ?	?	boiled	small chunks boiled till almost mushy	/	≠≠
2. ?	?	roasted	put on sticks over fire, facing it	≠≠	
3. ?	chicharrones	cracklings	hide with thick layer of fat fried in its own fat till fat (and hide) are hard; stored for some time	≠≠	
4. ?	?	deep fried	meat parts are deep fried till almost crisp		≠≠
5. ngwei ke"pâske"to	?	blood sausages	blood carefully caught on slaughtering and saved in vessell till coagulated then stuffed into unwashed (?) intestines and cooked	≠≠≠	
chæni"â-e'ro	guarapo de caña	cane juice	squeezed out on "chaqui-chaqui", a wooden hand press	≠	/

NB—Preparation of foods produced only in the dry summer months, such as changuango root and changuanito savanero root were not observed and are not included here. These roots are both boiled by the women. Most meats, unless boiled, are prepared by the men by roasting. Fish, in general are prepared by women. Most fruits and seeds which are not eaten directly upon collecting are cooked by women.

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222 the moriche palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*); several seeds, notably chiga (= chigo?; — *Campsiandra comosa*); calabashes (*Crescentia Cujete*), and bees' wax and honey. Non of the items gathered are large in size or difficult of access except the bees' wax, one or two of the fruits, and calabashes which grow on higher trees, or may be very far. Gathered foods may be picked up by hand or with the aid of a digging [412] stick or machete, and may be brought back in the harvesting baskets. Other items [415] which may be gathered include the raw materials for baskets and mat-making or 824 for food-processing tools such as the tipitĺ, pots, or mortars and pestels. These [285] items include the fronds of the moriche palm, used for making cord, baskets, tipi- [323] tís, mats, and sacks; in some villages, clay for pots; reeds for arrows, wood for house beams, mortars and pestles, bows, and for cooking utensils. Wood, palm fronds, and many other items are gathered with the help of the all-purpose machete.

231 Pig herding is unsystematically done. The pigs, a recent acquisition, spend most of their time at will in the foraging grounds. The significant herding activity occurs only at times when one or another of the groups of pigs breaks into the gardens, an almost daily occurrence. They are then driven to the foraging grounds again, or if late in the day, into a close till morning when they are either driven forth again or allowed to scavenge in the village. There are several herds of pigs of sizes varying from perhaps a maximum of 20 including piglets to the more usual six or eight animals. The only tools used in pig care include a slaughtering [412] stick with which the pig is clubbed to death and knives to cut up the meat. The [262] close is built of logs cut with a machete and carried in by one or two men. Pig meat, though eaten with regularity, is definitely a secondary element of diet.

411 Hunting is done almost exclusively with the bow and arrow. There are several types of arrows. One for fish has a metal point approximately 4 inches long with a side hook about five inches from the tip, where the tip is set into the shaft. This may also be used for smaller animals. One for birds has a blunt wooden head, and does not appear to be used very often. A third type is used for larger animals such as deer and capybara. It has a blade about 6 inches long shaped like a laurel leaf and, at present, made of steel. At the base of the blade, a small cross-piece is affixed in order to prevent the precious blade from piercing so deeply into the animal that, if it escapes, it would carry the arrow away with it. The fourth type of arrow is used for turtles, tortoises, and alligators or other animals which submerge. The head is short and strong with a sharp recurved hook. The entire metal head is attached to a cord, and this in turn is attached to the arrow shaft, from which the head is detachable. On detaching, the shaft floats and the game can be followed in its underwater course. The bow is generally about 6 feet long or a little more. It is made rather crudely of the wood of the macanilla palm (*Bactris Gaspiaes*). Some animals, especially land tortoises and armadillos, may be caught [136] [224] by hand. Alligators may also be hunted with exceedingly heavy steel hooks and a strong line. In hunting, no traps, nets, surrounds, or drives are used.

226 Fishing is done chiefly with bows and arrows, though an arrow may sometimes be used as a spear, repeatedly jabbed into grassy waters near the river banks. Fishing may also be done with hooks and lines of different sizes. Bait is also used. A man may fish from a platform built by lashing logs horizontally to two trees

46 433 sacre, the labor force actually observed in "my" group was a little more than 25% of that number, or 18, and neighboring groups were generally still smaller. These 154, 67, and especially the actual 18 workers, even if, at any given moment, *all* were working at subsistence activities, would be distributed over various parts of the 110 square miles of territory under the kind of dispersive habitat and technological conditions described. They are in fact so thinly scattered as to preclude any sort of continuing managerial functions.

V

241 433 A consideration of the forms of the harvest surplus[89] is relevant to our discussion. Harvest surpluses must be considered with respect both to individual subsistence resources and to all subsistence resources taken together. In the annual cycle, there is considerable variation in the amount produced of any given crop, except for sweet and bitter manioc which together constitute perhaps 40% of the annual food supply of the Yaruro. Manioc produces throughout the year. Given that the manioc-growing areas are widely dispersed and that considerable labor is drawn from manioc areas by still more dispersed resources, it follows that most work units for manioc gardens will consist of only one or two men, each having their own swidden or sharing it with one or two others to supply themselves and their immediate families throughout the year. As might be expected, land tenure and land usage patterns are in accord with this inference. Occasionally small oscillations in the manioc crops may produce small harvest surpluses. These, at least nominally, belong to the man in whose swidden they grow and are his for disposal. The quantities, however, are exceedingly small, and present no problems of storage or disposal necessitating more centralized supervision and allocation. Most other resources display a similar pattern though to an even smaller degree. ● 262 Fish are obtainable, for the Cinaruco Yaruro, all year round with almost equal ease, though the Palmariteños have a more difficult time because of the grassy and muddy waters in the rainy season. Hunting windfalls and large pigs are the only animal sources which present harvest surpluses of any size. However, these are small enough so that they last at most two or three days, and they are so irregular both as to occurrence and as to personnel involved that no regular centralized [251] institutional mode of handling them is entailed. The virtual absence of meat storage

[171] For example, in the Trobriand Islands, in a good year, all the yams harvested cannot be eaten at once, nor can they be stored. Some portion of the crop is then lost by spoilage. We may construct, in terms of calories or other significant food values, two ratios:

[146 464] $\frac{C_h}{C_p}$ $\frac{C_c}{C_h}$

C — Calories
c — consumed
p — potential
h — harvested (= available for use)

The first may be used as a measure of the efficiency of the productive capacity of the technology; the second as a measure of the efficiency of the distributive capacity of the technology.

[89] The technological, producers, and harvest surpluses are defined in Harris, 1958, [114] and implied in Harris, 1959. They are dealt with in detail with respect to the Yaruro in Leeds, 1961. Other relevant discussions of surplus are found Sahlins, 1958; Jacobs and Stern, 1952, Ch VI.

also inhibits any such development because it forces the immediate distribution of most of the meat of the slaughtered pig or captured game. There is no constantly or repeatedly stored supply to be supervised or allocated. In fact swine and windfall game, properly considered, correspond to the small oscillations of the manioc supply and are totally different from the regularly occurring massive incidence of food sources like buffalo herds, salmon runs, and wheat harvests of temperate climates or crab runs in the tropical Orinoco delta of Venezuela.[21]. Of all the food resources, the only one with a marked harvest surplus is corn. The significance of even this harvest surplus is reduced by a) the smallness of the quanta involved relative to the total food supply, and b) the fact that there are two corn seasons, one beginning in June, one about the beginning of February. Temporary harvest surpluses of corn may, however, contribute slightly to the enhanced prestige of those individuals who by their own will and work have been most productive.[22] They say with appreciation, "He is a hard worker", but the prestige is relevant only to the sphere in which it is gained. It does not necessarily give him prestige in some other spheres of cultural life, such as, for example, the ceremonial or decision-making activities.

In taking an overall view of the food resources, it will be noted that there are no clear harvest surpluses, and that the oscillations in supply, which are in truth minute and momentary harvest surpluses, are so small and irregular and varied in location as to be insignificant determiners of managerial functions. At most one might expect the harvest surplus of corn to elicit some small allocative function, generally none. Storage, too, in this case, is not a technique requiring administration as with wheat in grain elevators. It would in fact be better to consider this kind of storage as a steady presence of food rather than as storage at all, even though it functions as such.

The extra labor requirements of these small upward oscillations of the harvest surplus are likewise, in general, indistinguishable from regular labor requirements and are easily absorbed by individual workers. Or a worker may take along a child, who goes as much for the fun of being with his father or grandfather, but nevertheless carries back some produce. This type of situation is in sharp contrast with, say, the labor requirements of a large harvest surplus like the wheat crop in the United States which demands a large amount of labor quickly and temporarily. Such a harvest surplus entails a number of organizational problems foreign to the harvest oscillations.

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[21] Personal communication from Johannes Wilbert who has done extensive fieldwork with the Warrau in the Amacuro Delta of the Orinoco River.

[22] Yaruro individuals differ in productivity not only because of inborn qualities such as strength and native abilities, but also by choice based on tastes. Some do not like to grow corn, others do not like to grow pigs, others still prefer to hunt or trade. The food quanta produced by these several activities vary greatly. The individual may exercise these choices in a cultural setting where any such choice benefits the community. All produce eventually finds its way into the community at large through the distribution mechanism. The person is not acting as an individualist regardless of the interest of others, but at his own optimum, given his unique person, in the community as a whole. Cf Fn 5 *supra*.

221 262 Finally, the Yaruro deny any considerable long-term oscillations in the environment and consequently in the resources. The extremes, particularly the minima, of habitat factors which regulate food and population balances, according to Liebig's Law, fall within narrow limits and again elicit no special institutions of management or of equilibrium maintenance to compensate for them, as in the case of the potlatches of the Northwest Coast of America, the buffalo hunts in the Great Plains of the United States, or the use of pigs in Melanesia.[23]

VI

868 One more point may be made regarding the ecology as limiter of chieftainship among the Yaruro. The tools, techniques, and resources require no very extensive, highly specialized or esoteric knowledge. In fact any man or woman, and any child as well, has access to such knowledge, and it is easily acquired by all members of the society who thus have, at least potentially, equal access to control over the means of life. There is no specialized knowledge, at least with respect to technology and habitat, which requires a specialized repository in the form of a chief or learned person. Yaruro knowledge, itself dependent upon the inventory of tools, techniques, and resources, inhibits any tendency towards the development of any [463] sort of specialists in technical or managerial knowledge. As one might expect, there are no true specialists in Yaruro society. Here and there women make pots and certain women seem to have a special bent for making woven sacks but these [756] are not properly specialities. Nor, from a technological or ecological point of view, is male or female shamanism in any way a speciality. They do not appear to be specialists even in esoteric knowledge. Knowledge of the general type described here might be called 'dispersive' or 'egalitarian' since it tends to become more or less uniformly distributed among the members of the society. A consequence of the existence of this type of knowledge, associated with the kind of technology described, is that there will be no specialised training of any specialists and, of course, no specialised personnel to do such training. This is the situation which obtains among the Yaruro both with respect to technical and managerial activities. Thus, in Yaruro knowledge, there is no source for the support of an institutionalized and strong chieftainship.

VII

221 241 361 622 In one respect, the ecology encourages chiefly functions. A balance is struck between the cultural resources, the possibilities that the habitat affords for their production, and the length of time that areas of land can be exploited. This is particularly true of the horticultural lands since they can no longer be used after three years of cropping, and it becomes necessary to move on. The result is that there is a slow migration of resource areas, chiefly of horticultural areas across the tribal territory. The lands in cultivation move further and further from any given village until a point of suspension is reached at which the walking and working

[23] Cf. Suttles, 1960 a, 1960 b; Llewelly and Hoebel, 1941; Vayda, 1961; Vayda, Leeds, and Smith, 1961.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

252 462 successful if the men do not come back with a number of crocodiles, the men build larger fires, upon which the crocodiles are laid. As the hide cracks the animals are split open, the meat is stuck on spits and upon reaching a stage of being warm it is eaten. Contrary to popular [261] ideas that crocodile eaters only consume the tail, the Yaruro eat the entire animal but stop short at the entrails, which are thrown to the dogs. However, they accuse the neighboring Guahibos of eating the entrails as a special delicacy. Turtle meat and eggs are often boiled.

263 261 Salt is known to these people but it is by no means considered an indispensable condiment in their food. In the only historical reference we have to the Yaruros they are referred to as clay eaters. Today, even though they are in occasional touch with civilized communities [317], the salty clay banks are still their only source of supply for salt. The food is generally eaten saltless, since they have no means of purchasing salt from the Racionales and they do not know how to make salt from the clay. As a result, they obtain the amount of salt necessary to life by chewing clay which they pick up in their wanderings over the plains. Food which I prepared with salt was always left untouched by them as being unsavory. In this respect, therefore, they act like the cattle and the deer which can be seen over the plains licking salt clay banks.

STORING OF FOOD

251 The only foods that can be kept for any length of time in the lowland tropics are the roots and seeds. In the rainy season even this is impossible. The Yaruros during the dry season leave caches of changuango on various sandbars. They dig pits into which they place the roots. The hole then is filled and soon the wind will leave no mark indicating that the sand has been disturbed. In some cases where the landmarks are plain, and the Yaruros expect to return in a day or two, no markers are placed anywhere. But if they expect to be delayed, or the sandbar is so large that they might forget the exact spot of the cache, they will thrust a stick into the ground at some distance away [151]. Apparently by sighting with this stick and some other chosen point, they are able to locate the food store. However, on a number of occasions I saw the Yaruros march to a place on the sands with certitude and excavate changuango. In such cases I saw no markers.

In similar fashion they may store turtle eggs, provided they expect to return within a few hours. Baskets and other objects may also be left in the sand, to be retrieved when they are needed. Asabache, which is found in certain localities, may be gathered in quantities and stored until it is to be used.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

grains of sand, they wait patiently and quietly, though hungry. They seek no shelter from the wind, preferring it to the myriads of insects lurking in any sheltered spot. And then, too, it is cool in the wind, terrifically hot away from it.

About midafternoon the hunters and food gatherers straggle in. They bring small crocodiles and turtles, crocodile eggs, turtle eggs, perhaps some honey; and the women return with full baskets containing changuango, a wild root that they have dug up in the savanna. They, too, may bring turtle eggs. Not always, of course. The men and the women may return with empty hands and empty baskets. In any event there is no boisterous reception, but the same silence, the same quiet acceptance of the day and what it brings as they have shown at its beginning. Fires are built larger, the women roast the roots, the men help with the turtles and the crocodiles. These are placed whole on the fire until the shells are toasted and then they are cracked open. Wives become busy delousing their husbands, using a carved stick to help in the search. Sometimes the lice are picked and eaten. But the bodies of the men are covered with numerous black blisters, showing that they have suffered the daily torment from the insects. The wife crushes all of these blisters with the same delousing tool.

Dinner is a gala time. Calabash dishes containing the various courses are placed in the center of the ring formed by each family. The food is picked up and carried to the mouth with the fingers. There are crocodile eggs. These are opened and the contents are sucked up raw. The same is done with the turtle eggs. There is the course of roasted changuango, and the pieces of turtle meat. But the real delicacy is crocodile, the best meat of all. The crocodile is eaten in its entirety, except for the entrails, and when the dinner is over some of it is left by the fire, an open invitation to anyone to fill any empty portion of his stomach. The stomachs become distended as tremendous quantities of food are swallowed. This is the only real meal of the day, and the fear of a dinnerless tomorrow drives the eaters to exceptional feats of gourmandizing until their bodies can hold no more. The lean dogs fight among themselves over the refuse heaps. The vultures glide overhead or are busy at crocodile entrails.

There is no after dinner work—no kitchen or table ware to wash, nothing to spoil the proper enjoyment of a full stomach. They eat until they have had enough, and then they move to the east of the fires to lie on the clean sands and watch the sun hide beneath the western horizon. For about half an hour they watch the ever-changing colorful western sky and when rays of light emanate from below the horizon to streak the heavens with blue and gold and white, they

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Mechanical aids to the shaman, in addition to his own psychological make-up, are: music and dance; tobacco, which he consumes in great quantities during his performance; tcuipah, a root with narcotic properties; caroto, which is a fermented or unfermented mixture of crushed maize and water, or manioc and water, and when obtainable, white rum. The extent to which these stimulants are used can be illustrated by the observations which are made in the course of one all-night performance: The shaman consumed 42 cigarettes which I offered him, about 100 cigars, which consisted of several strips of tobacco leaf wrapped in a thick green leaf obtained from one of the trees along the bank, about 6 inches of the tcuipah root, and about 2 quarts of the fermented maize-and-water mixture. Since these narcotics and stimulants were taken hurriedlly and in great quantities, it must have had a terrific physiological effect upon him. For instance, every cigarette and cigar was smoked completely through in 10 seconds. Each musical stanza lasted from about 10 to 15 seconds. He sang it first and then it was repeated by his people. It was during this repetition of his song that the shaman inhaled as much of the tobacco smoke as possible and then exhaled it just before commencing a new stanza.

In contrast with the rather violent shamanistic performance of the male shaman, the women do not seem to depend very much on narcotics. During the day the men are not permitted to sing or whistle, but the women may lie in their hammocks and sing. They may take small quantities of all of these narcotics, but as far as my observation went I never saw any of them consume any great quantity.

The spiritual world of the shaman is quite different from the everyday realistic world. A comparison of the carvings on the gourd rattles with the realistic carvings of the asabache made by anyone greatly demonstrates this. In the latter form of art expression, animals, birds, and scenes are copied with great accuracy and skill. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that if the shaman were to attempt the realistic representation of the spirit world he could do so, but he has chosen to portray the various gods and spirits almost symbolically. Kuma and Hatchawa were always represented holding up their hands. It is this position which is read into the western skies whenever at sunset there occurs a phenomenon described above. The rays of light emanating from the horizon represent the fingers of the hands of the gods.

The form of the dance has been described. It starts off as a simple walk around a pole and it may become a fast run in the evening,

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787 shaman eventually returned to us, being fed and greeted with affection by all.

The singing stopped at 6 o'clock. A number of rather remarkable facts are to be emphasized.

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796 1. By actual count the shaman sang no less than 3,000 musical phrases and verses and about 800 stanzas without any breaks or rest, ever changing the words, and subject matter, and jumping from one thing to another at a very fast tempo. How the shaman could make up his verses so quickly, while the people repeated the previous verse, is not easy to understand.

2. He shook the rattle without ceasing a moment, with the same sidewise motion of the hand, most violently for nine and a half hours.

[516] 3. He sat in the same posture—left leg doubled under him, right leg in cross-leg position, for the entire time. Not once did he move.

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The music was spirited and had a swing with the emphasis on the off beat that is as effective, if not more so, than the negro spiritual.

After the all-night singing there was a lull in the morning, everyone snatching a wink of sleep, but by the time I had finished writing and medicating my foot the men crowded around to tell me of the night's experiences. At noon the women started singing, sitting in their hammocks, and they kept this up until late in the day. They were singing mostly about me. I noticed that their songs seemed to be of a simpler sort and more monotonous than those of the men, generally consisting of one verse repeated over and over again to form the stanza. [198] They sang in the women's language.

JUAN RARIO ON THE EVENTS OF THE NIGHT

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776 Panemé Tsió brought a horse for the shaman to go to Kuma's house. Panemé Tsió is represented as a sort of "boss" of the figurines found in the sands. Then came the father of Fernando. He said that they should live well here and warned him not to mistreat his wife (talking to son-in-law). Then came the father of Brigida. He said that the new wife of his grandson should treat her husband well and vice versa. Then came a brother of Brigida. He said that he is wealthy in Kuma's land, possessing cattle and horses. Then came the mother of Brigida. She counseled her grandchild not to

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

512 rejoice, for they know that Kuma, the goddess creator of all things,
517 is content with them and is sending them a greeting in token thereof.
776 On the wings of the wind comes the roar of the araguatos.

But life starts in the east and ends in the west. The day is done and the night comes on. The Yaruros turn to face the east to watch
821 the beginning of star travel and also the fiery appearance of the
776 moon and its transformation to a chaste white. The sands glisten and above flash "falling stars", but the Yaruros say that these are messengers of Kuma doing their errands.

512 Then the women roll cigars, light them, and pass them to their men.
296 Everyone smokes and there is great contentment. There is reluctance
462 to stand up, so if a woman has to fetch some object, say a firebrand,
[576] she will crawl on all fours, looking not unlike some large but indescribably graceful ape.

When several stars of the big dipper have appeared the women
512 rise in a body and walk into the darkness west of the camp. They
462 disappear from sight and hearing. What mysteries they perform they only know. The men are left alone and they talk about heaven. The children play merrily.

The women return and quietly take their places, ready to prepare more cigars. It is good to lie naked on the sand looking at the sky,
1060 listening to nature's symphony. With the same persistent effortless rhythm of the pulse beat the world outside of the individual is felt. There is the merry laughter of the children and the soft, deep, contented gurgle of the women; the soft voice of the shaman painting religious pictures, explaining existence; the murmur of the wind as a background to the calls of night birds, and the blowing of toninos, the splash of frolicsome fishes, the intermittent howl of the monkeys, the bark of the wolf, the roar of the jaguar; and the warmth of a full stomach.

512 A figure may detach itself from the camp shadows and disappear
796 in the darkness of the west. Several young men may afterwards take the same path—to join the shaman in his preparations for communion with the gods. They leave behind them a feeling of expectation but nothing is said. Someone has put up a bare pole where the sand is hard packed.

796 The shaman returns and goes to sit in front of the pole facing the
791 east. He sits quietly and alone in deep reverie. Later he may ask for a cigar. His wife will supply him with one.

After a period of contemplation he may begin to sing and dance. His people will join him. The music will become more and more animated, the singing and dancing will be done with increasing abandon. The stars and the moon will go their ways to rest in the west.
512 It is only when the sun peeps over the eastern horizon that they will

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

songs. His nephew went to stand behind him; his son went forward to stand at the left shoulder of his cousin. These two boys joined in the singing, repeating Landaeta's song stanza after stanza. A few women, led by Landaeta's wife and daughter, went to stand at his right side, and joined the boys in answering the songs of the shaman. They stood there in front of the pole singing until the Southern Cross hung high in the sky. Then Landaeta's wife took a gourd rattle from the basket and gave it to her husband, who immediately began to shake it, its liquid tone blending harmoniously with the voices. The singers became more animated when they heard the rattle, and soon they began to dance, jerking the body forward and backward, rhythmically and in unison. At times Landaeta would shake his rattle violently and his voice would betray his deep excitement. His wife from time to time would give a lighted cigarette to him, holding it to his mouth until it was consumed. At midnight the shaking of the rattle became more frequent and more violent, and finally, in the middle of one song, everyone began to move around the pole. The women put their right hands on the shoulder of the one ahead, and soon were running and stamping the right foot as they did so. The men formed an inner circle, dancing one behind the other. At the end of each song they paused for a moment lined up in their original positions. As the night wore on, both singing and dancing became more and more animated until the shaman appeared to be in a frenzy. His voice rose in pitch, his rhythm was faster, and more strongly accentuated, and all sang with greater feeling. The shaman danced in jerky movements, bending and twisting his body, half spinning about, first one way then the other, until he seemed to be quivering all over. The dance around the pole became almost a mad run, made more difficult by the soft sands and the complex movements of the body. The men would leap high and as the right foot was stamped in unison, a resonant beat was produced that seemed to blend with the pulsating roar of the howlers brought to us by the wind, and marked off by the rich rattling of the gourd and the choral singing. In the morning hours the wind rose again, blew more violently, and the roar of the monkeys became stronger, and the Yaruros sang passionately. It was then, when the morning star was already high, and dawn lighted the eastern horizon, that they stopped.

The sun awoke me, and though I had slept barely two hours I felt quite refreshed. I sat up to look about me. There was the vast stretch of sand, the fringe of jungle, and the sparkling river. My Yaruros were sleeping half buried in the sand, behind basketry to shelter themselves from the wind. The vultures were already at the piles of refuse, feasting on crocodiles and turtles. Soon the sun awoke my friends, and they too sat up to gaze quietly at the western sky where they believe their gods live.

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JUAN BARIO ON THE EVENTS OF THE NIGHT

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Then came the father of Juan Bario on horseback. He said:

"I greet you. I am waiting for you. Your land is poor now but Kuma's land is good and rich. When you die you will be born in Kuma's land. I was living here with you, I died here, but I was alone in Kuma's land where I am wealthy. See, you are poor. I was the same way. It is different in Kuma's land. There is much cattle and horses. Live well with your wife. Treat her well. Kuma does not want you to do otherwise."

Then the shaman returned on horseback.

There is great reluctance on the part of the shaman to sing unless there is a strong reason for it. During my stay with the Yaruros many occasions presented themselves to justify the holding of shamanistic performances.

On one occasion I returned to camp after an absence of two days. This was enough. I arrived at their camp about 7.30 in the evening. Landaeta greeted me affectionately and then told me that he and his people considered me a member of the family. The women came to put their arms about me in greeting. Landaeta in one of his mystical moods talked of the beauty of the small fire with turtle roasting; of the sands glistening in the moonlight; the araguato monkeys which were roaring in the distance; the occasional birds that sang in the night; the toninos came up to blow and splash in the river. All of this fitted in with the soft murmur of women speaking, and laughing in the darkness. An occasional misfortune, such as dropping a sackful of stuff, brought merry laughter on everybody's part. The crunching of the sand gave notice that the women were digging deep to reach moist sand in which to bury the leaves to be used as cigar covers. Soon all of us, men, women, and children, were smoking.

The rest of Landaeta's people arrived in canoes. They sat on the sand with us. Landaeta talked with them at length. At a point he arose. His wife handed him some objects. He walked away to the west, immediately followed by one of his sons and a young nephew. He returned after a while, minus his trousers, wearing the shaman's breechclout and cap.

He went to sit alone at the bottom of the sand bank. After some time his wife gave him a cigar. He continued to sit alone and silent. At a sign his son and nephew took a slender pole and planted it in the sand. They retired. Men and women continued talking. After some time Landaeta rose, stood before the pole, smoking, facing it and the east. Several stars began to rise. He stood in front of the pole for some time. Then he weakly began to sing. After two songs his wife came to plant a shorter pole to the west of the long one, and hung from it a basket. Landaeta continued standing still and singing, pausing briefly between songs. His son went to stand behind him, his nephew at the left side of the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

iron hoe, which is also made by the Yaruro out of any heavy scrap of iron that they may gather. Sometimes they will work for the ranchers and with their earnings purchase this type of hoe from a trader. However, such a digging tool is quite a luxury and sharpened sticks are more common.

MORTARS AND PESTLES.—During the rainy season, the Yaruros gather chigua, a seed, which they dry and pound into flour. Mortars of wood shaped as shown in figure 20, *a*, *b*, are used and the pestle is any ordinary hard stick.

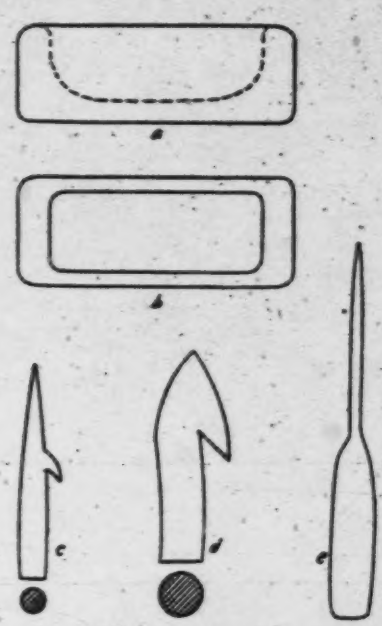

FIGURE 20.—*a*, *b*, Wooden mortar. *c*, Bone or iron point used for hunting chiguire. *d*, Hook used for manatee. *e*, Cooking paddle.

COOKING LADLES.—These are small wooden paddles used in cooking, especially when meat is boiling in a pot (fig. 20, *e*).

HAMMOCKS.—The Yaruros prefer to sleep on the sands, especially during the dry season. The men make hammocks, however, small ones generally used by children as cradles, and by the women shamans when they sing, during the day. During the rainy season they may employ them for sleeping.

The fiber employed to make the hammock string comes from the moriche leaf. The string may be very fine, of course, depending on the interest of the maker. It is made by the men. To weave the hammock a loom is made of two poles thrust into the sand to which are fastened two crosspieces at both the top and bottom. The string is then wound arourd these crosspieces. The weaver employs a knotter's netting technique. When the entire hammock has been woven the weaving is held in place by another string thrust through one of the woven rows.

ROPE.—The fiber mostly employed by the Yaruros is taken from the leaf of the moriche and the macanilla. The inner cortex of the leaf is stripped off and dried and then is taken apart strand by strand. These long fibers are then moistened and twisted together in two's and th..e's into a string by rolling them on the thigh with the palm of the hand. A stronger string is made in the same way and used for making hammocks. The bow strings are made from the fiber of the macanilla.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. The shaman Landaeta with daughter and wife. Note the embroidered breechclout on the man and paint on the face of the figure at the left. 2. Yaruro man making hammock string. Note the typical sitting posture of the Yaruro. 3. Two little girls wearing girdles. 4. Yaruro woman with aboriginal costume. 5. The figure on the left is a girl. The figure on the right is a boy. Note the difference between the girdle worn by the girl and the breechclout worn by the boy.

(End Plate 15)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

bow and arrows, digging sticks, baskets, small hammocks, a water jar or two, a mortar and pestle, several fishhooks, fire sticks, and scraps of clothing. As a rule, each family will possess the minimum of these objects.

CANOES.—A typical Yaruro canoe measured about 18 feet long. Its longitudinal cross section was as shown in plate 16, *3*. It was made of the "salao" wood.

FIGURE 16.—Paddles. *a*, Type usually used by stern paddler. *b*, Generally used in the bow.

The only tools that the Yaruros have to fashion such a canoe are crude machetes, perhaps an ax, and fire. The canoes are never regular in outline and on the whole are rather crude. Both bow and stern end in a point and the bottom is round. These canoes are unstable, difficult to maneuver, and will split easily. No crosspieces are used to reinforce the canoe.

PADDLES.—Paddles are of two types, as shown in figure 16. The large paddles measure about 4 feet in length; the smaller paddles slightly over 3 feet. They are as crudely fashioned as the canoes and increase the difficulties of paddling.

BOWS.—The bows are fashioned from macanilla or the mahaguillo wood. A large bow will measure about 6 feet, but most of them are closer to 5 feet. The inner surface of the bow is generally flat and the outer is curved. The greatest width on one such bow was about 1½ inches and its thickness less than 1 inch. When the string is relaxed these bows are perfectly straight. They are not reinforced unless they show signs of splitting. On the whole, these bows are inferior to those made by many other tribes in South America. The bow string is tied as shown in figure 17, *e*, *f*, *g*,[1] with three clove-hitch knots.

ARROWS.—The Yaruros, like most other South American primitives, have a variety of arrows, each type being designed for a specific purpose. A fish arrow consists of a reed shaft to which is attached a bone point with resin and string. Often the upper end of the bone point will protrude away from the shaft to form a small barb. Three feathers are used and fastened as shown in figure 18, *f*, *j*, *k*.[2] At the feathers' end of the arrow a notched piece of Brazil-wood is inserted.

A somewhat similar arrow with an iron point is made. In this case the point is inserted into a worked piece of wood which, in turn,

1 [See category 116, p. 205. --- Analyst]
2 [See category 116, p. 206. --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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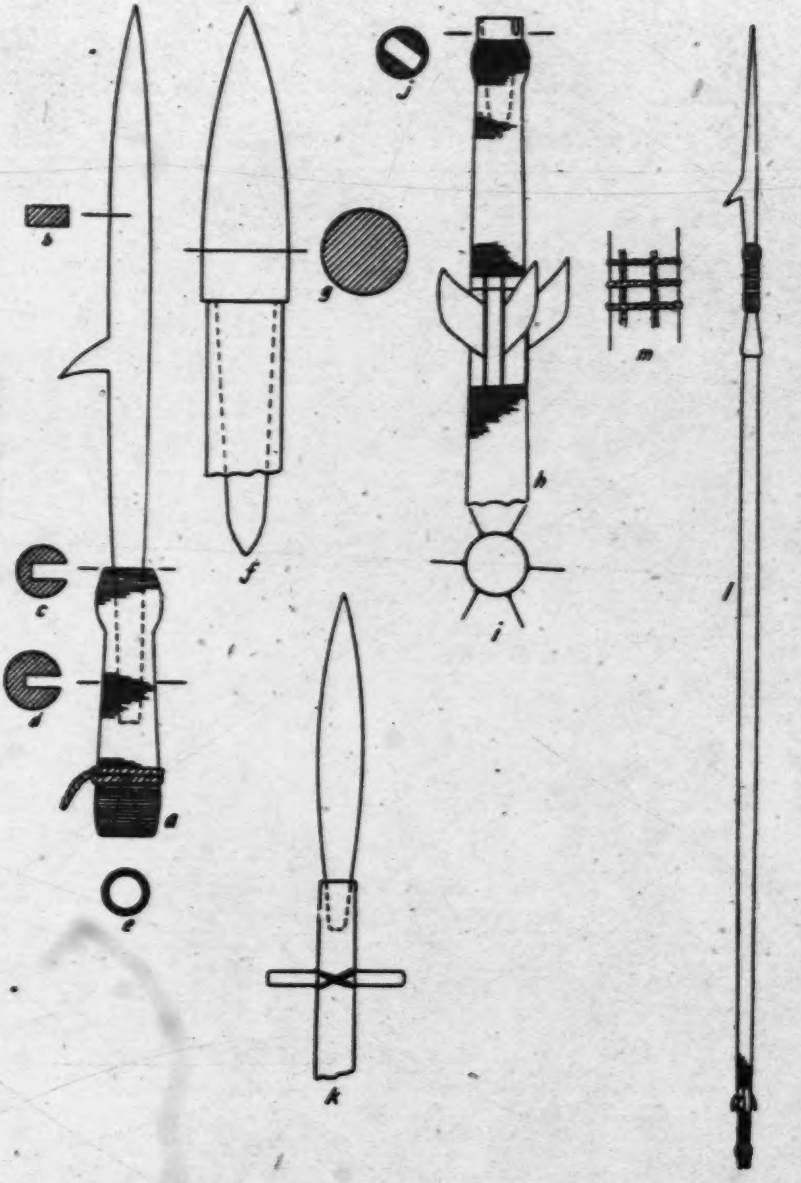

FIGURE 19.—a, Arrow point. b, Cross section of iron point. c, d, e, Cross sections. f, Details of point and wooden plug which is thrust into the reed shaft. g, Cross section. h, Method of fastening feathers to shaft. i, j, m, Details of h. k, Deer arrow, showing crosspiece. l, Harpoon type of arrow.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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BASKETRY.—The Yaruros make two types of baskets, a coarse kind which is used once or twice and then discarded, and finely woven pouches which are carried by the hunters. The coarse basketry is

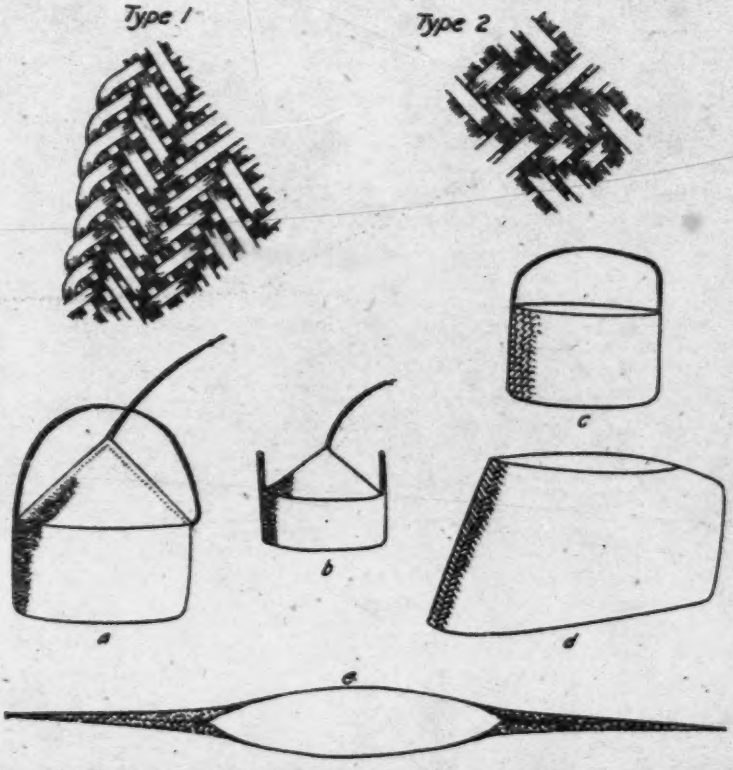

FIGURE 21.—Basketry. Type 1 and Type 2, weaves employed by the Yaruros. *a*, *b*, Pouches with flaps (Type 2 weave). *c*, *d*, Small baskets (Type 2 weave). *e*, Another type of basket used around camp (Type 2 weave generally). Only two weaves are employed by the Yaruros, both of which are shown (Type 1, Type 2). Baskets are used to carry food and to store objects. The coarser baskets, woven quickly and discarded after a few days, are woven as Type 1. The finer basketry, especially the pouches, are woven according to Type 2 technique.

often woven from one leaf. The finer type involves a more complex process. The outer cortex of the moriche leaves are stripped off and only the inner cortex, torn in narrow strips, is used. The techniques employed are fairly simple, as shown in figure 21.

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FIRE STICKS.—The apparatus used for producing fire among the Yaruros is very simple, consisting of merely two sticks of laurel wood which is found in great abundance along the banks of the rivers. One stick is notched about the middle. This stick is placed on the ground and held in place with the foot, while the other stick, fitted into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the palms of the hands.

1: Petrullo, E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 linked, kept up rhythmic motion by bending the knees slightly and leaning forward. The men bent at the waist until the torso was horizontal, arms hanging down like apes, and made the same motion by bending at the knees. The motion was so very apelike that I wondered if the monkeys didn't enter in some way into the scheme of things. I was told that formerly they were people and when the flood came they climbed to the tops of trees, and have continued to live there ever since, gradually changing shape. When the circuiting around the pole began the men followed one another after the shaman, and the women made the outer circuit with the right hand on the shoulder of the woman in front. The right foot was stamped on the off beat.

ART

184 517 Of the arts, dancing, music, carving, painting, modeling, and perhaps drama, are present among the Yaruros. Every individual in the group participates in some form of artistic expression, even in connection with objects whose function is practical rather than aesthetic; each individual attempts to make them "tsaimui", that is "pretty", "good." Great care is taken in making baskets, pottery, arrows, and bows. Singing and dancing are universally practiced also. No individual feels that his voice is too poor to participate in 531 the singing and no individual is shy about dancing. However, social 462 custom limits the activities of the men and women in the plastic arts. 323 Pottery making is the prerogative of the women. The carving of stamps and realistic figures from the asabache is done by the men. The low relief carvings on gourd rattles are the special products of the shamans. Of all these activities it is this last that comes closest to being inspired.

531 The making of baskets is woman's work. They take great pride ●285 in their workmanship, and make a conscious effort to reproduce various designs by employing several weaves. The patterns are rather limited, but then this may be due to the limited number of baskets which they make (fig. 21).

531 323 Pots are frequently broken in transport, but there is also very little use for them. One or two pots per family are all that is required. The porousness of the material is desired in order to keep the water cool. These pots are generally decorated with crude broad bands of red paint. The pottery decoration is reproduced in figure 22.

531 322 The women like to paint their faces. For this purpose the men make wooden stamps (pl. 22, *1*), which are dipped in red-ocher paste or a blue dye and the design is impressed upon the face. The designs are entirely geometric and rectilinear.

301 317 The asabache figures are of special interest because of their remarkable realism. The asabache is a black igneous material found

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. Basket weaving is woman's work. Carrying and storage baskets are crude affairs, often woven out of one palm leaf. Pouches are made with greater care and take a considerably longer time. *2.* Yaruro camp at El Buron. Note the lack of shelter. *3.* Yaruro dugout canoes.

(End Plate 6)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. Woman weaving a mat. Note the use of the foot.

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2. Women foraging for food. Note: braided hair, method of carrying basket, women's girdles, bands below the knee and on the ankles, method of carrying child, and digging stick.

(End Plate 13)

222 the moriche palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*); several seeds, notably chiga (= chigo?; — *Campsiandra comosa*); calabashes (*Crescentia Cujete*), and bees' wax and honey. Non of the items gathered are large in size or difficult of access except the bees' wax, one or two of the fruits, and calabashes which grow on higher trees, or may be very far. Gathered foods may be picked up by hand or with the aid of a digging [412] stick or machete, and may be brought back in the harvesting baskets. Other items [415] which may be gathered include the raw materials for baskets and mat-making or 824 for food-processing tools such as the tipití, pots, or mortars and pestels. These [285] items include the fronds of the moriche palm, used for making cord, baskets, tipi- [323] tís, mats, and sacks; in some villages, clay for pots; reeds for arrows, wood for house beams, mortars and pestles, bows, and for cooking utensils. Wood, palm fronds, and many other items are gathered with the help of the all-purpose machete.

231 Pig herding is unsystematically done. The pigs, a recent acquisition, spend most of their time at will in the foraging grounds. The significant herding activity occurs only at times when one or another of the groups of pigs breaks into the gardens, an almost daily occurrence. They are then driven to the foraging grounds again, or if late in the day, into a close till morning when they are either driven forth again or allowed to scavenge in the village. There are several herds of pigs of sizes varying from perhaps a maximum of 20 including piglets to the more usual six or eight animals. The only tools used in pig care include a slaughtering [412] stick with which the pig is clubbed to death and knives to cut up the meat. The [262] close is built of logs cut with a machete and carried in by one or two men. Pig meat, though eaten with regularity, is definitely a secondary element of diet.

441 Hunting is done almost exclusively with the bow and arrow. There are several types of arrows. One for fish has a metal point approximately 4 inches long with a side hook about five inches from the tip, where the tip is set into the shaft. This may also be used for smaller animals. One for birds has a blunt wooden head, and does not appear to be used very often. A third type is used for larger animals such as deer and capybara. It has a blade about 6 inches long shaped like a laurel leaf and, at present, made of steel. At the base of the blade, a small cross-piece is affixed in order to prevent the precious blade from piercing so deeply into the animal that, if it escapes, it would carry the arrow away with it. The fourth type of arrow is used for turtles, tortoises, and alligators or other animals which submerge. The head is short and strong with a sharp recurved hook. The entire metal head is attached to a cord, and this in turn is attached to the arrow shaft, from which the head is detachable. On detaching, the shaft floats and the game can be followed in its underwater course. The bow is generally about 6 feet long or a little more. It is made rather crudely of the wood of the macanilla palm (*Bactris Gasipaes*). Some animals, especially land tortoises and armadillos, may be caught [136] by hand. Alligators may also be hunted with exceedingly heavy steel hooks and [324] a strong line. In hunting, no traps, nets, surrounds, or drives are used.

226 Fishing is done chiefly with bows and arrows, though an arrow may sometimes be used as a spear, repeatedly jabbed into grassy waters near the river banks. Fishing may also be done with hooks and lines of different sizes. Bait is also used. A man may fish from a platform built by lashing logs horizontally to two trees

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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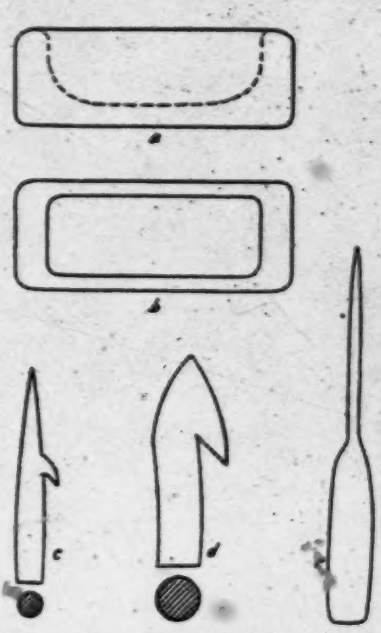

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The fiber employed to make the hammock string comes from the moriche leaf. The string may be very fine, of course, depending on the interest of the maker. It is made by the men. To weave the hammock a loom is made of two poles thrust into the sand to which are fastened two crosspieces at both the top and bottom. The string is then wound around these crosspieces. The weaver employs a knotter's netting technique. When the entire hammock has been woven the weaving is held in place by another string thrust through one of the woven rows.

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

after I had been among the Yaruros for a time the women often discarded their camisoles, even though I were present.

The men would normally wear a breechclout which originally was woven by the women from the fibers of the moriche palm leaf, but now it consists of a piece of cloth. Formerly the women wove wide belts of the same fiber for the men, but this is no longer done. The breechclout is held in place by a string tied around the waist.

The women, underneath their camisoles, still wear the old-fashioned Yaruro girdle, which is made from the fibers of the moriche palm. The fibers, which are about 2 feet long, are fastened together at one end. This end is slipped through a hair rope tied around the waist, and the whole mass of fibers passes between their legs and under the waist string. Plate 25, 4, shows a Yaruro woman wearing one of these girdles. It is fastened in such a way that an enormous knot is formed in the rear, and when wearing their camisole the women have the appearance of sporting large tails.

The women on the whole seem to be more conservative than the men in their clothing and body decorations. Below the knees and around the ankles they wear a thin string, and often they have necklaces of carved asabache figures, which are shown in plate 21.

DELOUSING TOOL

An implement that is in great vogue is the delousing tool shown in plate 20, 2. The serrated end is used as a comb to expose the lice, which are seized between the fingers and crushed between the teeth. The pointed end is employed to crush blisters raised on the body by mosquito bites. These tools, also fashioned by the men, are used exclusively by the women to groom their menfolk and each other.

CARRYING NETS

Carrying nets, of the knotless variety, are woven and used to carry children and food. When carrying children the net is slung across the chest from one shoulder; when carrying food it is supported by the head.

COOKING

The culinary art among the Yaruro is poorly developed. Much of the fruit and the eggs are eaten raw. Fish is eaten half raw and the meat of the crocodiles and turtles is merely warmed over the fire. Sometimes the meat is boiled. In the afternoon the women who have gathered firewood are to be found in camp waiting patiently for the men. On the hot coals they will have eggs and changuango. If the hunt is successful, and no hunt is considered

1 [see category 116, and plate 15, — Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Landeta, a shaman, weaving a hammock. Hammocks are made by men.

(End plate 9)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1 [see category 116, and plate 15, ... Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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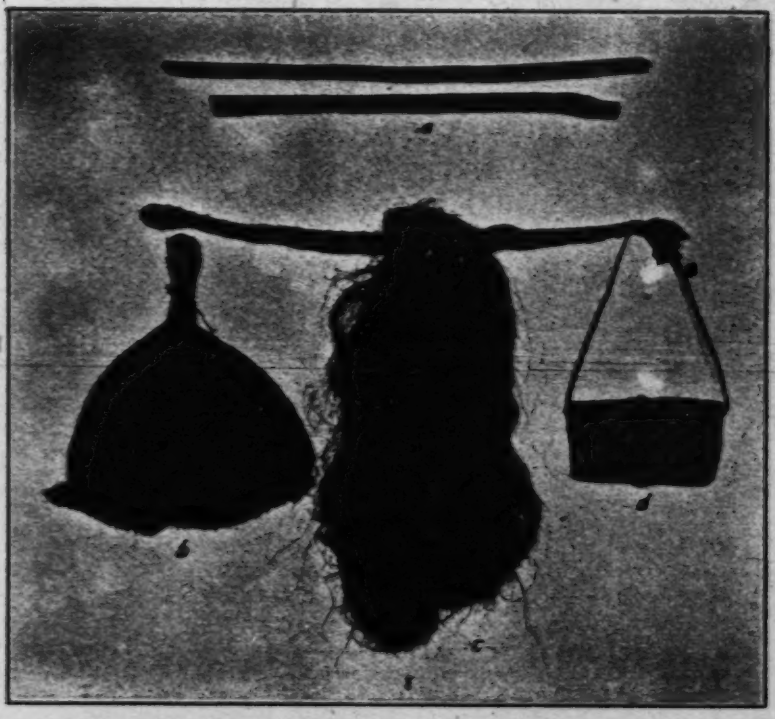

1. a, Fire sticks. Fire is produced by drilling one piece of laurel wood into a second. b, Fire fan. c, Horizontal piece is a hair rope worn around the waist by the women and the hairlike vertical piece is made from the moriche palm leaf and dyed red. The two pieces form the women's girdle.

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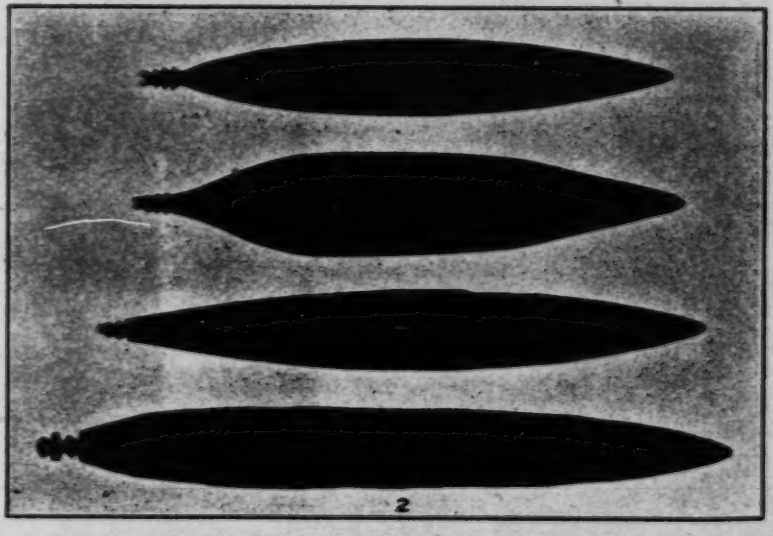

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2. The serrated ends of the sticks are used to comb the hair in the search for lice which are either crushed between the fingers or between the teeth. The pointed ends are used to crush the blisters raised by various insects.

(End Plate 10)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

572 the horizon. There is no chanting as in the villages of the Xingu, no whistling, no marching to the river for an early bath. There is no conversation, no motion. After a while a dog may sit up and watch the world as silently as his master. More and more of the recumbent figures sit up; some old man becomes busily engaged in making string; a woman gives suck to a baby; others rise, and, walking with heads [372] high, chests thrust forward, go toward the bushes, to reappear soon with armfuls of wood and quickly start fires with their laurelwood fire drills. Soon everyone is sitting up, and the cheesecloth tents disappear. A few women huddle around the fires.

It is only when the wind resumes its violent blowing that the camp is stirred into activity. The chilliness of the night is forgotten, reverential thoughts are discarded. The vulgar stomach, however, is remembered. Preparations are made to take care of its daily needs. 512 225 462 Bows and arrows are examined. A harpoon arrow for turtles and crocodiles, a fish arrow, a gourd, and if the hunter possesses one, a knife, comprise the equipment. Then the men go to their canoes two by two, though a young boy may be taken along to make three. He too must learn to satisfy the daily craving of his inner machinery. The hunters paddle away upstream and disappear around the bend of the river.

512 222 462 The women prepare for their own voyages. Sometimes they accompany the men, sometimes they go alone in a canoe or go inland. They carry baskets on their backs suspended from the forehead by a strap. Each woman carries a digging stick. Little girls accompany them, with their little baskets and their own digging sticks, in imitation of the grown-ups. Some women carry babies astride the hip, ● 291 feeding at the large full breasts. Naked but for a loin covering, with hair falling down their backs, they seem to fit the wild landscape. Some may wear a camisole, but that is only a thin veil, and their bodies are seen underneath. The loin covering is tied at the back, and, as they walk with chests thrown forward and high, resembles a huge tail rolled under the camisole. Their smooth-skinned ape appearance is graceful but amusing; the naked ones fit the picture better.

512 461 At camp are left only the old people and some young ones who are too lazy to go out or have been hunting hard and need a rest. They are soon busy fixing bows and arrows, making string, carving ornaments, weaving basketry, taking care of very young children. There is very little talking and no fussing. They almost ignore each other. Those who stay at home will wait patiently for their dinner. They will watch the sun climb the heavens, and they will move from one side of the branches to the other to keep in the shade. Beaten by the wind which by noon blows a gale, bombarded by

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

317 323 [302] [824] This same clay supplies the red and yellow ocher used for facial painting. The clay is tempered with the bark of the Mecla tree called "Toiin" in Yaruro. This bark is burned to an ash and the ashes are kneaded into the clay, which has been well moistened. Rolls of this clay are then made, coiled, and placed one upon another. They are then flattened and smoothed out by hand or with the help of a piece of shell, water being applied liberally. The clay rests on a dish of pottery which is revolved when necessary. After the pot has been built up and smoothed down it is left in the sun to dry for two days. At the proper time a base of wood is made,

[531]

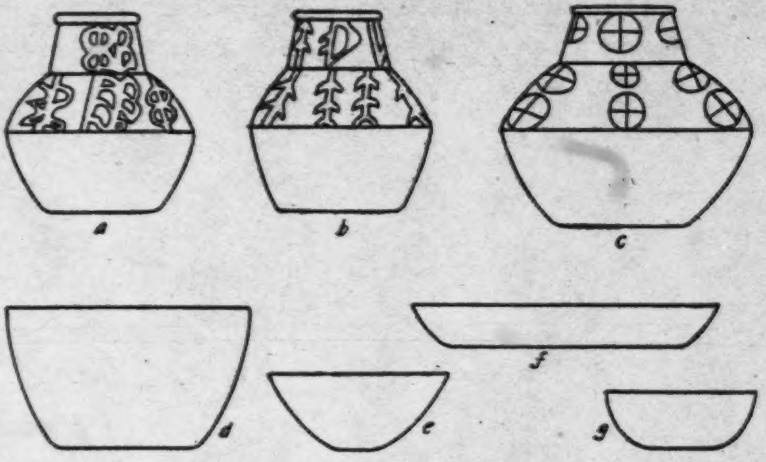

FIGURE 22.—Pottery forms and decorations. *a*, *b*, *c*, Water jars, showing painted designs. *d*, *e*, *g*, Bowls. *f*, Pottery plate used for toasting seeds.

the pottery placed on it and covered with other sticks, and then a hot fire bakes the pottery for about two hours. Such quick firing produces a poor quality of pottery, but leaves it porous. Since these pots are used only as water jars, this has the effect of keeping the water very cool (pl. 18, *2*; fig. 22).

CLOTHING

291 177 Most of the Yaruros whom I saw possessed some scrap of clothing which was worn both as protection against the weather and for social show. In many cases this clothing consisted of mere shreds, as can be seen in plate 15, *1*. The men wear coats and trousers or merely trousers. The women wear camisoles of the thinnest goods which in no way hides their nakedness. Most of this clothing is discarded when there are no visitors around camp and

1 [see category 116, and plate 3 ----- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34)/1939 S519 Yaruro S519

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291 287 The women, underneath their camisoles, still wear the old-fashioned Yaruro girdle, which is made from the fibers of the moriche palm. The fibers, which are about 2 feet long, are fastened together at one end. This end is slipped through a hair rope tied around the waist, and the whole mass of fibers passes between their legs and under the waist string. Plate 25, 4, shows a Yaruro woman wearing one of these girdles. It is fastened in such a way that an enormous knot is formed in the rear, and when wearing their camisole the women have the appearance of sporting large tails.

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1 [see category 116, and plate 15, — Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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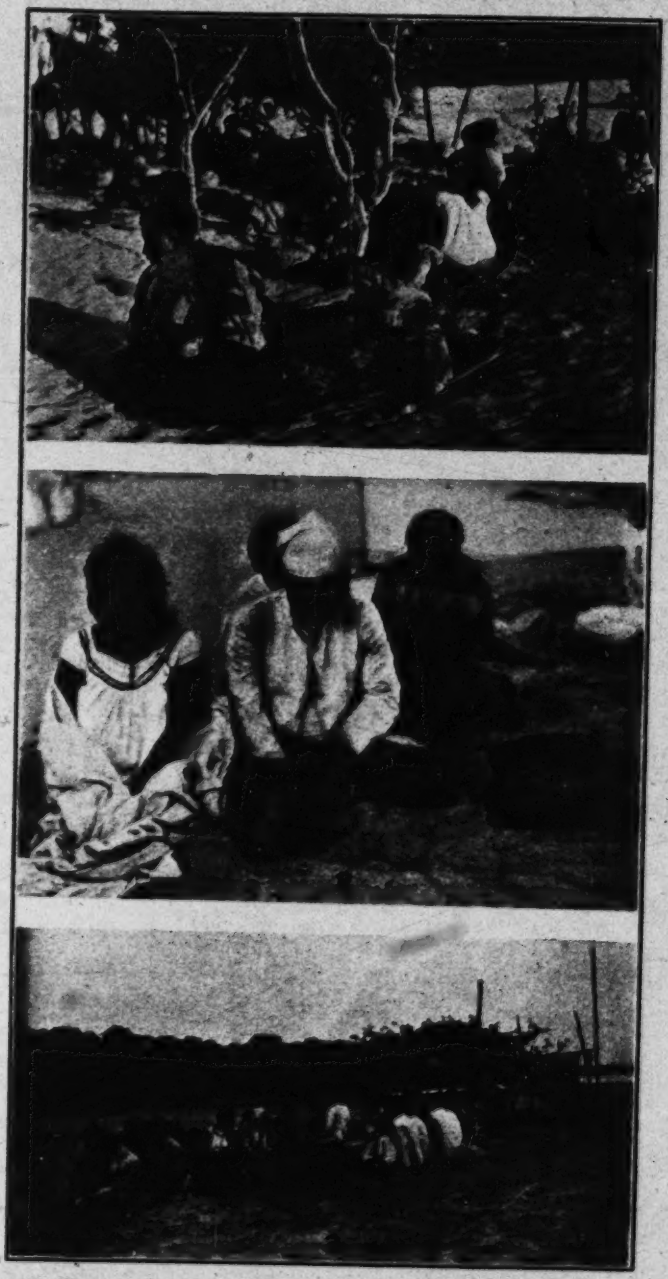

1. Clothes to the Yaruros mean protection from the cold at night and a mark of being "civilized." It is not often that they are able to secure new cloth. Generally they fall heir to cast-off garments. *2.* At the end of a 9-hour performance during which he smoked countless cigars, drank "cororo," and ate tetupah, a narcotic, Landaeta, the shaman of the Capanaparo Yaruros, waits quietly for the sun to rise. His wife, who attended him all night, is seated at his right. *3.* Landaeta, wearing a head cloth, with his people seated around him before sunrise. The women are at the left, the men at the right of the picture.

(End Plate 5)

1: Petrillo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1, 2, 3. As soon as the night chill is dispelled the men leave to hunt and the women to gather roots and seeds. The equipment of the women consists of basket carried with a tump band across the forehead, and digging stick. Children are carried astride across the hip or in a carrying net. The aboriginal clothing of the Yaruro women is the girdle shown in these photographs, now worn even if the individual possesses a camisola.

(End Plate 8)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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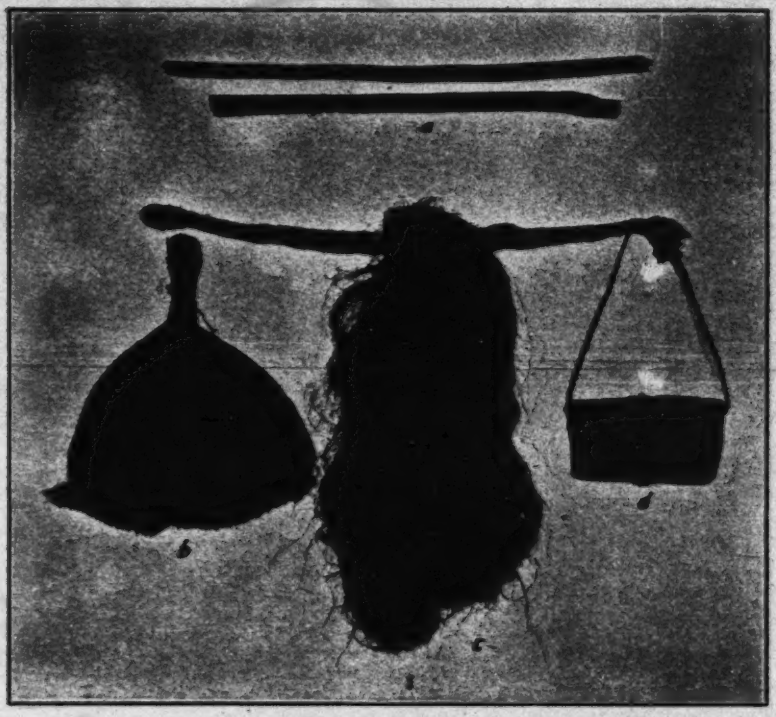

1. a, Fire sticks. Fire is produced by drilling one piece of laurel wood into a second. b, Fire fan. c, Horizontal piece is a hair rope worn around the waist by the women and the hairlike vertical piece is made from the moriche palm leaf and dyed red. The two pieces form the women's girdle.

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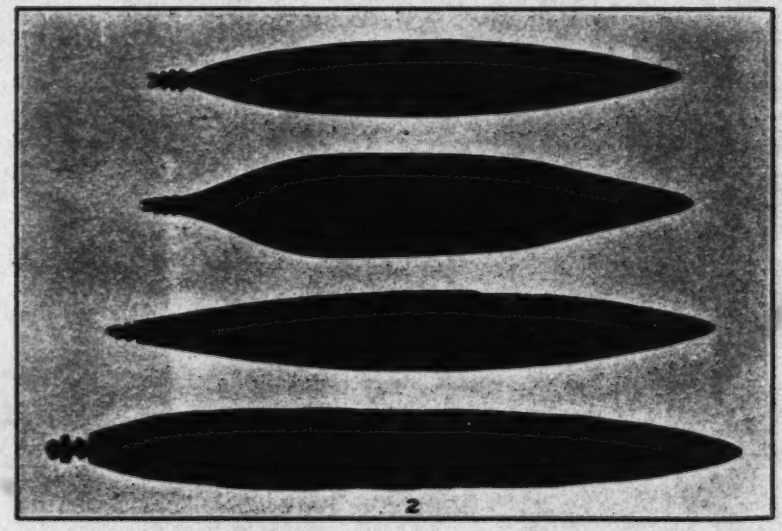

2. The serrated ends of the sticks are used to comb the hair in the search for lice which are either crushed between the fingers or between the teeth. The pointed ends are used to crush the blisters raised by various insects.

(End Plate 10)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. The shaman Landaeta with daughter and wife. Note the embroidered breechclout on the man and paint on the face of the figure at the left. 2. Yaruro man making hammock string. Note the typical sitting posture of the Yaruro. 3. Two little girls wearing girdles. 4. Yaruro woman with aboriginal costume. 5. The figure on the left is a girl. The figure on the right is a boy. Note the difference between the girdle worn by the girl and the breechclout worn by the boy.

(End Plate 15)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

of the beasts it is necessary to shoot it with a barbed arrow whose head becomes detached from the shaft but remains attached to the latter by a string. The babu will make for deep water and submerge, but the shaft will float on top, and the beast is drawn to the surface by its means, to be dispatched by another arrow or by a knife blow.

The technique for hunting turtles is similar but its execution is more difficult, due to the smaller size of the turtle. These generally can be seen floating on the water with their heads held erect above the surface.

Fishing is done mostly with bow and arrow. The hunter stands up on the prow of the canoe which is guided into the proper position by his companion paddling in the stern. When the hunter is almost over the fish he shoots his arrow some inches in front so as to allow for the deflection caused by the water.

Deer is seldom hunted since the Yaruro shun the land for fear that they may be accused of killing cattle. Unless the deer is caught on the river bank in the early morning or in the evening it is stalked. The hunter fixes his gaze on the deer and moves forward a few feet at a time, stopping stock still at the slightest sign of alarm on the part of the deer. In this way he can approach to within arrow range. This technique takes great patience and time. The hunter may camouflage himself by painting his torso white and pasting feathers on it. He wears a mask in imitation of the jivaro stork, which consists of a black head and beak and a red collar around the neck. He may use the beak of the jivaro or substitute his bow for it. Mimicking the motions of the jivaro, he approaches the deer. When he is close enough he waits for the deer to look up, when he transfixes it with an arrow. The arrow used is so heavy that it cannot be launched from afar.

In addition to these, the armadillo, the tortoise, and the chiguire are hunted. The hunter does not fail to gather turtle eggs, crocodile eggs, and honey as he roams along the river banks.

FOOD GATHERING

It is the task of the women to gather supplementary food. They organize their own expeditions. Armed with digging stick and baskets and accompanied by the children, they roam the plains, digging up the changuango, the barbaco, and the chigua.

MATERIAL CULTURE

In material culture the Yaruros are poverty stricken. Their nomadic existence limits their possessions to what they can carry with them in their canoes, which is very little. The whole range of objects made or possessed by the Yaruros consists of canoe, paddles,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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women sang to me and for me, I was not able to learn anything about their conceptions of the universe nor any other matter.

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On one occasion Landaeta, the shaman, invited Juan Bario's band to participate in a performance. The women prepared for it by painting the face with stamped designs—stamps smeared with oily stuff, stamped on the face, then the entire face, from eyebrows down, was covered with a thick coat of red ocher. It stuck where the grease was. The hair was worn in one braid down the back. They wore their best dresses.

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In anticipation of a long night, I lay down on the sands to rest, if possible. However, the skies interested the Yaruros. Landaeta and his people lay beside me to talk about the heavens. From that we passed to a discussion of Hatchawa, who, according to Landaeta, had said that I was well known to him and a good friend. In order to test the shaman I told him that I was anxious about my family whom I had left so long ago, and I asked him to find out about my wife, son, and general family from Hatchawa, which he promised to do. The conversation went back to the stars, and as the big dipper began to rise over the northern horizon Landaeta disappeared in the darkness. Soft conversation continued, and then came Juan Bario and his family to join us.

796 [292]

A few words of warm friendship with Juan Bario and we went to joint Landaeta, who was sitting ready to begin. Landaeta had withdrawn to the west of the camp, and put on his shamanistic breechclout and head-cloth, which consisted of a sort of headkerchief. His son Brigido sat behind him; to the right of Landaeta sat Brigida, his wife, and next to her, her sister. Juan Bario and I sat back a little.

Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily, without reproof, under the very nose of the shaman, some of the men jested and laughed, others conversed more quietly, etc. In other words, the imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions, and no restraints were placed on the normal and natural behavior.

796 791

Landaeta began to sing and he was accompanied by a few of the attendants. In the meanwhile small fires had appeared here and there, and at these were lighted the long green leaf-covered cigars. None smoked an entire cigar, following the general custom of sharing with the other fellow. The songs at first were accompanied with faint rattling of the macaua, but this became stronger and stronger as the shaman approached the Land of Kuma. Finally at midnight—almost on the stroke—the shaman announced in his song that he had reached the desired land. The singing became more intense, faster, and everyone seemed to take more interest.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

773 "Here, a son-in-law will take care of me now!" Then the Yaruros
539 lived. The shaman had a nephew and a son. The nephew fell in love with his own sister and married—he was changed into a jaguar and she into a snake (!). If it had not been for this there would not have been any snakes and jaguars. Human beings should not marry their own sisters. It was ordered by Kuma. Animals are different.

Then one man found a tree with all the fruits on it. He did not tell the others. A white man appeared on horseback. Said he would come back in eight days. He came back in a boat. Scattered seeds everywhere. Thus he changed the country. Before it was all open savanna, but now forests and agricultural products grew.

India Rosa taught the women. God taught the man. God wanted to give the horse to the Yaruros, but they were afraid to mount, so he gave it to the Racionales instead.

KUMA

791 Presumably, Kuma is anthropomorphic. The only ones among
776 the Yaruros who have any knowledge of this mythical being who is re-
787 sponsible for the world are the shamans. These individuals are loath to discuss what they see in their dreams, claiming that all they have to say about such things are said during their shamanistic performances. Besides, they claim that they do not remember what they see during their trances.

531 Nevertheless, on the rattles appear graphic representations of what
776 Kuma is supposed to look like. In all cases, she seems to resemble
534 a human being, standing with her arms extended upward in greeting to her people. Such figures are represented on the gourd rattles shown in plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27. It was explained that the lines
● [301] appearing on the body of Kuma represent body painting and ornaments.

776 Of all the godheads or spirit forces of the Yaruros, Kuma is the most clear-cut. She is the creator of all things, and everything emanates from her. Her associates, Puaná, Itciai, and Hatchawa, function according to the laws of Kuma. Apparently they are not able to do anything without her consent, but occasionally she may be tricked. For instance, when Hatchawa decided to give fire to the people he threw a live fish into Kuma's fire. The wriggling of the fish scattered the coals, which the people seized and carried away.

Kuma is represented neither as an indulgent mother nor as an entirely benevolent creature in the myths. It is Hatchawa and Puaná who favor human beings. In fact, Kuma was opposed to peopling the earth with the human race. In spite of this there is no

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

that follow describe this land as well as the gods and the spirits of the Yaruros.

It is to be noted that it is the ornaments worn by Kuma rather than the person of the gods which are described. We are told that she wears golden necklaces, fine clothes, and belts and bands typical of the ancient Yaruro woman's costume. She is represented vaguely as being in the form of a human being, who, on the other hand, is never described. Try as I might, I was not able to obtain any idea of her appearance. Hatchawa, as we know, is a little boy, but Itciai again lacks any definite form.

The shaman claims that during his ordinary life he has no idea of what he sees in the Land of Kuma, therefore these descriptions can only be gathered from due sources through the songs which he sings in shamanistic performances and through the figures which he etches out on the shamanistic gourd rattle. Several of these rattles are reproduced on plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27.

The shaman does not claim special power to reveal anything, nor does he claim to have the power to cure. He is merely a vehicle, an instrument through which the gods can visit the Yaruros by substituting themselves for the soul of the shaman. The only power that he claims is the ability to let his soul leave his body and travel to the Land of Kuma. His soulless body subsequently becomes possessed by various spirits who wish to communicate with their relatives on earth. As explained above, the shaman only sings the first songs hesitantly and in a poor voice which is in direct contrast to the violent and beautiful singing which the spirits exhibit when they are in possession of his body.

Kuma's Land is a perfect heaven for the Yaruro, who has endowed it with all the comforts and liberty denied to him in this world. In Kuma's Land food is abundant, the weather is ideal, there are no forests, no diseases, and most important of all, no civilized being to desolate them. We are confronted here with the creation on the part of the Yaruro of a superlative heaven which furnishes an escape for him from the woes of this life.

We have noted before that primitive peoples, when faced for a time with a hopeless situation in this world, such as extinction, tend to seek and discover an escape by creating such a heaven. The Guarani sought a heaven in the West where there was no death and no persecution. More recently our own Indians on the reservations have turned to Peyoteism, which also supplies a heaven. In all these cases there is a renunciation of this world. The will to live is practically gone because there is no need to worry about maintaining life in this world, an impossible thing to do when in competition with civilization. But a heaven which cannot be touched by any civilized

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 linked, kept up rhythmic motion by bending the knees slightly and leaning forward. The men bent at the waist until the torso was horizontal, arms hanging down like apes, and made the same motion by bending at the knees. The motion was so very apelike that I wondered if the monkeys didn't enter in some way into the scheme of things. I was told that formerly they were people and when the flood came they climbed to the tops of trees, and have continued to live there ever since, gradually changing shape. When the circuiting around the pole began the men followed one another after the shaman, and the women made the outer circuit with the right hand on the shoulder of the woman in front. The right foot was stamped on the off beat.

Art

184 517 Of the arts, dancing, music, carving, painting, modeling, and perhaps drama, are present among the Yaruros. Every individual in the group participates in some form of artistic expression, even in connection with objects whose function is practical rather than aesthetic; each individual attempts to make them "tsaimui", that is "pretty", "good." Great care is taken in making baskets, pottery, arrows, and bows. Singing and dancing are universally practiced also. No individual feels that his voice is too poor to participate in 531 the singing and no individual is shy about dancing. However, social 462 custom limits the activities of the men and women in the plastic arts. 323 Pottery making is the prerogative of the women. The carving of stamps and realistic figures from the asabache is done by the men. The low relief carvings on gourd rattles are the special products of the shamans. Of all these activities it is this last that comes closest to being inspired.

531 285 The making of baskets is woman's work. They take great pride in their workmanship, and make a conscious effort to reproduce various designs by employing several weaves. The patterns are rather limited, but then this may be due to the limited number of baskets which they make (fig. 21).

531 323 Pots are frequently broken in transport, but there is also very little use for them. One or two pots per family are all that is required. The porousness of the material is desired in order to keep the water cool. These pots are generally decorated with crude broad bands of red paint. The pottery decoration is reproduced in figure 22.

531 322 The women like to paint their faces. For this purpose the men make wooden stamps (pl. 22, *1*), which are dipped in red-ocher paste or a blue dye and the design is impressed upon the face. The designs are entirely geometric and rectilinear.

301 317 The asabache figures are of special interest because of their remarkable realism. The asabache is a black igneous material found

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

301 317 in small pieces on the banks of the Capanaparo. It is about as hard to work as coal. It has much the same appearance. The carving tool is the ordinary knife which, in some cases, may be a broken 532 301 matchete. Yet, with such crude implements, they are able to produce exquisite realistic carvings of birds, fish, and other animals. These are generally perforated and strung into a necklace. Each woman possesses at least a few of these carved figures, the number depending on the industry of her husband. No symbolical significance seems to be attached to either the painting, the carving, or to any of the designs appearing on the stamps. There may be some magical meaning to them, but all inquiries were answered in the negative.

791 787 532 534 The gourd rattles present an entirely different manifestation. In the first place, only the male shaman can use a rattle. It is, in fact, the badge of shamanism. All the designs appearing on the rattle represent what he sees during his visits to Kuma's land. These carvings are made with the point of any sharp instrument, which cuts in just deep enough to expose the lighter colored inner wood of the rattle.

To become a shaman one must dream of Kuma and the other gods, and show his people that he can communicate with the godheads when occasion demands. Perhaps looking at shamanistic practices objectively this may mean primarily that the would-be shaman has a fertile imagination and some artistic talent. I do not think that we ought to doubt that he believes that he actually sees and talks with Kuma, Itciai, and the rest of the spirit world.

791 787 532 776 He commemorates his dreams on the sacred rattle, carving out on its surface the figures which appear in his dreams. Kuma and Hatchawa dominate the decorations on the gourd rattles, and since those collected came from the Puaná moiety, Puaná is also portrayed. In plate 24 various views of one of these gourd rattles are shown. The large geometric figure dominating the first drawing represents Kuma; the smaller one Hatchawa. Rotating the rattle toward the left we discover Puaná, the Snake.

534 517 In connection with these rattles one of the most interesting aesthetic features is the filling in of space. All of the specimens collected and shown in figures 25, 26, and 27 demonstrate this. In watching Landaeta at work I asked him why he did so; his reply was that a properly decorated rattle must be "tsaimui", that is "good", "proper", "beautiful."

Music

534 177 One would suspect that the Yaruros would have borrowed some of the musical instruments employed by the Llaneros. Among the lat-

1[See category 116, end plate 14 --- Analyst]
2[See category 116, pp. 242-243 --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

317 323 [302] [824] This same clay supplies the red and yellow ocher used for facial painting. The clay is tempered with the bark of the Mecla tree called "Toiin" in Yaruro. This bark is burned to an ash and the ashes are kneaded into the clay, which has been well moistened. Rolls of this clay are then made, coiled, and placed one upon another. They are then flattened and smoothed out by hand or with the help of a piece of shell, water being applied liberally. The clay rests on a dish of pottery which is revolved when necessary. After the pot has been built up and smoothed down it is left in the sun to dry for two days. At the proper time a base of wood is made,

[531]

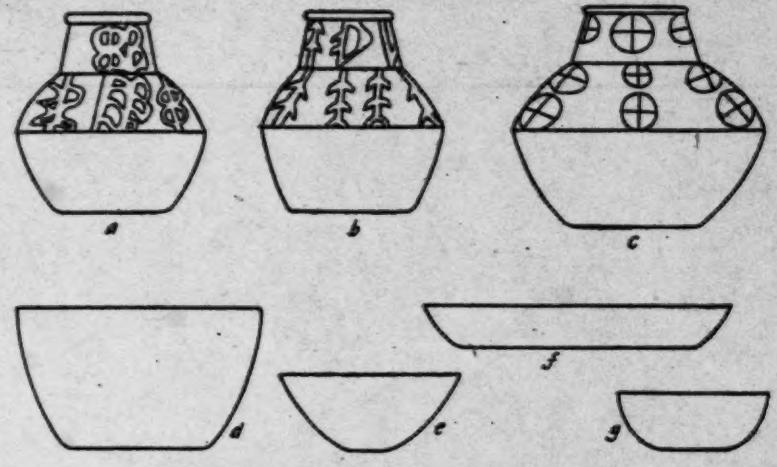

FIGURE 22.—Pottery forms and decorations. *a*, *b*, *c*, Water jars, showing painted designs. *d*, *e*, *g*, Bowls. *f*, Pottery plate used for toasting seeds.

the pottery placed on it and covered with other sticks, and then a hot fire bakes the pottery for about two hours. Such quick firing produces a poor quality of pottery, but leaves it porous. Since these pots are used only as water jars, this has the effect of keeping the water very cool (pl. 13, 2; fig. 22).

CLOTHING

291 177 Most of the Yaruros whom I saw possessed some scrap of clothing which was worn both as protection against the weather and for social show. In many cases this clothing consisted of mere shreds, as can be seen in plate 15, *1*. The men wear coats and trousers or merely trousers. The women wear camisoles of the thinnest goods which in no way hides their nakedness. Most of this clothing is discarded when there are no visitors around camp, and

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Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily, without reproof, under the very nose of the shaman, some of the men jested and laughed, others conversed more quietly, etc. In other words, the imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions, and no restraints were placed on the normal and natural behavior.

796 791

Landaeta began to sing and he was accompanied by a few of the attendants. In the meanwhile small fires had appeared here and there, and at these were lighted the long green leaf-covered cigars. None smoked an entire cigar, following the general custom of sharing with the other fellow. The songs at first were accompanied with faint rattling of the macana, but this became stronger and stronger as the shaman approached the Land of Kuma. Finally at midnight—almost on the stroke—the shaman announced in his song that he had reached the desired land. The singing became more intense, faster, and everyone seemed to take more interest.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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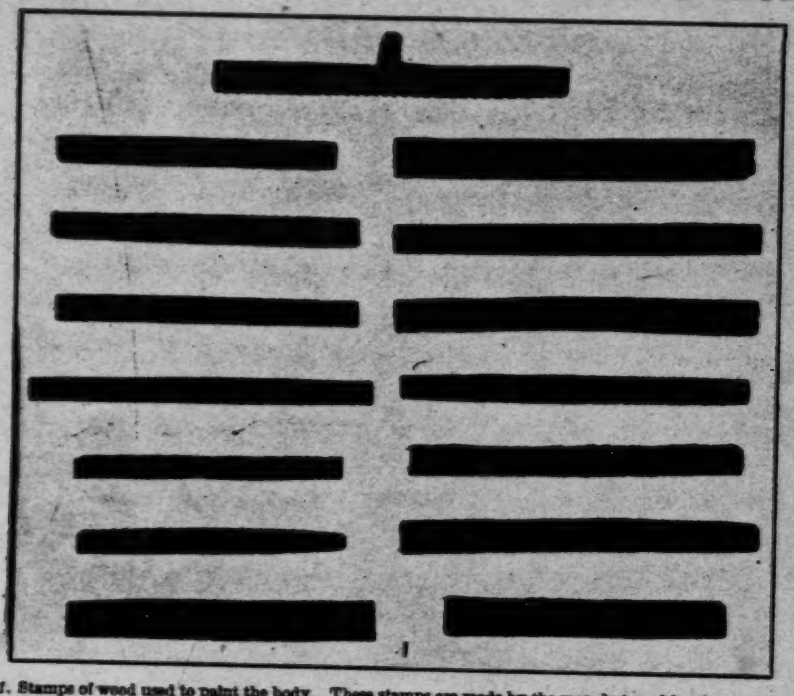

1. Stamps of wood used to paint the body. These stamps are made by the men, but used by the women. The designs are stamped on the face.

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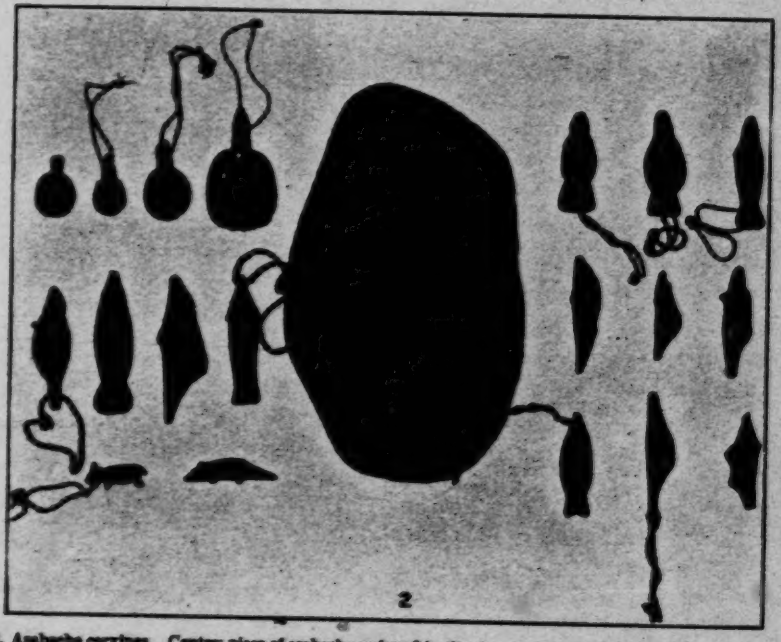

2. Asabache carvings. Center: piece of asabache as found in the rivers. Top row left: carvings of turtles. Top row right: carvings of birds. Middle row left and right: carvings of fishes. Lower row: carvings of (1) jaguar, (2) armadillo. Lower right: carvings of fishes.

[End Plate 12]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

285

1. Woman weaving a mat. Note the use of the foot.

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2. Women foraging for food. Note: braided hair, method of carrying basket, women's girdles, bands below the knee and on the ankles, method of carrying child, and digging stick.

(End Plate 13)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

142 Among the llaneros the Yaruros have the reputation of being darker in color than any of the other tribes. This may be due to their daily exposure to the sun, for I have noticed that forest peoples tend to be lighter in color than those living in the open country. This observation was also made by the early Spanish missionaries. Gilii wrote:

> The color of the peoples of the Orinoco commonly is dark, but somewhat reddish. It is true that some tribes, for example the Otomachi' and the Guami', incline toward black. But they are of such a color, nevertheless, that there is no one among them who can be said to be similar to the Negroes, whose color they abhor. Generally the tribes close to the Orinoco like the Zaruvi (Jaruvos), and the Quaquari' are brown; even more whitish are the inhabitants of the interior, and of the forests. Whitish are the Maipuri, some Tamanachi, and above all the Macchiritari, and the Oji.[1]

The most striking thing in the appearance of the Yaruros is the skin condition referred to by the Racionales as "pintado," painted. When a Yaruro is first afflicted, some patch of his skin will become dry and almost sooty black in color. This will gradually lose all pigment and become as light as the skin of a white man. Practically every individual of the band I met at El Buron showed this patchy skin. The appearance is analogous to that of being profusely covered with [146] freckles. This condition does not affect the health of the individual in any way. By the Racionales it is attributed to the habit of eating crocodile meat and crocodile eggs. The Yaruros give no explanation for it.

●304 They practice no mutilations except that the women drill small holes [752] through the lower lip through which they thrust bone pins. One woman wore 13 such pins. She often used them to prick blisters raised by insect bites.

516 The Yaruros seemed to be ambidextrous. In a group of approximately 150, I counted 6 cases of definite left-handedness, but generally, the left hand is used with a certain amount of dexterity. In addition to using the hands, the toes are used to pick up objects; for instance, if the man wishes to pick up his bow from the ground he will not stoop, but will pick it up with his toes and raise it to the level of his hands.

The posture of the Yaruros is an excellent adaptation to the soft sands on which they are forced to walk whenever they are out of their canoes. Their shoulders are thrown far back with the chest

[1] Gilii, vol. 2, book 1, p. 34: Il colore degli Orinochesi, comunamente e fosco, ma inclinante alquanto all' rossicio. Vero e, che alcune nazioni, a cagion di esempio, gli Ottomachi, ed i Guani, tirano piutoste al nero. Ma sono di color tale nondimeno, che niuno tra essi vi e, che possa dirsi simile a Negri, il cual colore abcorriscono moltissimo. Generalmente le nazioni vicine all 'Orinoco, siccome le suddette, i Zaurui, e i Quaquari, sono piu brune; piu bianchi gli abitanti delle macchie interne, e de'monti. Bianchicci sono dunque i Mapoi, i Maipuri, alcuni Tamanachi, e sopra tutti i Macchiritari, e gli Oji.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

609 123

women sang to me and for me, I was not able to learn anything about their conceptions of the universe nor any other matter.

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On one occasion Landaeta, the shaman, invited Juan Bario's band to participate in a performance. The women prepared for it by painting the face with stamped designs—stamps smeared with oily stuff, stamped on the face, then the entire face, from eyebrows down, was covered with a thick coat of red ocher. It stuck where the grease was. The hair was worn in one braid down the back. They wore their best dresses.

521 123

In anticipation of a long night, I lay down on the sands to rest, if possible. However, the skies interested the Yaruros. Landaeta and his people lay beside me to talk about the heavens. From that we passed to a discussion of Hatchawa, who, according to Landaeta, had said that I was well known to him and a good friend. In order to test the shaman I told him that I was anxious about my family whom I had left so long ago, and I asked him to find out about my wife, son, and general family from Hatchawa, which he promised to do. The conversation went back to the stars, and as the big dipper began to rise over the northern horizon Landaeta disappeared in the darkness. Soft conversation continued, and then came Juan Bario and his family to join us.

796 [292]

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796 791

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1: Petrullo E-8 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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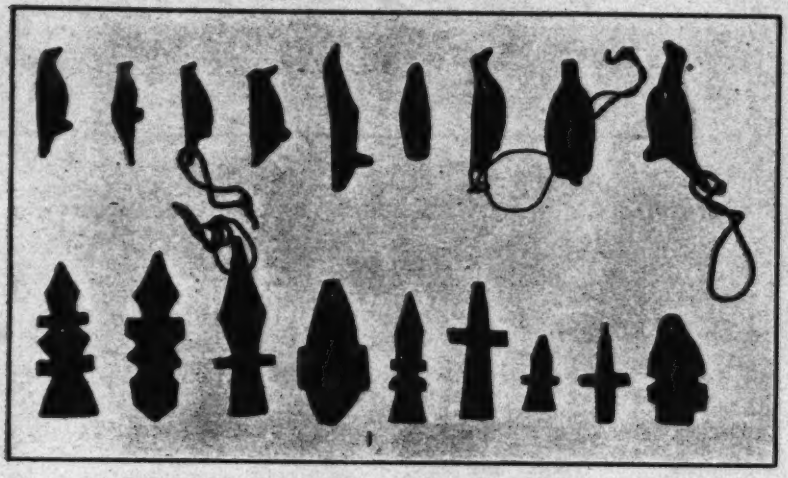
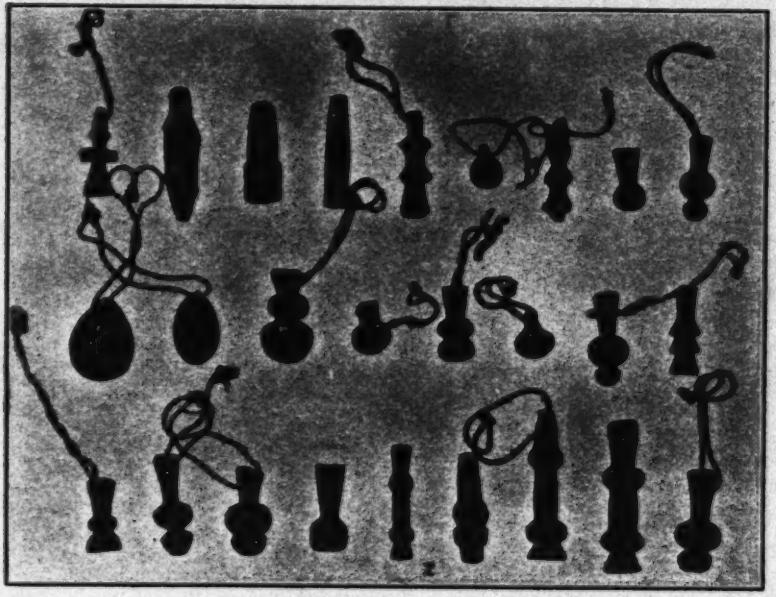


1. Anabache carvings. Top row: birds, mostly ducks. Lower row: geometric forms.



2. Anabache carvings. The two specimens of the middle row at the extreme left are palm-nut shells. For the most part these carvings represent seeds.

(End Plate 11)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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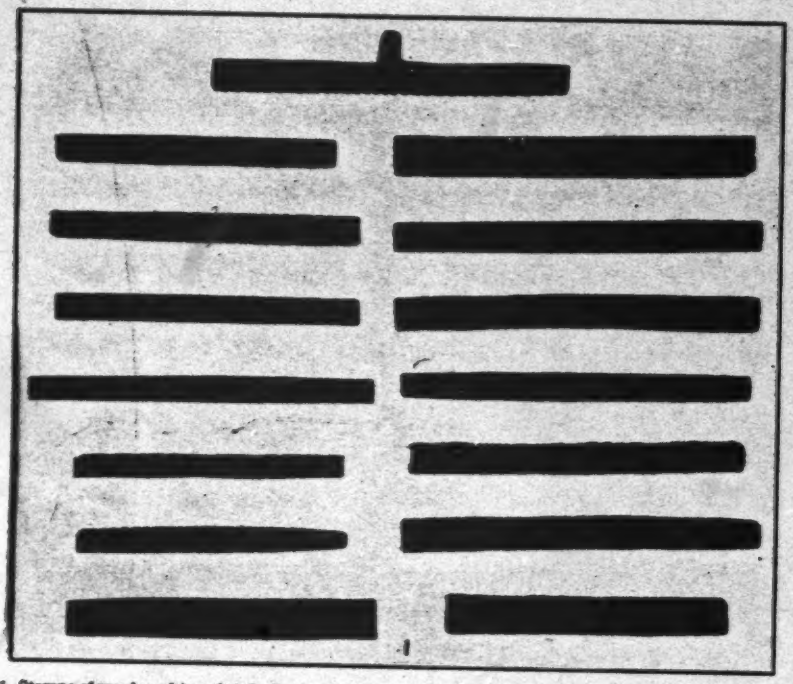

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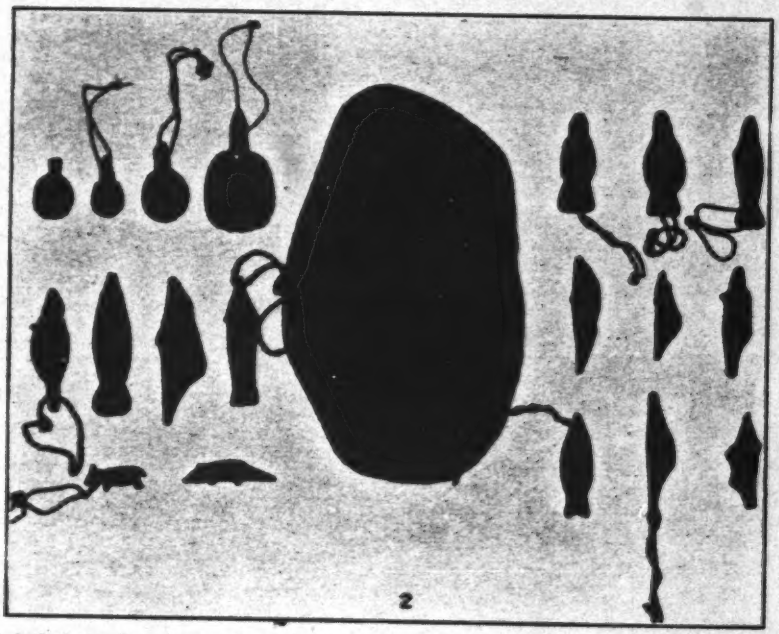

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[End Plate 12]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

123 342 We camped on a large wind-swept beach on the Capanaparo and waited there for Landaeta. While waiting I made visits about the country, seeking out Yaruros wherever I could find them. In one nearby group I noticed that unlike most of the Yaruros, these had built permanent shelters, constructed similarly to the houses of the ranchers. However, there was one significant difference. With true Indian logic, they had left the walls open at the bottom, so that the wind could sweep through the house and keep it cool and free from insects.

791 One morning we embarked to visit a group led by Pablo Reyes, being on an island in the Orinoco, at the mouth of the Capanaparo. Pablo Reyes had been described to us as a very old and very wise man. Borrowing a small dugout, we set out to visit him, traveling mostly by night. On our way we saw and heard a great deal of [311] animal and bird life, for the lower part of the river was less hunted by the Yaruros than the upper part. On the banks we saw numerous tracks of the cats, we saw many capibaros or "chiguires" and we were often serenaded by the roar of the howlers.

133 Our entrance into the Orinoco was dramatic. We were catapulted out of the swift waters of the mouth of the Capanaparo and staggered about among the powerful cross currents and eddies at the confluence of the two rivers. The east wind made travel no easier, as it was blowing a gale. On the far side of the Orinoco were the hills of Guiana, rough and jagged, with gnarled vegetation, and dark patches of jungle growth. There were several islands of odd shape, and one of them, about halfway across the Orinoco, was the Linda Bara, to which we made our way.

177 Encamped on this island we found Pablo Reyes' band and a number of "Racionales," that is, "civilized," Venezuelans of the llanos, who during the dry season take to living like the Indians, except that they clutter their shelters with civilized equipment. The result is that their houses are infested with parasites of all kinds. However, they too live upon crocodiles, turtles, and the eggs of the latter.

311 237 This portion of the Orinoco is, in late March and early April, the gathering ground of both Indians and Racionales. The region teems with turtles. By common agreement, stretches of the beaches where the turtles are known to gather in large numbers are not hunted until April, at which time the people dig up thousands and thousands of newly laid eggs out of which they make an oil for export. The [436] center for this commerce is the little settlement of La Urbana, originally a Capuchin mission established about 1750.

791 Like Landaeta, Pablo Reyes had also learned of my coming, and was ready for me. He too is a shaman, and delights in speaking to a sympathetic listener about religious themes, of his conception of

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

In the case of the Yaruros all of these factors have played an important role and are currently active in reducing their territories and food supply to a degree that will mean imminent extermination of the people. It is true that since the first settler arrived in their country the Yaruros could have made readjustments in their culture which perhaps might have permitted them to survive. They could have learned, for instance, to raise horses, cattle, and to cultivate the soil as the Guajiros, living in a country similar to the llanos, have done. But they have chosen to remain firm in their own culture, own traditions, and own universe, and as a result are expecting to pay the penalty. Why they have failed to make the readjustment which would have brought them into a livable relationship with the newcomers and have persisted in keeping to their primitive, nomadic existence may be answered in the pages that follow.

Dependency on hunting, fishing, and gathering of edible fruits and roots imposes nomadism upon a people and prevents living together in large groups. The degree to which a people have to wander, the extent of the territory over which they must roam, and the size of the group, is dependent upon the abundance of the food supply in the region. The Yaruro hunting groups are small and they stay in one camp not more than a few days; so, they are to be met plying up and down the river in their canoes or traveling over land to the water holes, ever hunting for food.

HUNTING TERRITORIES

Each hunting group has a territory over which it is free to roam. Over this region only its members are allowed to hunt and gather fruits and roots, but the rivers, the main streams, are open to all. The accompanying map shows the limits of the present hunting territory of the Yaruros of the Capanaparo. It would seem that anciently, when the Yaruros were more numerous, they roamed over a vaster region cut up into small portions over which hunting rights were distributed among various hunting family groups. I was assured that the Yaruros of the Sinaruco also have divided their country into family units.

There is also a sort of division among the Yaruros which transcends family grouping. The Yaruros of the Capanaparo, for instance, consider themselves a unit, though loosely bound, as distinct from the Yaruros of the Sinaruco, so that they consider the land drained by the Capanaparo as theirs and the region drained by the Sinaruco as the land of the Yaruros of that river. And yet, above all this, there seems to be a tribal feeling as opposed to the tribal divisions. The real significance of this is that among the Yaruros there is permitted a degree of mutuality in the use of the hunting rights

241 With respect to these habitat conditions, the single most important, and, in the case of the Yaruro, predominant subsistence activity is swidden-ing, also called brand tillage, slash and burn horticulture, milpa, or shifting horticulture, a type of subsistence which peoples in both tropical and temperate forested areas of the world have practiced and still practice widely. The procedure followed by the Yaruro is very much like that of other swiddeners.[3] A garden site is chosen in virgin forest or preferably in second growth. During the dry season, the underbrush is first cut out and then the larger trees are felled by a variety of techniques including the use of machetes, axes, or girdling. The cut trees and brush are left to dry during the remainder of the dry season. Just as the first rains are approach-ing, these logs, along with whatever smaller underbrush may be standing, are set afire. The smaller materials largely burn up while the charred remnants of large trees lie scattered about. Burning partially destroys the [134] humus, as does removal of the forest cover, and to a degree disturbs the soil structure,[4] consequently often speeding the decline of soil fertility despite the addition of organic material from the rotting of partially burned tree boles. Also ash from the burned wood contributes some fertilizing minerals to the soil, thus increasing the short-term fertility of the soil before it is exhausted by man, plants, and rain.

134 The destruction of the forest cover and of the humus layers exposes
241 the plots to more drastic leaching or erosion by tropical rains. This fact, together with a decrease in fertility from continual replanting and harvesting in unweeded and uncultivated soils, accompanied by a gradual but drastic invasion by weeds and grasses, makes further use of the plot uneconomical at best and impossible at worst. It is abandoned in favor of some entirely new plot or one which has been reconstituted by long fallowing. Abandoned plots overgrown by weeds and grasses, though they may soon recover their fertility, are so difficult to work with the characteristic swidden horticul-tural tools,[5] the digging stick and the machete, that they generally cannot be recultivated until a new forest cover has grown up and shaded out smaller vegetation. This usually takes a number of years, in general a minimum of 10 to 15 years, though, in other parts of the world this range may be extended in both directions.[6]

241 Planting is carried out beginning just before or just at the inception of the rains and just after the burning. It may be continued at intervals during the rainy season in order to stagger the harvests. Plantings may be staggered through part or all of the dry season, if climate and horticultural conditions permit, to create a more or less continuous crop, and the probability of a correspondingly higher annual productivity per capita and per land area. Where marked differences between seasons are not found, the entire process may be more or less continuous throughout the year. Irrigation, terracing, and fertilization (other than natural fertilization resulting from silting) are not used.

●311 The remaining land surface presents resource areas of various types. In passing, it should be noted, though it is too often thought to be self-evident and consequently not specified, that what constitutes a resource

3,4,5,6 [for footnote see category 116, p. 42--Analyst]

area is only such in reference to the presence of a given technology. The presence of such a technology is not guaranteed in any particular culture by any historical, evolutionary, geographical, or ecological necessity. Its presence may entail a particular historical explanation or a general evolutionary one. In any case, its absence entails the absence of the use of certain resources whose presence we can observe only in retrospect. 311

Other resource areas besides those utilized because of the presence of horticulture among the Yaruro become available by their possession of hunting, gathering, and fishing technologies, as well as recently acquired animal husbandry in the form of pig-herding. Hunter animals include deer, armadillo, capybara, paca, peccary (?), iguana, and a number of birds (see Table II, p. 4)[1]. These are variously distributed spatially according to the specific ecological niches for which they are adapted. Thus deer are apparently usually found dispersed in the somewhat damper, low-lying savanas where grass is greener and water more available away from the scene of human activity. Armadillo are found distributed throughout the savana. Other species, however, such as the capybara, live near the edge of permanent waters, mainly the rivers. Alligators also live only in the rivers. The faunal carrying capacity of the savanas appears to be quite low in the Cinaruco llanos since foraging foods for larger game animals are sparse. It is important to note that not only is the overall carrying capacity governed by the minimum average food supply of the savanas in the florally more restricted dry season,[7] but the distribution of animals varies considerably from the wet to the dry season. In the latter, animals tend to cluster nearer the rivers or the widely dispersed water holes. Consequently, the locus of hunting must also shift seasonally (see Maps)[2]. Savana hunting techniques are neccessarily different from those used in procuring food in the rivers, whether hunting alligators or capybara, or, of course, fishing. There is some seasonal variation in the locus of fishing, too, although this is much less marked on the Cinaruco than on the freely-flooding streams of the flatter, more north-easterly savanas of the Apure llanos. In the rainy season, fish move up the larger streams into somewhat shallower waters where more plant and insect food is available to them. However, they are apparently unable to move up smaller streams which often have rapids-like stretches interrupting their course. Thus fishing in the rainy seasons is directed towards the larger creeks and away from the smaller creeks and the river itself, where the water has become too deep for successful fishing since the fish are scarcer and more difficult to see in the deep, swift currents of winter. In respect to animal husbandry, recently introduced pigs are pastured anywhere in the savanas but preferably next to the village or quite a distance from it, in either case far from the nearest gardens (Sp. *conuco*, Y. *tadó*), an effort which is rarely successful, since the pigs, in their wisdom, are among the main predators on the garden crops. Gathering may be carried out in the dry or the wet savana depending upon the plant food to be gathered, or it may be carried out near the creeks especially for the fruit of the moriche palm. The rivers do not appear to be used in gathering.

224 137 [221] 226 133 231 [241] 222

[1] [See pp. 35-37, category 116 --Analyst]
[2] [see pp. 40-41, category 102 --Analyst]
[7] [for footnote, see p. 42, category 116 --Analyst]

311 In short, the habitat conditions are as follows, given that the Cinaruco
22 Yaruro have a technology including hunting, gathering, fishing, and animal husbandry, and horticulture. All resources are found within a narrow band of about 4-5 miles between the Cinaruco river and the high sand dunes occurring in the interfluve to the north, in which only an occasional deer is found. Within this space there are three major resource areas distinguishable: 1) the open savanas for hunting and gathering, the former involving much greater dispersion of resources than the latter and consequently quite different techno-social conditions. Both activities change location markedly with the seasons. 2) The rivers and *caños* are used for water-animal hunting and for fishing. Fishing also displays a seasonal shift between river and *caño*, whereas river hunting for alligator and turtle becomes totally impracticable in the wet season. 3) The wooded areas, themselves dispersed, include the gallery forests of smaller streams where flooding is limited but water
[241] and soil abundant and the *montes* occurring here and there in mid-savana. These areas provide the Yaruro with garden sites. Away from the streams, there are also occasional tiny patches of suitable soil not close enough to the water table for dry season use, but which get enough rain to be used for planting of seasonal crops in the wet season. Schematically, the situation is shown on Table II_A^1, a list of foods entering into Yaruro economy and their relative seasonal occurrences, and on Maps I and II_A^2 of the seasonal locations of these resources.

182 The particular relationship between a peculiar habitat, such as the one we have just described, and the technology operating within it, here preponderantly a swidden technology, sets upper limits to territorial, socio-economic, or cultural expansion, and limits to changes in socio-cultural forms. With regard to the habitat dimension of the relationship, we may
[121] say in Harris's words, "Limitations imposed by the manner in which plants and animals convert solar energy into comestible material in combination with the availability of land and water resources, the rate of reproduction of the natural biota, and the total ecological balance, furnish conditions unalterable by individual or collective whim",[3] at least with the given level of technological development possessed by the Yaruro. The Yaruro are in no position to change the total ecological balance, to increase the carrying capacity of the land or water for plant or animal species. For
182 example, under the llanos conditions, the use of slash-and-burn horticulture exhausts arable land at a rate greater than it recovers. The proportion of
241 land held in reserve for future cultivation must be several times greater
311 than that under cultivation at any given moment, the proportion varying with such factors as the rate of fertility recovery, the type of weed and grass invasion, the rate of growth of the secondary forest, the rate of mechanical reconstruction of the soil, and so on. Thus of the total amount of land potentially available in a given expanse of territory, only a part can be horticulturally exploited at any one time. Where the total potentially arable land in a given expanse is itself only a small proportion of the total area, the amount of land available for cultivation at any one moment is, of course, minute. This ecological balance in turn limits the human population

1[1] [See pp. 31-39, category 116 -- Analyst]
1[2] [See pp. 40-41, category 102 -- Analyst]
1[3] [for footnote, see p. 42, category 116 -- Analyst]

and socio-economic forms. Nor can any immediate desire or fancy of the Yaruro change the limitations which the ecological relationship imposes: the carrying capacity of the land for horticultural food plants has, with the given technology, a fairly fixed upper limit. That such limitations exist for their horticulture is recognized by the Yaruro themselves to some extent. First, they recognize that, given the types of soils extant in the habitat, only certain kinds of crops can be used in certain places. Their knowledge in this regard seems to be quite accurate, and, of course, determines where a garden will be prepared at any given time according to projected needs, existing resources, and past exploitations. Again, they know that a swidden lasts three years, a fact not only confirmed by the evidence of conditions in recently abandoned patches but also by the results of soil analyses.[9] After the three years, they say, the swidden must be allowed to fallow for a number of years. They use the word 'five', but the writer believes 'five' is intended to mean 'some' years. The conditions of abandoned gardens, with their rank growth of lush grasses, unmanageable with dibble or machete, and of the places chosen for preparing new gardens, all cut out of relatively large second growth, suggest that the fallow period is at least 10 years, and probably upwards. We shall use 10 years as a basis for calculations below, since after such a time, the shade has driven out the succulent grasses which are replaced by herbaceous plants or woody underbrush. In view of these considerations, it may be said that Yaruro horticultural practices have been well-adapted to the particular soil and water conditions of their habitat on the basis of explicit recognition of these conditions.

Without basic change in their technology, the balance between the Yaruro's present technology and the habitat conditions we have described set real upper limits both on production and on productivity, the latter defined as production per capita per year, and therefore sets limits on the absolute size and the form of the society. Let us suppose optimal population conditions unlike the present continuing depopulation due to western diseases and massacres by Venezuelans were present as an hypothetical ideal state. The tendency of any plant or animal population is to increase until it balances in a stable equilibrium with the available nutritional resources, other factors constant.[10] If the population increases beyond this point, either a portion of the population must seek elsewhere for its food, or a portion must die, or the population will exploit the resources so as temporarily or permanently to reduce them to lower potentials, as in the case of cattle overgrazing pastures. A new land-population equilibrium is then reached at a somewhat lower level. The only other possibility is to innovate new forms of exploitation, a point we return to below.

Under optimal conditions, then, we may estimate maximum Yaruro population within the boundaries of such a territory as presently occupied by the Caño Totúdoro Yaruro of the Central Cinaruco, a territory bounded for all practical purposes by walking-and-working distance from the village. Within this area of about 65 sq. mi. a maximum of about 800 acres, or that 2% of the total area which is wooded, contains all tillable land. However,

9,10 [for footnotes see p. 42-48, category 116 -- Analyst]

311 241 within these 800 acres, much is occupied by the streams, calculated at their flood maxima which define non-gardenable areas, while other parts are inadequate in soils or water for use as gardens. Consequently, the actually tillable areas comprise a maximum of about 200 acres or about 0.5% of the land surface. It should be noted, of course, that all these 200 acres are not usable for crops since those in the *montes* cannot be used for cane and bananas, while the wet areas nearest the streams cannot be used for corn or manioc. Thus the maximum area for the staple crops, manioc, corn, and bananas, is about 145 acres (see Table I).[11]

168 311 Using Carneiro's equations,[12] we may estimate the maximum population which would be in equilibrium with this acreage, estimating .5 acres as an approximate amount of land required to provide the average person with the food he ordinarily derives from cultivated plants per year.[13] The calculation gives us 92 persons (see Figure 1).[14] We may also estimate the number of years (L) the group may stay in the present locality with its present population of 24 before wearing out the available tillable land so that they would have to move (see Figure 2). This would be 50 years. Since the entire fallow and planting cycle of any piece of land is only 13 years, under present circumstances, the Totûdoro Yaruro will not have to move from their present territory at all, in view of their small and decreasing population.

[128]

Figure 1

$$P = \frac{\frac{T}{(R+Y)} \times Y}{A}$$

$$P = \frac{\frac{200}{10+3} \times 3}{.5}$$

P = 92 (=67 if R is 15)

Figure 2

$$L = \frac{\frac{T}{P \times A}}{Y}$$

$$L = \frac{\frac{200}{24 \times .5}}{3}$$

L = 50 years

R = year of fallow
Y = years of productivity
A = land used to provide plant food for one person a year
P = population
L = number of years group located in one place
T = acres of cultivable land within walking-working distance of village

[262] The ideal figures given above would be somewhat modified upwards by the additional foods provided by fishing, hunting, and gathering which, in the wet season, constitute about 30% of the diet and, in the dry, perhaps

[11] [for Table I see pp. 28-30, category 116--Analyst]
[11,12,13,14] [for footnotes, see p. 43, category 116--Analyst]

50% of the diet or a little less. The ideal figures would again be reduced, on the other hand, by allowing for the predations on gardens of animals, especially the pigs, which eat manioc and corn, the Guahibo Indians who allegedly steal sugar cane, and insect losses. Our figures, then, will be modified only a few units by the additional sources of foods. We may thus revise our population figure to between 100 and 105 (or, if a 15-year fallow period is assumed, the figure would be 75-80), figures which correspond to the Yaruro's own ideal of what a proper population for this area should be. If the population increased beyond this number of people, the Yaruro would have to exploit their gardens at a rate greater than the rate of land reconstitution, and also expand hunting, fishing, and gathering beyond the average long-term carrying capacity of the savanas and the rivers, thus reducing their potential productivity. Adding together the maximum populations supportable by these food resources, as well as by the recently introduced pigs, a figure approximating 125-150 persons might be reasonable for this particular territory. This gives a density of 2 persons per sq. mile, a characteristic figure for tropical forest tribes.[15]

If the population rose beyond this maximum capacity of the land-technology relationship, groups would either have to fission off, go on the warpath, regulate population by any of a number of internal institutions such as infanticide, or die either from extreme famines or from steady nutritional deficiency. Under present population conditions none of these is necessary, yet both fissioning and population regulation by contraception occur. Fissioning appears to be fostered by the search for settlement locations requiring minimum labor for maximum return and also to establish community authority under the person leading the fissioning group independent of that excercised by the community from which fissioning took place. Contraception appears to be a matter of choice revolving about maintaining a certain freedom from the cares of motherhood until such time as the marriage partners are reasonably convinced that the marriage is permanent. Indirectly, this contributes to the distribution of more effective female producers among the more effective male producers in the most productive areas, since a second marriage often involves shifting to a generally more effective husband whereas a shift to a less effective husband is scarcely to be found. Both fissioning and contraception, however, give evidence of techniques which were developed to handle man-food balance in happier days.

A number of formal characteristics of any ecology may permit us to deduce the form of society which would be expected on the basis of such characteristics. In so far as the ecological forms were to remain essentially unchanged over great periods of time, no changes in the forms of the social order attached to the ecological conditions would be expected. An internal equilibrium is maintained until such time as a dynamic imbalance occurs because of changes from internal or external sources. It is essential to examine to what extent the internal equilibrium prevents or fosters the occurence of dynamic imbalances in any particular ecological setting. We shall return to this question after the following itemization of Yaruro ecological forms.

[15] [for footnote see p. 43, category 116 -- Analyst]

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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[p.28]

TABLE I

Number, Size, and Crop Areas of Gardens of the Totudoro Yaruro: % [1] of Garden Planted to Each Crop and Areas in Acres.

Gardens #	Sq. Ft.	Acres		Manioc % Acres	Corn % Acres	Bananas % Acres	Cane % Acres	Squashes % Acres	Inyame % Acres	Other[2]
OLD: Totally abandoned (4th and 5th years)										
3.	15,000	0.35								
36.	10,000	0.23								
37.	15,000	0.35								
38.	8,000	0.19								
39.	8,000	0.18								
40.	12,000	0.28								
43.	10,000	0.23								
44.	10,000	0.23								
Total	88,000	2.04	2.04							
OLD: 3d and 4th years										
6.	13,500	0.31				sparse[3]				
8.	5,000	0.12				sparse				
11.	8,500	0.20				negligible				
12.	13,000	0.30				sparse				
16.	32,500	0.74				little				
20.	6,500	0.15		sparse						
41.	15,000	0.35				negligible				
42.	15,000	0.35				negligible				
Total	109,000	2.52	4.53							

[p.29]

TABLE I (cont.)

Gardens #	Sq. Ft.	Acres		Maniac %	Maniac Acres	Corn %	Corn Acres	Bananas %	Bananas Acres	Cane %	Cane Acres	Squashes %	Squashes Acres	Inyame %	Inyame Acres	Other[a]
MATURE: 2nd & 3rd years																
1.	60,000	1.40		100	1.40	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4.	3,000	0.07		90	0.06	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	0.02	—
5.	7,000	0.18		80	0.14	—	—	20	0.04	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7.	6,000	0.14		—	—	—	—	20	0.03[b]	80	0.11	—	—	—	—	—
9.	50,000	1.16		60	0.70	—	—	10	0.12	25	0.29	—	—	5	0.06	+[a]
10.	1,000	0.02		—	—	—	—	—	—	sparse		—	—	—	—	—
13.	25,000	0.58		40	0.23	—	—	25	0.15	35	0.20	—	—	—	—	—
15.	16,000	0.37		—	—	—	—	30	0.11	70	0.26	—	—	—	—	—
23.	20,000	0.47		25	0.12	—	—	30	0.14	45	0.21	—	—	—	—	—
26.	10,000	0.23		—	—	—	—	20	0.05	80	0.18	—	—	—	—	—
28.	40,000	0.92		50	0.47	—	—	10	0.09	40	0.37	—	—	—	—	—
31.	30,000	0.70		100	0.70	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
34.	13,000	0.30		100	0.30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
35a.	10.000	0.22		55	0.13	—	—	30	0.07	10	0.02	5	0.01	—	—	+[c]
Total	291,000	6.76	11.32		4.25				0.80		1.64		0.01		0.08	Acres
NEW: First year																
14.	14,000	0.32		—	—	—	—	—	—	100	0.32	—	—	—	—	—
17.	6,000	0.14		35	0.05	—	—	20	0.03	35	0.05	—	—	10	0.01	—
18.	6,000	0.14		45	0.06	45	0.06	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	0.02	—
19.	6,500	0.15		35	0.05	35	0.05	10	0.02	12	0.03	—	—	5	0.01	—
22.	8,000	0.18		—	—	—	—	35	0.06	65	0.12	—	—	—	—	—
24.	37,500	0.86		45	0.39	—	—	35	0.30	20	0.17	—	—	—	—	—

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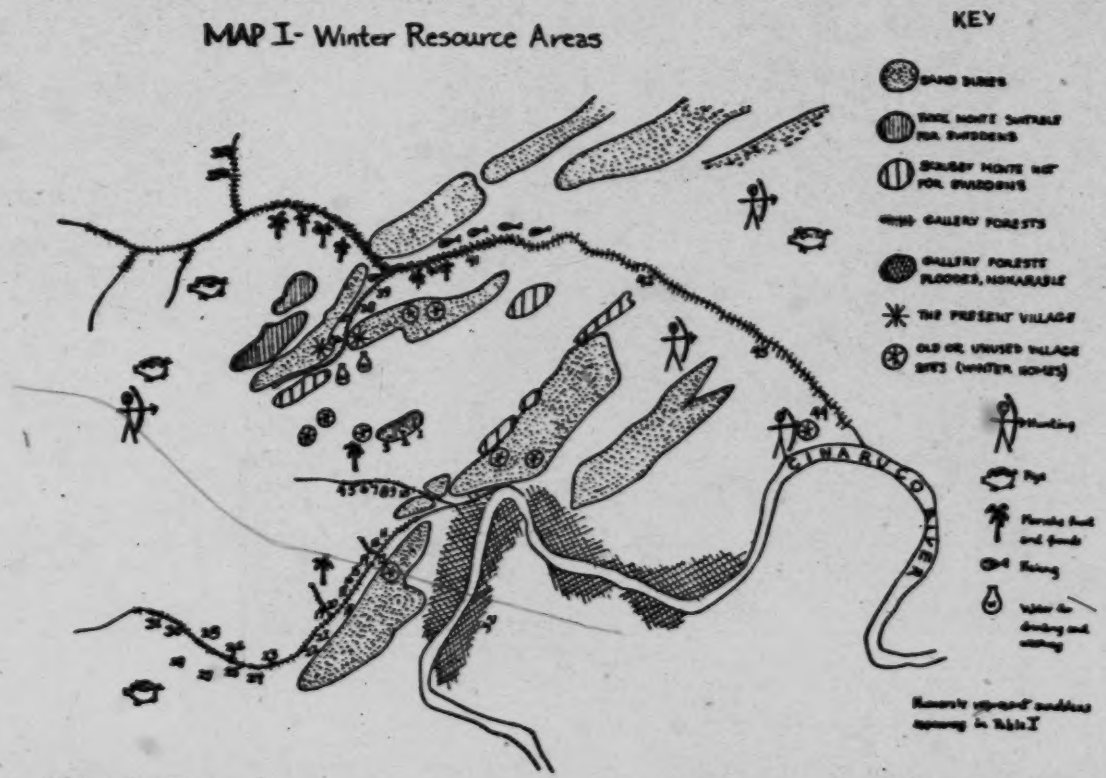
Z:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

MAP I- Winter Resource Areas



I inch = ca 1.25 mi

Maps by Jo Leeds.

Cp. 40J

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

MAP II Summer Resource Areas

KEY

- Hunting
- Pigs
- Gathering
- Fishing
- water for drinking and washing

CINARUCO RIVER

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[illegible]

241
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TABLE I (cont.)

Gardens #	Sq. Ft.	Acres		Manioc %	Manioc Acres	Corn %	Corn Acres	Bananas %	Bananas Acres	Cane %	Cane Acres	Squashes %	Squashes Acres	Inyame %	Inyame Acres	Other[1]
25.	9,500	0.22		35	0.08	35	0.08	20	0.04	10	0.02	—	—	—	—	—
27.	1,950	0.05		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	200[7]	0.10	—	—	—
29.	2,500	0.06		100	0.06	100[8]	0.06	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
30.	15,000	0.35		80	0.28	80[9]	0.28	20	0.07	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
32.	12,000	0.30		—	—	—	—	—	—	100	0.30	—	—	—	—	—
33.	13,000	0.30		55	0.17	55[10]	0.17	20	0.05	20	0.06	—	—	10[11]	0.03	—
35b.	10,000	0.22		50	0.12	60[12]	0.14	30	0.07	10	0.02	10	0.02	—	—	+[13]
Total	142,950	3.29	14.61		1.26		0.84		0.65		1.09		0.12		0.07	Acres
IN PREPARATION																
2.	15,000	0.35		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21.	20,000	0.46		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	35,000	0.81	15.42													

1. These percents are highly approximate since crops were often distributed quite irregularly around gardens, often even interplanted. They represent impressionistic guesses.
2. These mostly include yautía ('ocumo'), pineapples.
3. 'Sparse' means that trees are scattered here and there, bearing lightly; 'negligible' refers to a few atrophied bunches in an entire patch; 'little' means a very small production, above sparse.
4. These were very sparse.
5. Pineapples, yautía.
6. Pineapples, pumpkins, yautía.
7. Successively planted to melons and squash in same season.
8. Double cropped in same area.
9. Corn and manioc double cropped in same area.
10. Corn and manioc double cropped in same area.
11. Inyame interplanted among corn and manioc.
12. Double cropped with manioc.
13. Yautía, pineapples, melons, pumpkins.

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

[p.301

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

social features reported, ideological features reported, and relations with other tribes mentioned. The card sets will be arranged by geographical location of the tribe so that for any given time period one may pull out all the sets and arrange the tribes in their spatial order. Thus for any time period a picture of the trait distributions, cultural-ecological conditions, inter-tribal socio-ecological relations, and acculturational-social contacts and events should be obtainable.

V

Though, to date, I have been concerned mainly with collecting bibliography and documentary materials rather than with their analysis, I should like to hazard several very tentative conclusions, or perhaps guesses, with respect to the ethnohistory of the llanos, and particularly of the Yaruro, based on the geographic, ethnographic, archeological, linguistic, and historical data known to me now. Some, however, are presented more as hypotheses for proof or disproof through continued research.

First, Petrullo's description is erroneous at least as respects the subsistence economy. Late Nineteenth Century travellers like Crévaux and Vela and several persons in this century mention horticulture. Still earlier reports go back to the earlier Eighteenth Century when missionaries speak of horticulture. Their reports apply to the Yaruro, Otomaco, Guahibo, and other groups. It has not yet been possible to decide whether they introduced or found horticulture among these peoples. Petrullo's error appears to have several explanations:

A) That he was incapacitated for several weeks by sore feet and was unable to travel about the land away from the rivers. In my experience, a careful criss-crossing of the land on foot is an absolute necessity if one is to know how these peoples carry on their subsistence activities. I have paced off with a pedometer the entire area used by the group I worked with. In the course of so doing I discovered all kinds of gardens, houses, and other evidences of their land use. These would not otherwise have been discovered by an observer nor mentioned by the Yaruro, since mainly what is physically present is, to them, worthy of mention.[10] I should say a great portion of my most important data came from such accidental discoveries made while walking about.

---

[10] I would stand at a certain spot in a garden and ask "Whose garden is this?" "Juan's." Then I might walk perhaps ten feet and say, "Juan keeps his garden well." "But this is not Juan's garden." "You just said that this was Juan's garden." "That was over there on the other side of that row of corn." This happened a number of times. I also asked once, "Is there female shamanism here?" "No." Several days later, a group from an neighboring village came to visit. After an all-night session of the *tou'be*, several women performed shamanistic rites. I said, "I thought you said there is no female shamanism here?" "There isn't anyone here [i. e. in our locality] who practices — these women are from upstream." The same cleaving to locus was observed with respect to time. I was told that Miguel was a shaman ("musico"). I said "Miguel, are you not a musico?" "I am not a musico. I cannot sing." A few weeks later, he was singing. I said,

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

B) Petrullo restricted his visits to the sand banks along and in the river, and, after his first arrival, most of his travelling was done on the streams. Gardens are never to be found on the sand banks and bars, but rather, usually, on the affluent creeks which are just above flood level of the rivers in the rainy season. Therefore he was not in a position to see the gardens which Le Besnerais later saw in the same area when he explored back from the river.

C) Petrullo was in the llanos in the dry season when the Yaruro move nearer the rivers both to secure a water supply as the water table lowers and to avail themselves of the much more plentiful and accessible river fauna[11] at a time when vegetable harvests are reduced because of drought. He was therefore observing dry-season subsistence — and perhaps only a part of it.

D) The probability that he observed only a part of the dry-season subsistence pattern in his area is reinforced by two considerations:

1) He reports the fact that 150 Yaruro had been massacred by Venezuelans a month before his arrival (p. 181). Their response under such circumstances is, as fast as possible, to get off the land that the Venezuelans want and to move to the rivers. I myself had occasion to observe such a diaspora, occurring in response to a smaller massacre. In view of this sort of response, it is likely, therefore, that Petrullo's group was living off river resources and away from their gardens at the time of his visit.

2) Maps indicate that in the lower part of the Capanaparo River, the flooding is greater and the number and size of side creeks suitable for horticulture is smaller than upstream on any of the large rivers. In other words, the available area for garden plots is much smaller, and riverine subsistence proportionately more important. Upriver, and more especially on the Sinaruco and on the middle and upper Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, there is much more tillable ground.

"I thought you said you could not sing and were not a musico?" "Yes, that was true last week when I had the grippe, but now my grippe is better I can be a musico again." And many similar examples of the extreme caution one needed to exercise regarding negative responses in order to be sure they were not merely descriptive of the place and moment. If Petrullo asked "Do you raise crops?", his informants would most likely have said, "No, we have no crops here", under the circumstances in which he found them.

[11] The river fauna is more plentiful and accessible in dry season because, first, it is more concentrated, and, second, it is more visible. During the wet, flooding season, fish, and other animals spread even into smaller streams and out upon the watery llanos — we caught a small piranha on the grassy, watercovered plain itself. On the plains, the fish are lost among the grasses and are virtually impossible to spear or shoot with bow and arrow. The river turbulence of the rainy season, meanwhile, has brought so much mud from further upstream that many of the rivers are opaque, especially in those parts of the llanos constructed of mud rather than sandy soils. Fish and the water reptiles and mammals are well-cloaked by the murky stream. The waters and the plains clear in the dry season so that the fish are concentrated in the limpid, grassless waters of the rivers, while land animals and riparian fauna are all crowded together near the banks in their search for food and water.

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[312]

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...30.							Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III		
11	Andrés or Juan Pío (subordinate of Bernardino Agustín Lopez, surnamed Venado --see community no. 15)	Paso El Robo (briefly occupied)	x			x				
		then simultaneously Vuelta Mala 1 and Vuelta Mala 2	x			x				
12	Ramo Romilio Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Chaparal or (Vuelta Mala) or (Barrancas)	2					x		The type I habitations are located 400/500 m. from the bank.
13	Jacinto Lopez father of the preceding (named by the Venezuelans)	El Rosario	1							The community is located near a forest and a spring of clear water coming from the savanna.
14	Jesús Arcaya	Manguito	1							
15	Bernardino Agustín Lopez surnamed Venado; also has authority over Andrés or Juan Pío (see comm. no. 11). (no doubt named by the Ven.)	El Caiboso	2				1	1		The summer encampment is located on an island downstream from the mouth of the Riecito.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

bow and arrows, digging sticks, baskets, small hammocks, a water jar or two, a mortar and pestle, several fishhooks, fire sticks, and scraps of clothing. As a rule, each family will possess the minimum of these objects.

CANOES.—A typical Yaruro canoe measured about 18 feet long. Its longitudinal cross section was as shown in plate 16, *3*. It was made of the "salao" wood.

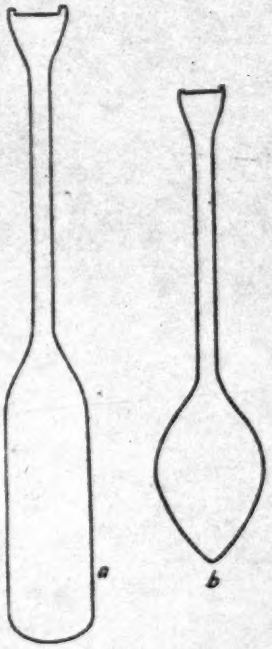

FIGURE 16.—Paddles. *a*, Type usually used by stern paddler. *b*, Generally used in the bow.

The only tools that the Yaruros have to fashion such a canoe are crude machetes, perhaps an ax, and fire. The canoes are never regular in outline and on the whole are rather crude. Both bow and stern end in a point and the bottom is round. These canoes are unstable, difficult to maneuver, and will split easily. No crosspieces are used to reinforce the canoe.

PADDLES.—Paddles are of two types, as shown in figure 16. The large paddles measure about 4 feet in length; the smaller paddles slightly over 3 feet. They are as crudely fashioned as the canoes and increase the difficulties of paddling.

BOWS.—The bows are fashioned from macanilla or the mahaguillo wood. A large bow will measure about 6 feet, but most of them are closer to 5 feet. The inner surface of the bow is generally flat and the outer is curved. The greatest width on one such bow was about 1½ inches and its thickness less than 1 inch. When the string is relaxed these bows are perfectly straight. They are not reinforced unless they show signs of splitting. On the whole, these bows are inferior to those made by many other tribes in South America. The bow string is tied as shown in figure 17, *e*, *f*, *g*,[1] with three clove-hitch knots.

ARROWS.—The Yaruros, like most other South American primitives, have a variety of arrows, each type being designed for a specific purpose. A fish arrow consists of a reed shaft to which is attached a bone point with resin and string. Often the upper end of the bone point will protrude away from the shaft to form a small barb. Three feathers are used and fastened as shown in figure 18, *f*, *j*, *k*.[2] At the feathers' end of the arrow a notched piece of Brazil-wood is inserted.

A somewhat similar arrow with an iron point is made. In this case the point is inserted into a worked piece of wood which, in turn,

1 [See category 116, p. 205. --- Analyst]
2 [See category 116, p. 206. --- Analyst]

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F s	W m-a	S d-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
po'be	cotua	duck species	rivers, caños, arrows	✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		?	?	2?
pos'ni	pato	duck species	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
MISCELLANEOUS MATERIALS COLLECTED FOR USE IN PRODUCTION:												
ya'ru	sapuruna	leaf to wrap and store corn sticks	savana, picking			✓?			✓		✓	1
kanm'ba	?	cigar wrapping	savana, picking	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓?		✓	✓	1
ngam'bi	tabaco	tobacco	savana, picking	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
u'de	curagua, macanilla	macanilla palm	near caños (?) a) for bows, b) for string, fibres for objects	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓✓ ✓		✓✓ ✓✓	✓ ✓	2-4
chara'i'o	saisu (saisdo?)	canoe wood (?)	montes, for making canoes	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		✓✓		4
citô'i'o	caña brava	cane for arrows	near caños for foreshafts	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		✓✓		4-
tu	moriche	moriche	near or in caños, used for making house roofs, baskets, cords, fibres, hammocks	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	5
ngo	moriche frond	ditto	as above, often picked up from ground, or tree cut and fronds collected, last for years, may be reused.		as above							
biri'i'o-i	guasca	bark strips	montes, caños, for lashing	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		✓✓		3
é-im'bu	cera de abeja	beeswax	near caños, from large trees	✓	✓			✓		✓		1
é-'ke	miel	honey	as above	✓	✓			✓				1
e'ra	peramán	tree wax	as above? for arrows	✓?	✓?			✓		✓		1

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[p.87]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

516 the Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-
502 tom of the canoe on several cross sticks without any back rest or any foot rest on which to brace himself. To one not accustomed to such a position it is clumsy and painful, and easily fatiguing. The paddler's stroke is short, quick, and choppy, like that of many South American tribes in Brazil.

SHELTER

362 Yaruro shelter is the simplest thing in the world. Nothing simpler could be devised. Shunning the forest and camping only on the open beaches by the river, the shelter is devised for two purposes—to protect the family from the winds, the insects, the sun,
342 and in the rainy season from the rain. They make, therefore, a variety of shelters. The camp shelter for daytime in the dry season consists of branches thrust vertically into the sands. If there are any persons about camp during the day, which there are generally, they will sit in the shade of these branches, moving around them as the sun changes its position in the sky. At night they dig holes in the sand and lie in them, protecting themselves from the winds by a shelter of branches or basketry at the head. These shelters, however, must allow a certain amount of wind to come through in order to prevent the gathering of large swarms of insects. Sleeping in holes in the sand, they keep warm, since the dry winds make it quite
361 chilly at night. All of the Yaruro in the Capanaparo are too no-
364 madic to build better shelter than the types described, since they stay in one camp only a few days, generally two or three. They move about so much, both for the lack of game in the area and the refuse that accumulates around camp, even though the vultures can always be seen feasting upon the remains of crocodile and turtle. The Yaruro are aware that if they stay too close to such piles of refuse they may become infected.

101 However, the Yaruro living on Linda Bara, the islands at the
361 mouth of the Capanaparo, have such an abundance of food that they
342 make somewhat more permanent structures. This consists generally of a low hemispherical structure covered with palm leaves which reach to about 2 feet from the ground, leaving the interior open to the winds, but even these structures are abandoned in a few weeks because of the insect life. This is the type of structure that is employed during the rainy season when life becomes more sedentary.

POTTERY

317 At certain places along the banks of the Capanaparo the proper
323 clay is found for pottery. The type preferred is whitish in color. Generally a small quantity of yellowish red clay is mixed with it.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

317 323 [302] [824] This same clay supplies the red and yellow ocher used for facial painting. The clay is tempered with the bark of the Mecla tree called "Toiin" in Yaruro. This bark is burned to an ash and the ashes are kneaded into the clay, which has been well moistened. Rolls of this clay are then made, coiled, and placed one upon another. They are then flattened and smoothed out by hand or with the help of a piece of shell, water being applied liberally. The clay rests on a dish of pottery which is revolved when necessary. After the pot has been built up and smoothed down it is left in the sun to dry for two days. At the proper time a base of wood is made,

[531]

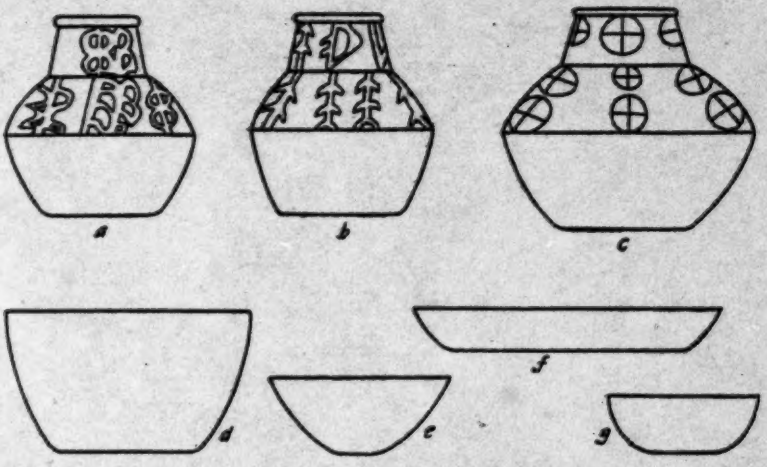

FIGURE 22.—Pottery forms and decorations. *a*, *b*, *c*, Water jars, showing painted designs. *d*, *e*, *g*, Bowls. *f*, Pottery plate used for toasting seeds.

the pottery placed on it and covered with other sticks, and then a hot fire bakes the pottery for about two hours. Such quick firing produces a poor quality of pottery, but leaves it porous. Since these pots are used only as water jars, this has the effect of keeping the water very cool (pl. 13, *2*; fig. 22).

CLOTHING

291 177 Most of the Yaruros whom I saw possessed some scrap of clothing which was worn both as protection against the weather and for social show. In many cases this clothing consisted of mere shreds, as can be seen in plate 15, *1*. The men wear coats and trousers or merely trousers. The women wear camisoles of the thinnest goods which in no way hides their nakedness. Most of this clothing is discarded when there are no visitors around camp, and

1 [see category 116, and plate 3 ----- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

successful if the men do not come back with a number of crocodiles, the men build larger fires, upon which the crocodiles are laid. As the hide cracks the animals are split open, the meat is stuck on spits and upon reaching a stage of being warm it is eaten. Contrary to popular ideas that crocodile eaters only consume the tail, the Yaruro eat the entire animal but stop short at the entrails, which are thrown to the dogs. However, they accuse the neighboring Guahibos of eating the entrails as a special delicacy. Turtle meat and eggs are often boiled.

Salt is known to these people but it is by no means considered an indispensable condiment in their food. In the only historical reference we have to the Yaruros they are referred to as clay eaters. Today, even though they are in occasional touch with civilized communities, the salty clay banks are still their only source of supply for salt. The food is generally eaten saltless, since they have no means of purchasing salt from the Racionales and they do not know how to make salt from the clay. As a result, they obtain the amount of salt necessary to life by chewing clay which they pick up in their wanderings over the plains. Food which I prepared with salt was always left untouched by them as being unsavory. In this respect, therefore, they act like the cattle and the deer which can be seen over the plains licking salt clay banks.

STORING OF FOOD

The only foods that can be kept for any length of time in the lowland tropics are the roots and seeds. In the rainy season even this is impossible. The Yaruros during the dry season leave caches of changuango on various sandbars. They dig pits into which they place the roots. The hole then is filled and soon the wind will leave no mark indicating that the sand has been disturbed. In some cases where the landmarks are plain, and the Yaruros expect to return in a day or two, no markers are placed anywhere. But if they expect to be delayed, or the sandbar is so large that they might forget the exact spot of the cache, they will thrust a stick into the ground at some distance away. Apparently by sighting with this stick and some other chosen point, they are able to locate the food store. However, on a number of occasions I saw the Yaruros march to a place on the sands with certitude and excavate changuango. In such cases I saw no markers.

In similar fashion they may store turtle eggs, provided they expect to return within a few hours. Baskets and other objects may also be left in the sand, to be retrieved when they are needed. Asabache, which is found in certain localities, may be gathered in quantities and stored until it is to be used.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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ART

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531 322 The women like to paint their faces. For this purpose the men make wooden stamps (pl. 22, *1*), which are dipped in red-ocher paste or a blue dye and the design is impressed upon the face. The designs are entirely geometric and rectilinear.

361 317 The asabache figures are of special interest because of their remarkable realism. The asabache is a black igneous material found

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

301 in small pieces on the banks of the Capanaparo. It is about as hard
317 to work as coal. It has much the same appearance. The carving tool is the ordinary knife which, in some cases, may be a broken
532 matchete. Yet, with such crude implements, they are able to pro-
301 duce exquisite realistic carvings of birds, fish, and other animals. These are generally perforated and strung into a necklace. Each woman possesses at least a few of these carved figures, the number depending on the industry of her husband. No symbolical significance seems to be attached to either the painting, the carving, or to any of the designs appearing on the stamps. There may be some magical meaning to them, but all inquiries were answered in the negative.

791 The gourd rattles present an entirely different manifestation. In
787 the first place, only the male shaman can use a rattle. It is, in fact,
532 the badge of shamanism. All the designs appearing on the rattle
534 represent what he sees during his visits to Kuma's land. These carvings are made with the point of any sharp instrument, which cuts in just deep enough to expose the lighter colored inner wood of the rattle.

To become a shaman one must dream of Kuma and the other gods, and show his people that he can communicate with the godheads when occasion demands. Perhaps looking at shamanistic practices objectively this may mean primarily that the would-be shaman has a fertile imagination and some artistic talent. I do not think that we ought to doubt that he believes that he actually sees and talks with Kuma, Itciai, and the rest of the spirit world.

791 He commemorates his dreams on the sacred rattle, carving out on
787 its surface the figures which appear in his dreams. Kuma and
532 Hatchawa dominate the decorations on the gourd rattles, and since
776 those collected came from the Puaná moiety, Puaná is also portrayed. In plate 24 various views of one of these gourd rattles are shown. The large geometric figure dominating the first drawing represents Kuma; the smaller one Hatchawa. Rotating the rattle toward the left we discover Puaná, the Snake.

534 In connection with these rattles one of the most interesting aesthetic
517 features is the filling in of space. All of the specimens collected and shown in figures 25, 26, and 27 demonstrate this. In watching Landaeta at work I asked him why he did so; his reply was that a properly decorated rattle must be "tsaimui", that is "good", "proper", "beautiful."

Music

534 One would suspect that the Yaruros would have borrowed some of
177 the musical instruments employed by the Llaneros. Among the lat-

1[see category 116, end p[ar]k 14 --- Analyst]
2[see category 116, pp. 242-243 --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

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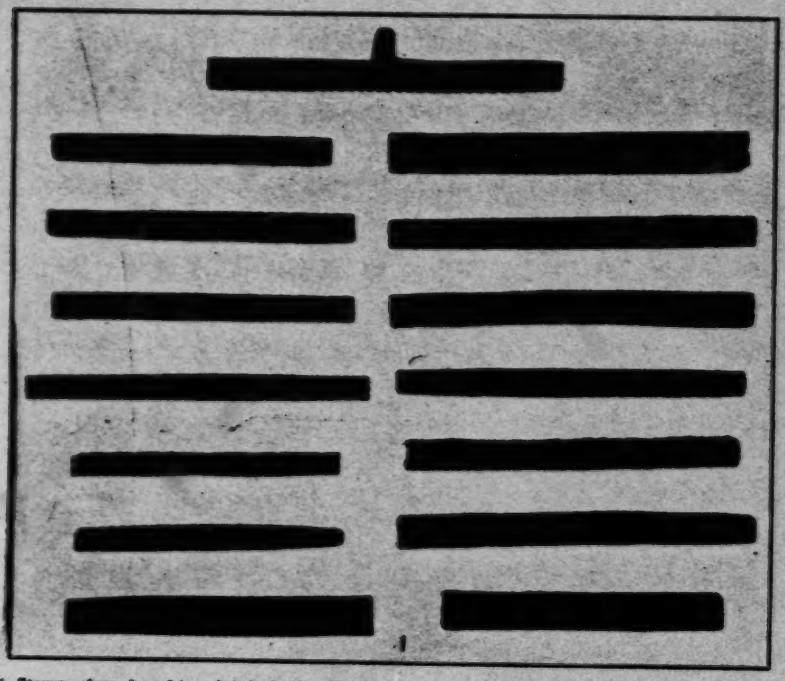

1. Stamps of wood used to paint the body. These stamps are made by the men, but used by the women. The designs are stamped on the face.

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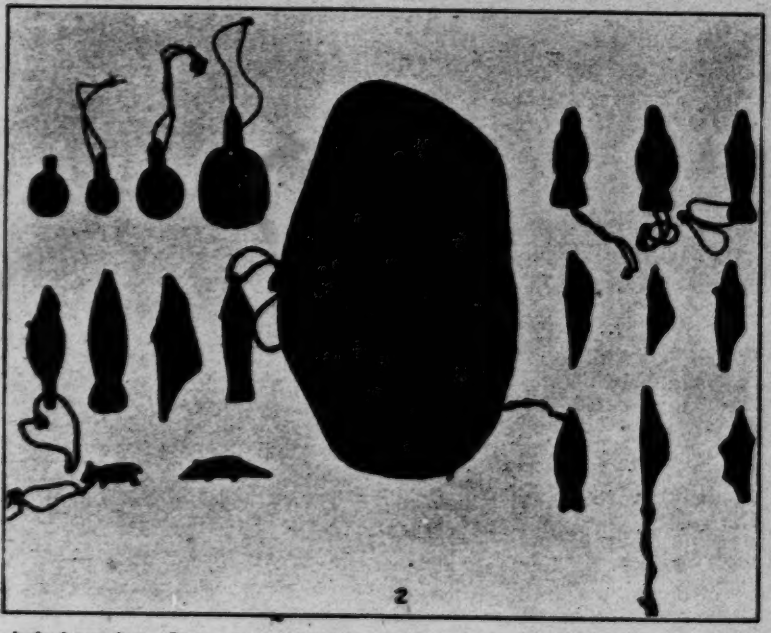

2. Asabache carvings. Center: piece of asabache as found in the rivers. Top row left: carvings of turtles. Top row right: carvings of birds. Middle row left and right: carvings of fishes. Lower row: carvings of (1) jaguar, (2) armadillo. Lower right: carvings of fishes.

[End Plate 12]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

bow and arrows, digging sticks, baskets, small hammocks, a water jar or two, a mortar and pestle, several fishhooks, fire sticks, and scraps of clothing. As a rule, each family will possess the minimum of these objects.

CANOES.—A typical Yaruro canoe measured about 18 feet long. Its longitudinal cross section was as shown in plate 16, *S*. It was made of the "salao" wood.

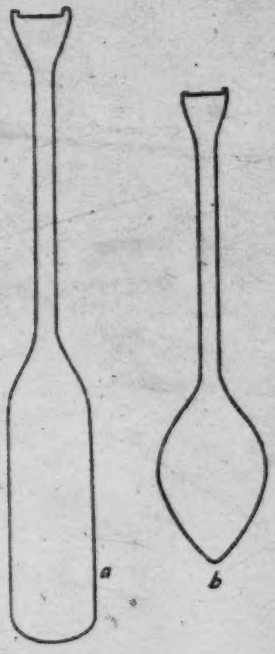

FIGURE 16.—Paddles. *a*, Type usually used by stern paddler. *b*, Generally used in the bow.

The only tools that the Yaruros have to fashion such a canoe are crude machetes, perhaps an ax, and fire. The canoes are never regular in outline and on the whole are rather crude. Both bow and stern end in a point and the bottom is round. These canoes are unstable, difficult to maneuver, and will split easily. No crosspieces are used to reinforce the canoe.

PADDLES.—Paddles are of two types, as shown in figure 16. The large paddles measure about 4 feet in length; the smaller paddles slightly over 3 feet. They are as crudely fashioned as the canoes and increase the difficulties of paddling.

BOWS.—The bows are fashioned from macanilla or the mahagüillo wood. A large bow will measure about 6 feet, but most of them are closer to 5 feet. The inner surface of the bow is generally flat and the outer is curved. The greatest width on one such bow was about 1½ inches and its thickness less than 1 inch. When the string is relaxed these bows are perfectly straight. They are not reinforced unless they show signs of splitting. On the whole, these bows are inferior to those made by many other tribes in South America. The bow string is tied as shown in figure 17, *e*, *f*, *g*,[1] with three clove-hitch knots.

ARROWS.—The Yaruros, like most other South American primitives, have a variety of arrows, each type being designed for a specific purpose. A fish arrow consists of a reed shaft to which is attached a bone point with resin and string. Often the upper end of the bone point will protrude away from the shaft to form a small barb. Three feathers are used and fastened as shown in figure 18, *f*, *j*, *k*.[2] At the feathers' end of the arrow a notched piece of Brazil-wood is inserted.

A somewhat similar arrow with an iron point is made. In this case the point is inserted into a worked piece of wood which, in turn,

1 [See category 116, p. 205. --- Analyst]
2 [See category 116, p. 206. --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Perhaps that is one reason why no man had in his possession more than three or four arrows—for the most part he had only one of the iron tip kind.

FISHHOOKS.—Most of the fishing is done with bow and arrow, but hooks are known to the Yaruros, and when they are able to obtain strong fine string they employ these hooks. Hooks are not only em-

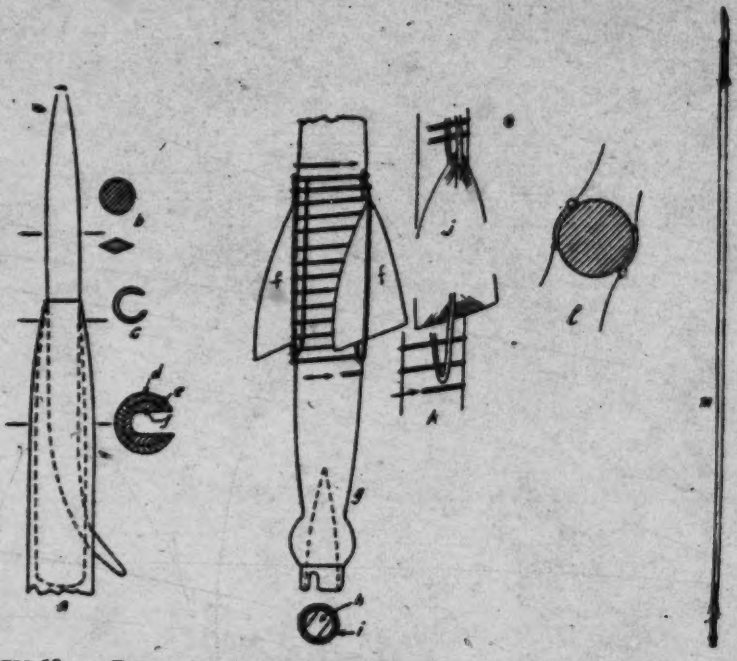

FIGURE 18.—*a*, Bone or iron point attached to shaft. *b*, Cross sections of points; round cross section is of the bone point; diamond-shaped cross section is of the iron point. *c*, Cross section of wax and twine binding. *d*, Cross section of reed shaft. *e*, Cross section of brazil wood to which point is actually fastened. *f*, Feathers. *g*, Butt end of arrow. *h*, Wooden plug nock. *i*, Reed shaft. *j*, *k*, *l*, Method of fastening feather to the arrow. *m*, Fish arrow.

ployed for fish, but even for the chiguire, and sometimes for the crocodiles. The simplest kind is that shown in figure 20, *c*, which may consist of bone or wood. It measures about 6 inches in length. A stronger point of iron or hard wood is used for the manatee. This type is shown in figure 20, *d*. For crocodiles, generally a hard stick sharpened at both ends and baited with a large piece of meat is used. The crocodiles will swallow the stick and, if it is attached to a thick wire, it makes an excellent means of capturing these beasts.

DIGGING STICKS.—Next to the bows and arrows, the most important implement of the Yaruro is the digging stick, which will consist of a wooden handle from 3 to 4 feet long slipped into the handle of an

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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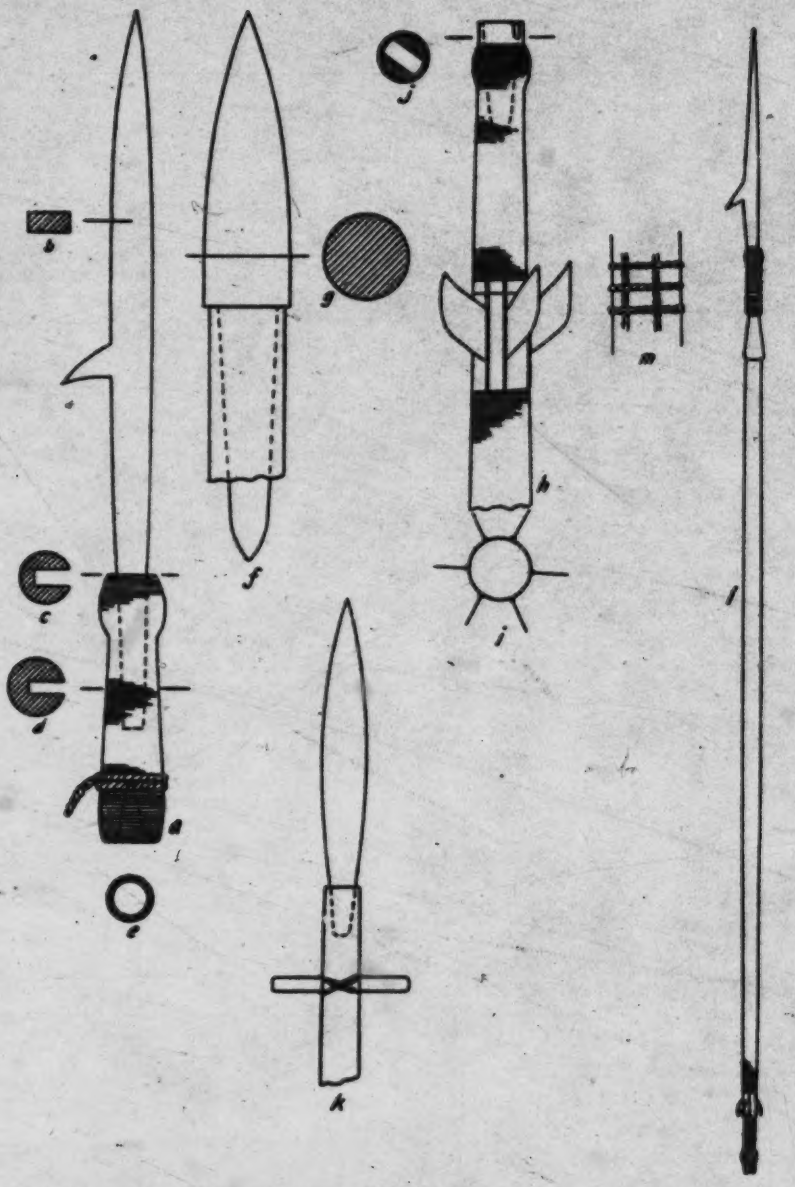

FIGURE 19.—*a*, Arrow point. *b*, Cross section of iron point. *c*, *d*, *e*, Cross sections. *f*, Details of point and wooden plug which is thrust into the reed shaft. *g*, Cross section. *h*, Method of fastening feathers to shaft. *i*, *j*, *m*, Details of *h*. *k*, Deer arrow, showing crossplace. *l*, Harpoon type of arrow.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

iron hoe, which is also made by the Yaruro out of any heavy scrap of iron that they may gather. Sometimes they will work for the ranchers and with their earnings purchase this type of hoe from a trader. However, such a digging tool is quite a luxury and sharpened sticks are more common.

MORTARS AND PESTLES.—During the rainy season, the Yaruros gather chigua, a seed, which they dry and pound into flour. Mortars of wood shaped as shown in figure 20, *a*, *b*, are used and the pestle is any ordinary hard stick.

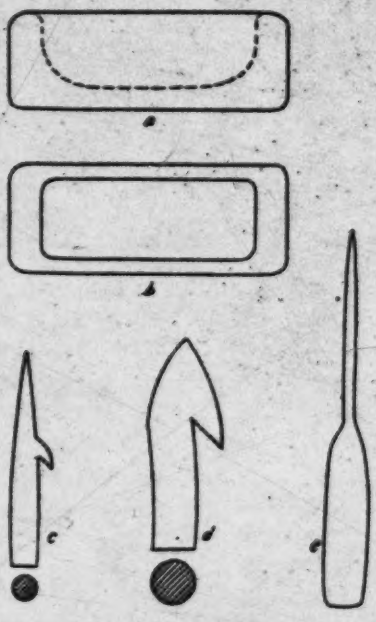

FIGURE 20.—*a*, *b*, Wooden mortar. *c*, Bone or iron point used for hunting chiguire. *d*, Hook used for manatee. *e*, Cooking paddle.

COOKING LADLES.—These are small wooden paddles used in cooking, especially when meat is boiling in a pot (fig. 20, *e*).

HAMMOCKS.—The Yaruros prefer to sleep on the sands, especially during the dry season. The men make hammocks, however, small ones generally used by children as cradles, and by the women shamans when they sing, during the day. During the rainy season they may employ them for sleeping.

The fiber employed to make the hammock string comes from the moriche leaf. The string may be very fine, of course, depending on the interest of the maker. It is made by the men. To weave the hammock a loom is made of two poles thrust into the sand to which are fastened two crosspieces at both the top and bottom. The string is then wound around these crosspieces. The weaver employs a knotter's netting technique. When the entire hammock has been woven the weaving is held in place by another string thrust through one of the woven rows.

ROPE.—The fiber mostly employed by the Yaruros is taken from the leaf of the moriche and the macanilla. The inner cortex of the leaf is stripped off and dried and then is taken apart strand by strand. These long fibers are then moistened and twisted together in two's and th..e's into a string by rolling them on the thigh with the palm of the hand. A stronger string is made in the same way and used for making hammocks. The bow strings are made from the fiber of the macanilla.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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the Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bottom of the canoe on several cross sticks without any back rest or any foot rest on which to brace himself. To one not accustomed to such a position it is clumsy and painful, and easily fatiguing. The paddler's stroke is short, quick, and choppy, like that of many South American tribes in Brazil.

SHELTER

Yaruro shelter is the simplest thing in the world. Nothing simpler could be devised. Shunning the forest and camping only on the open beaches by the river, the shelter is devised for two purposes—to protect the family from the winds, the insects, the sun, and in the rainy season from the rain. They make, therefore, a variety of shelters. The camp shelter for daytime in the dry season consists of branches thrust vertically into the sands. If there are any persons about camp during the day, which there are generally, they will sit in the shade of these branches, moving around them as the sun changes its position in the sky. At night they dig holes in the sand and lie in them, protecting themselves from the winds by a shelter of branches or basketry at the head. These shelters, however, must allow a certain amount of wind to come through in order to prevent the gathering of large swarms of insects. Sleeping in holes in the sand, they keep warm, since the dry winds make it quite chilly at night. All of the Yaruro in the Capanaparo are too nomadic to build better shelter than the types described, since they stay in one camp only a few days, generally two or three. They move about so much, both for the lack of game in the area and the refuse that accumulates around camp, even though the vultures can always be seen feasting upon the remains of crocodile and turtle. The Yaruro are aware that if they stay too close to such piles of refuse they may become infected.

However, the Yaruro living on Linda Bara, the islands at the mouth of the Capanaparo, have such an abundance of food that they make somewhat more permanent structures. This consists generally of a low hemispherical structure covered with palm leaves which reach to about 2 feet from the ground, leaving the interior open to the winds, but even these structures are abandoned in a few weeks because of the insect life. This is the type of structure that is employed during the rainy season when life becomes more sedentary.

POTTERY

At certain places along the banks of the Capanaparo the proper clay is found for pottery. The type preferred is whitish in color. Generally a small quantity of yellowish red clay is mixed with it.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

317 ● 323 [302] [824] This same clay supplies the red and yellow ocher used for facial painting. The clay is tempered with the bark of the Mecla tree called "Toiin" in Yaruro. This bark is burned to an ash and the ashes are kneaded into the clay, which has been well moistened. Rolls of this clay are then made, coiled, and placed one upon another. They are then flattened and smoothed out by hand or with the help of a piece of shell, water being applied liberally. The clay rests on a dish of pottery which is revolved when necessary. After the pot has been built up and smoothed down it is left in the sun to dry for two days. At the proper time a base of wood is made,

[531]

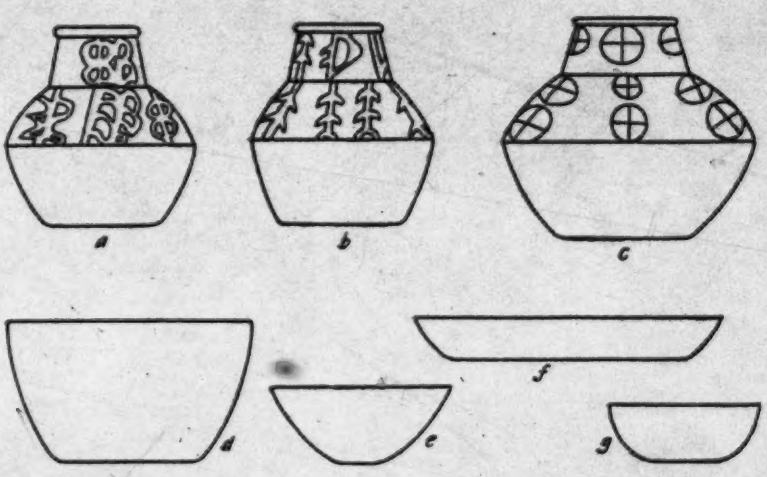

FIGURE 22.—Pottery forms and decorations. *a*, *b*, *c*, Water jars, showing painted designs. *d*, *e*, *g*, Bowls. *f*, Pottery plate used for toasting seeds.

the pottery placed on it and covered with other sticks, and then a hot fire bakes the pottery for about two hours. Such quick firing produces a poor quality of pottery, but leaves it porous. Since these pots are used only as water jars, this has the effect of keeping the water very cool (pl. 13, *2*; fig. 22).

CLOTHING

291 177 Most of the Yaruros whom I saw possessed some scrap of clothing which was worn both as protection against the weather and for social show. In many cases this clothing consisted of mere shreds, as can be seen in plate 15, *1*. The men wear coats and trousers or merely trousers. The women wear camisoles of the thinnest goods which in no way hides their nakedness. Most of this clothing is discarded when there are no visitors around camp, and

1 [see category 116, and plate 3 ----- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

LIFE AFTER DEATH

761 775 To the modern Yaruro death is a desirable event. It holds great promise rather than terror for him. He believes that the dead will continue to live in the Land of Kuma. That is, in the land of the Mother Goddess, where he will be restored to a life of pristine happiness in the world which is identical with that which existed before the coming of the white man. In that world, in the Land of Kuma, he will have freedom to hunt if he pleases, he will have an abundance of food, he will have horses, cattle, and tobacco. He will lead a life of eternal bliss, watching over the affairs of his relatives and descendants on this earth, visiting them occasionally through the shaman and conversing with them. Apparently his only wish is that his people will die and join him in the Land of Kuma at the earliest possible time. A better idea of this life after death can be obtained by turning to the chapters on the shamanistic performances and legends.

PLAY

522 152 The spirit of play is known to the Yaruros. In fact, they laugh so much and so often that one might get the impression that they take life very lightly. For instance, their response to any accident is laughter. A man may fall out of his canoe or hurt himself in some way, or a woman may break a pot; any such accident is taken as a fine joke by everyone else.

616 606 There is inner-moiety and joking relationship, but members of one moiety do not play pranks on members of the other moiety. In fact, even in camp the mother-in-law will keep aloof from any levity engaged in by the son-in-law, and vice versa.

533 535 524 In the dancing and singing there is gaiety, especially when Puaná visits his people. Then is a time for much laughter and joking. However, there is no formalized play among the Yaruros. Anciently it is reported that the Otomacos had a ball game. Gilii has given us a description of it.[8]

857 462 861 The most common form of play among the children is an imitation of the activities of the grown-ups. The little boys will pretend that they are hunting and fishing or canoeing; the little girls will pretend that they are making pottery, basketry, or painting their bodies. The toys which the children use are miniature implements of hunting and food gathering. The only objects made differently for children to play with which are not an imitation of anything used by the adults are small clay figures representing human beings. These are arranged by the child in imitation of human beings dancing around

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[8] If the Yaruros knew this ball game they have forgotten it since then.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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a pole. In general, therefore, organized play for child or adult is hardly present.

WAR

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The Yaruros did not speak much of war. None of their legends make any reference to it except in one case which says that they were killed by the "Racionales" and that they retaliated.[8] The known historical sources say nothing except Father Gumilla's account, which makes reference to the pacification of the "Saruri."

MORAL ATTITUDES

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On the subject of conduct, the outlook on life and the organization of life values, we must distinguish between theory and practice. The former grows out of reflection and represents the intellectualization of the universe as seen without much reference to practical life. The second springs from the social and economic relationships and the fusing of individual ends and purposes into the purposes and ends of the group, whereas the first is not strictly controlled by custom and practical needs. Both exist among the [791] Yaruros. For the first we have to turn to the shaman, who in addition to being a religious leader, a savant, is also a moralist; and for the second we turn to the entire social group and need to watch it in its behavior.

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In reading over the early account of the aborigines of the region, among which we must presumably include Yaruros, we gather that their moral concepts were different from those of the Christians, but perhaps neither better nor worse in practice. It must be doubted, however, whether a number of practices attributed to the Yaruros are authentic. We read, for instance, that a number of the aborigines were patricides, and we are given a picture of the male children, on reaching adolescence, rising against the fathers [682] through lust for the mother. Patricide is an abhorrent crime and [683] the motive behind it is equally abhorrent. It is to be doubted whether patricide, or even lesser acts, such as beating the father, were ever practiced, except in sporadic cases such as may occur in [684] any society. It hardly seems possible that women were the cause of it when it is known, as it is known today, that mating and extramarital relationships are very strictly controlled by tradition and social training. Disregarding, therefore, such allusions to the moral life of the primitive peoples of the Orinoco, let us turn to our informants for an understanding of their present mode of life. The

[8] It would appear probable that the nomadic Yaruros were too weak to ever develop any warlike spirit.

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Of the arts, dancing, music, carving, painting, modeling, and perhaps drama, are present among the Yaruros. Every individual in the group participates in some form of artistic expression, even in connection with objects whose function is practical rather than aesthetic; each individual attempts to make them "tsaimui", that is "pretty", "good." Great care is taken in making baskets, pottery, arrows, and bows. Singing and dancing are universally practiced also. No individual feels that his voice is too poor to participate in the singing and no individual is shy about dancing. However, social custom limits the activities of the men and women in the plastic arts. Pottery making is the prerogative of the women. The carving of stamps and realistic figures from the asabache is done by the men. The low relief carvings on gourd rattles are the special products of the shamans. Of all these activities it is this last that comes closest to being inspired.

The making of baskets is woman's work. They take great pride in their workmanship, and make a conscious effort to reproduce various designs by employing several weaves. The patterns are rather limited, but then this may be due to the limited number of baskets which they make (fig. 21).

Pots are frequently broken in transport, but there is also very little use for them. One or two pots per family are all that is required. The porousness of the material is desired in order to keep the water cool. These pots are generally decorated with crude broad bands of red paint. The pottery decoration is reproduced in figure 22.

The women like to paint their faces. For this purpose the men make wooden stamps (pl. 22, *1*), which are dipped in red-ocher paste or a blue dye and the design is impressed upon the face. The designs are entirely geometric and rectilinear.

The asabache figures are of special interest because of their remarkable realism. The asabache is a black igneous material found

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

372

1. Two laurel sticks are used by the Yaruros to make fire. The laurel is found in quantity along the banks of the Capanaparo River. Fire is produced in 30 seconds.

323

2. Pottery making is woman's work. Note the [illegible] thrust through the lower lip of the potter. She is smoothing the pot before firing.

[End Plate 3]

222 the moriche palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*); several seeds, notably chiga (= chigo?; — *Campsiandra comosa*); calabashes (*Crescentia Cujete*), and bees' wax and honey. Non of the items gathered are large in size or difficult of access except the bees' wax, one or two of the fruits, and calabashes which grow on higher trees, or may be very far. Gathered foods may be picked up by hand or with the aid of a digging [412] stick or machete, and may be brought back in the harvesting baskets. Other items [415] which may be gathered include the raw materials for baskets and mat-making or 824 for food-processing tools such as the tipití, pots, or mortars and pestels. These [285] items include the fronds of the moriche palm, used for making cord, baskets, tipi- [323] tís, mats, and sacks; in some villages, clay for pots; reeds for arrows, wood for house beams, mortars and pestles, bows, and for cooking utensils. Wood, palm fronds, and many other items are gathered with the help of the all-purpose machete.

231 Pig herding is unsystematically done. The pigs, a recent acquisition, spend most of their time at will in the foraging grounds. The significant herding activity occurs only at times when one or another of the groups of pigs breaks into the gardens, an almost daily occurrence. They are then driven to the foraging grounds again, or if late in the day, into a close till morning when they are either driven forth again or allowed to scavenge in the village. There are several herds of pigs of sizes varying from perhaps a maximum of 20 including piglets to the more usual six or eight animals. The only tools used in pig care include a slaughtering [412] stick with which the pig is clubbed to death and knives to cut up the meat. The [262] close is built of logs cut with a machete and carried in by one or two men. Pig meat, though eaten with regularity, is definitely a secondary element of diet.

411 Hunting is done almost exclusively with the bow and arrow. There are several types of arrows. One for fish has a metal point approximately 4 inches long with a side hook about five inches from the tip, where the tip is set into the shaft. This may also be used for smaller animals. One for birds has a blunt wooden head, and does not appear to be used very often. A third type is used for larger animals such as deer and capybara. It has a blade about 6 inches long shaped like a laurel leaf and, at present, made of steel. At the base of the blade, a small cross-piece is affixed in order to prevent the precious blade from piercing so deeply into the animal that, if it escapes, it would carry the arrow away with it. The fourth type of arrow is used for turtles, tortoises, and alligators or other animals which submerge. The head is short and strong with a sharp recurved hook. The entire metal head is attached to a cord, and this in turn is attached to the arrow shaft, from which the head is detachable. On detaching, the shaft floats and the game can be followed in its underwater course. The bow is generally about 6 feet long or a little more. It is made rather crudely of the wood of the macanilla palm (*Bactris Gaspiaes*). Some animals, especially land tortoises and armadillos, may be caught [136] [224] by hand. Alligators may also be hunted with exceedingly heavy steel hooks and a strong line. In hunting, no traps, nets, surrounds, or drives are used.

226 Fishing is done chiefly with bows and arrows, though an arrow may sometimes be used as a spear, repeatedly jabbed into grassy waters near the river banks. Fishing may also be done with hooks and lines of different sizes. Bait is also used. A man may fish from a platform built by lashing logs horizontally to two trees

/12 cont./

O 172 budare (24), of tinaja (25), etc...which are found there are
415
Y 173

24. Dish to cook flat manioc cakes, in Venezuelan.

25. Jar, in Venezuelan.

Y 173 from the Otomaco women. But they often came this way--
648 sometimes to dance or to buy canoes--to meet with the an-
O 648 cestors of the Yaruro of today. Like the former they were themselves good people. Yaruro and Otomaco each spoke in their dialect, which they mutually understood, which was not difficult. "Today," he added, "not a person remembers it."

O Y 582 Their relations must even have extended further, since they married among themselves without any obstacle /13/ placing itself in the way. Ijiai in fact approved of these unions, as opposed to those with other Indians, the Piquero and Taparito included, Pedro Ramón Camacho specified, or with the Racionales, of which he disapproved.

O 262 They fed themselves, it appears, not only on fish, tortoise, deer, and vegetable produce grown in the conucos, but also on guiriguiri duck (26), a bird little in demand among the

O Y [136]

26. Venezuelan name of the Dendrocygna automnalis.

O Y [342] present Indians because of the fishy taste of its meat. In addi-
526 tion, like the Yaruro, they appear to have lived in round huts
● 323 built on the dunes, practiced a ball game, and made their
172 pottery with the same technique and not with the aid of basket-work molds, contrary to what the remains with basketwork impressions which abound in the region where they apparently lived would lead us to suppose.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

411 226 237 is inserted into the reed shaft (fig. 19, *a*, *f*). The barb on the iron point is obviously more effective than on the bone point.

225 For crocodiles the arrow point is always of iron, barbed and detachable. Its length is considerably less than the other, measuring about 4 feet or less. A string about 30 feet long is attached to the point and wrapped tightly around the shaft. When the point strikes the animal the string becomes unwound and if the animal dives into the water the hunter can trace it by the shaft floating on the surface. He then proceeds to pull up the animal.

411 224 For deer and chiguire, land animals, a broad iron blade is used for the point, so heavy that one would suppose it would be a lance head. This is inserted into the shaft and at the point of insertion a crosspiece is fashioned to the shaft so that the point cannot penetrate more than 4 or 5 inches. The reason for this is that the Yaruro is afraid to lose his arrow should he fail to kill the animal and it were to run away. A barbless arrow will tend to fall out of the wound if the animal races away and then the hunter can recover it.

411 223 For birds, the bone-pointed arrows are used and sometimes a special arrow consisting of a shaft with a wooden knob. However, since birds are hunted so seldom there is very little use for special arrows.

411 ●326 412 The iron points are well made. Each man tries to possess himself of a stone and an iron hammer, but actually in the entire group that I saw, there were only two stones and one hammer. Iron is hard to obtain, and any scrap which comes into their possession is employed either as a knife or an arrow point. The iron is shaped both by hammering and by filing. I saw only one file in the group. At best, it must cause them a great deal of labor to fashion any of these points.

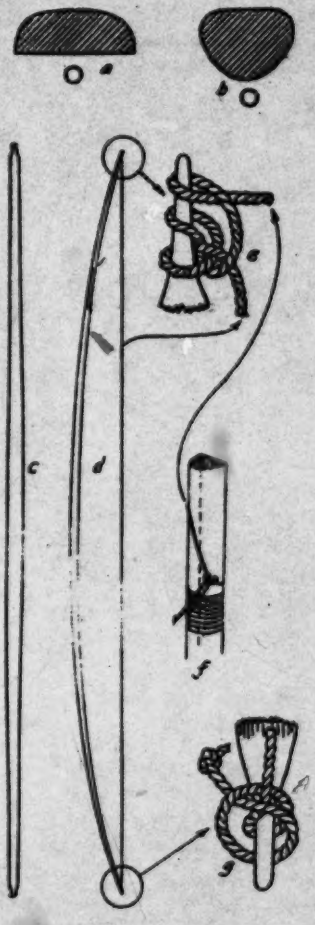

FIGURE 17. — Yaruro bows. *a*, *b*, Cross sections of bows. Circles represent original shape of wood, measuring about 7 cm before it is cut down to shape "*a*" and "*b*." *c*, *d*, Yaruro bow. One specimen measured 195 cm in length, 3.2 cm wide in cross section, 2 cm in thickness. *e*, *f*, *g*, Detail of knots on bow string.

1 [see category 116, 207 --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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412

Perhaps that is one reason why no man had in his possession more than three or four arrows—for the most part he had only one of the iron tip kind.

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FISHHOOKS.—Most of the fishing is done with bow and arrow, but hooks are known to the Yaruros, and when they are able to obtain strong fine string they employ these hooks. Hooks are not only em-

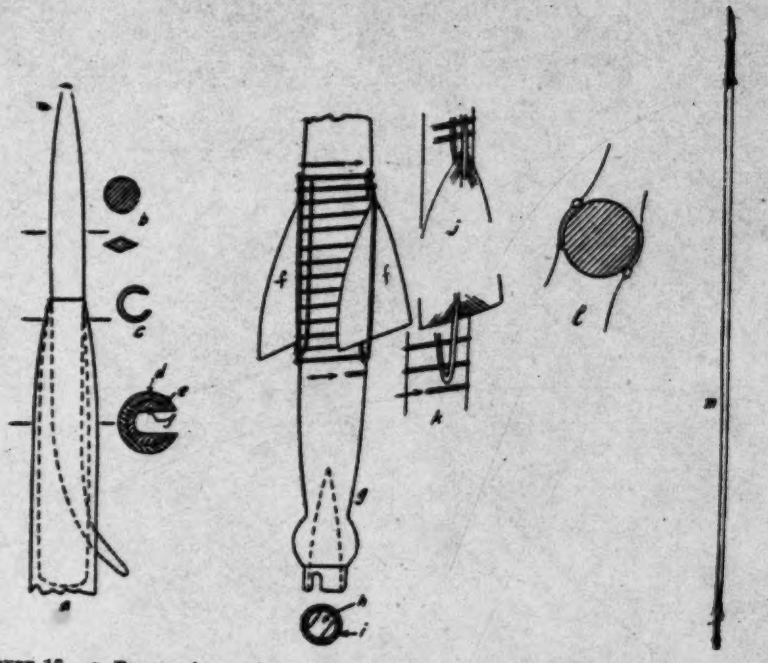

FIGURE 18.—*a*, Bone or iron point attached to shaft. *b*, Cross sections of points; round cross section is of the bone point; diamond-shaped cross section is of the iron point. *c*, Cross section of wax and twine binding. *d*, Cross section of reed shaft. *e*, Cross section of brasil wood to which point is actually fastened. *f*, Feathers. *g*, Butt end of arrow. *h*, Wooden plug nock. *i*, Reed shaft. *j*, *k*, *l*, Method of fastening feather to the arrow. *m*, Fish arrow.

ployed for fish, but even for the chiguire, and sometimes for the crocodiles. The simplest kind is that shown in figure 20, *c*, which may
[322 consist of bone or wood. It measures about 6 inches in length. A stronger point of iron or hard wood is used for the manatee. This type is shown in figure 20, *d*. For crocodiles, generally a hard stick sharpened at both ends and baited with a large piece of meat is used. The crocodiles will swallow the stick and, if it is attached to a thick wire, it makes an excellent means of capturing these beasts.

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DIGGING STICKS.—Next to the bows and arrows, the most important implement of the Yaruro is the digging stick, which will consist of a wooden handle from 3 to 4 feet long slipped into the handle of an

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

123 342 We camped on a large wind-swept beach on the Capanaparo and waited there for Landaeta. While waiting I made visits about the country, seeking out Yaruros wherever I could find them. In one nearby group I noticed that unlike most of the Yaruros, these had built permanent shelters, constructed similarly to the houses of the ranchers. However, there was one significant difference. With true Indian logic, they had left the walls open at the bottom, so that the wind could sweep through the house and keep it cool and free from insects.

791 One morning we embarked to visit a group led by Pablo Reyes, being on an island in the Orinoco, at the mouth of the Capanaparo. Pablo Reyes had been described to us as a very old and very wise man. Borrowing a small dugout, we set out to visit him, traveling mostly by night. On our way we saw and heard a great deal of [311] animal and bird life, for the lower part of the river was less hunted by the Yaruros than the upper part. On the banks we saw numerous tracks of the cats, we saw many capibaros or "chiguires" and we were often serenaded by the roar of the howlers.

133 Our entrance into the Orinoco was dramatic. We were catapulted out of the swift waters of the mouth of the Capanaparo and staggered about among the powerful cross currents and eddies at the confluence of the two rivers. The east wind made travel no easier, as it was blowing a gale. On the far side of the Orinoco were the hills of Guiana, rough and jagged, with gnarled vegetation, and dark patches of jungle growth. There were several islands of odd shape, and one of them, about halfway across the Orinoco, was the Linda Bara, to which we made our way.

177 Encamped on this island we found Pablo Reyes' band and a number of "Racionales," that is, "civilized," Venezuelans of the llanos, who during the dry season take to living like the Indians, except that they clutter their shelters with civilized equipment. The result is that their houses are infested with parasites of all kinds. However, they too live upon crocodiles, turtles, and the eggs of the latter.

311 237 This portion of the Orinoco is, in late March and early April, the gathering ground of both Indians and Racionales. The region teems with turtles. By common agreement, stretches of the beaches where the turtles are known to gather in large numbers are not hunted until April, at which time the people dig up thousands and thousands of newly laid eggs out of which they make an oil for export. The [436] center for this commerce is the little settlement of La Urbana, originally a Capuchin mission established about 1750.

791 Like Landaeta, Pablo Reyes had also learned of my coming, and was ready for me. He too is a shaman, and delights in speaking to a sympathetic listener about religious themes, of his conception of

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

516 The Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-
502 tom of the canoe on several cross sticks without any back rest or any foot rest on which to brace himself. To one not accustomed to such a position it is clumsy and painful, and easily fatiguing. The paddler's stroke is short, quick, and choppy, like that of many South American tribes in Brazil.

SHELTER

362 Yaruro shelter is the simplest thing in the world. Nothing simpler could be devised. Shunning the forest and camping only on the open beaches by the river, the shelter is devised for two purposes—to protect the family from the winds, the insects, the sun,
● 342 and in the rainy season from the rain. They make, therefore, a variety of shelters. The camp shelter for daytime in the dry season consists of branches thrust vertically into the sands. If there are any persons about camp during the day, which there are generally, they will sit in the shade of these branches, moving around them as the sun changes its position in the sky. At night they dig holes in the sand and lie in them, protecting themselves from the winds by a shelter of branches or basketry at the head. These shelters, however, must allow a certain amount of wind to come through in order to prevent the gathering of large swarms of insects. Sleeping in holes in the sand, they keep warm, since the dry winds make it quite
361 chilly at night. All of the Yaruro in the Capanaparo are too no-
364 madic to build better shelter than the types described, since they stay in one camp only a few days, generally two or three. They move about so much, both for the lack of game in the area and the refuse that accumulates around camp, even though the vultures can always be seen feasting upon the remains of crocodile and turtle. The Yaruro are aware that if they stay too close to such piles of refuse they may become infected.

101 However, the Yaruro living on Linda Bara, the islands at the
361 mouth of the Capanaparo, have such an abundance of food that they
342 make somewhat more permanent structures. This consists generally of a low hemispherical structure covered with palm leaves which reach to about 2 feet from the ground, leaving the interior open to the winds, but even these structures are abandoned in a few weeks because of the insect life. This is the type of structure that is employed during the rainy season when life becomes more sedentary.

POTTERY

317 At certain places along the banks of the Capanaparo the proper
323 clay is found for pottery. The type preferred is whitish in color. Generally a small quantity of yellowish red clay is mixed with it.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. Branches thrust into the sands form Yaruro shelter against sun and wind. All the possessions of this family, with the exception of bow and arrows which the hunter has taken with him, are scattered on the ground. They consist of an iron pot, a piece of cloth, several baskets, a hammock, and a water jar. 2. Yaruros prefer to sleep half buried in the sands, both for warmth and protection from insects. During the day young children are put to sleep in hammocks. 3. During the rainy season, or when a site is occupied for more than several days, the Yaruros may build structures such as the one shown in this picture.

[End Plate 4]

/112/

Table I

Statement of Observations on Habitation Types

●342
361

No. [1]		Dates of Observations	TYPE I	TYPE II$_1$ a	TYPE II$_1$ b	TYPE II$_2$ a	TYPE II$_2$ b	TYPE III
1		25-28 Aug. 47		●				
2	a	29 Aug. - 3 Sept. 47		●				
	b	30 June 49; 5-6 July 49	★	●				
	»	22 Oct. 49; 3 Jan. 50	☆	o		■		
3		3-4 Sept. 47; 30 June 49		●				
4	a	5 Sept. 47; 5 July 49		●				
	b	5 Sept. 47	★					
	c	5 Sept. 47		●				
5		6 Sept. 47; 20 Oct. - 17 Nov. 47		●				
		24 Oct. 49; 1 Jan. 50		o		■		
6	a	6-7 Sept. 47; 20 Oct. - 11 Nov. 47		●				
	»	11-17 Nov. 47		o				▲
	b	4-5 July 49; 24-30 Oct. 49		●				
	»	30 Oct. 49 - 1 Jan. 50		o				▲
7		24 Oct. 40 - 1 Jan. 50		●		■		▲
8		31 July 47; 8 Sept. 47	★					
		19 Oct. 47	☆			■		
9		11 Sept. 47	★					
		17 Oct. 47	☆			■		
10	a	11 Sept. 47; 17 Oct. 47; 4 July 49			◗			
	b	12 Sept. 47	★					
	»	15 Oct. 47	☆					
11		12-13 Sept. 47	★			■		
		15 Oct. 47	☆			■		
12		14 Sept. 47	★					
		24-26 Feb. 48	☆					▲
13		14 Sept. 47	★					
14		15 Sept. 47	★					
15		5-6 Mar. 48; 5 Apr. 48; 12 Apr. - 5 Mar. 48	☆				◆	▲
		2-3 July 49	★					
16		4 Mar. 48; 23-24 Apr. 48; 27 Apr. 48	☆				◆	▲
17		16 Sept. 47	★					
		13 Oct. 47; 25 Apr. 48	☆				◆	
18		16 Sept. 47	★					

1. Number of communities corresponding to those on Map 2.

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Nos	Dates of Observations	TYPE I	TYPE II 1 a	TYPE II 1 b	TYPE II 2 a	TYPE II 2 b	TYPE III
19	16 Sept. 47 13 Oct. 47	★ ☆			■		
20	13 Oct. 47	★					
21	17 Sept. 47 13 Oct. 47	★ ☆			■		
22	12 Oct. 47	★					
23	17 Sept. 47 12 Oct. 47		● ○		■		
24	2-3 July 49	★					
25	5 Apr. 48; 11 Apr. 48 2 July 49	★ ★					
26	6 Apr. 48	★			■		▲
27	6 Apr. 48; 11 Apr. 48	☆					▲
28	6-7 Apr. 48; 10-11 Apr. 48	★					
29	7 Apr. 48; 10 Apr. 48	☆			■		▲
30	7-10 Apr. 48	☆	○		■		▲

HABITATION TYPE	I	II 1 a	II 1 b	II 2 a	II 2 b	III
Observed occupied	★	●	◓	■	◆	▲
Observed unoccupied	☆	○	◠	□	◇	△

HABITATION TYPES

342

I. Upright house with rectangular base, sometimes oval, three to four meters wide by five to seven long and three to four high, without walls, and covered with a roof of straw or palms with two sloping sides, open at one or two ends and which protects from rain. It is built on the hard ground of high banks which the floods of the rainy season do not reach.

II. 1 a. Small low hut, hemispherical (a man cannot stand erect in it), without walls, and covered with a palm roof which protects from rain. It stands on the soft, sandy ground of dunes and high shores out of reach of floods.

II. 1 b. Small low hut (a man cannot stand up in it) with an oblong base, without walls, and covered with a roof of palms with two slopes which protects against rain. It stands on the soft, sandy soil of dunes and high shores out of reach of floods.

II. 2 a. Same type as II 1 a but standing on the lower shores freed by a drop in the water level.

/113 cont./

342 II. 2 b. Same type as II 1 b but standing on the lower shores freed by a drop in the water level.

III. A shelter of the same height as the type II huts, formed of several leafy branches which protect only from the sun's rays. It stands on the sand of the low shores freed by a drop in the water level. This shelter is sometimes only a type II hut covered with several palms.

/114/

Table II

Habitation Types by Community and according to the Months of the Year

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No. of the Community	Rainy Season						Dry Season					
	June	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May
1	☆	☆	★	☆	☆							
2	★ ●	★ ●	☆ ●	☆ ●	■	□	□	■	□	□	□	□
3	●	o	o	●	o							
4	☆ o	☆ ●	☆ o	★ ●	☆ o							
5	o	o	o	●	● ■	● ■	■	■	□	□	□	□
6	o	●	o	●	● ▲	● ▲	▲	▲	△	△	△	△
7	o	o	o	o	● ■ ▲	● ■ ▲	● ■ ▲	● ■ ▲	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △
8	☆	★	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
9	☆	☆	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
10	☆ D	☆ ◗	☆ D	★ ◗	☆ ◗							
11	☆	☆	☆	★ ■	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
12	☆	☆	☆	★	☆	△	△	△	▲	△	△	△
13	☆	☆	☆	★	☆							
14	☆	☆	☆	★	☆							
15	☆	★	☆	☆	☆	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◆ ▲	◆ ▲	◆ ▲
16	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◆ ▲	◆ ▲	◇ △
17	☆	☆	☆	★	◆	◇	◇	◇	◇	◇	◆	◇
18	☆	☆	☆	★	☆							
19	☆	☆	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□

5:Le Besnerais--8 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of the Comm.	Rainy Season						Dry Season					
	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May
20	☆	☆	☆	☆	★							
21	☆	☆	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
22	☆	☆	☆	☆	★							
23	○	○	○	●	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
24	☆	★	☆	☆	☆							
25	☆	★	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	★	☆
26	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	★ ■ ▲	☆ □ △
27	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	△	△	△	△	△	▲	△
28	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	★	☆
29	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	■ ▲	□ △
30	☆ ○	☆ ○	☆ ○	☆ ○	☆ ○	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	■ ▲	□ △

HABITATION TYPE	I	II, a	II, b	II, a	II, b	III
Type observed occupied (Table I)	★	●	◗	■	◆	▲
Type presumed resulting from the extension of the type observed occupied	☆	○	◗	□	◇	△

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342 ●
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Corrections: Put all the white signs of the table and its legend in grey.

Community No. 1 -- Replace all the signs for Type 1 (stars) by the signs for Type II 1 a (circles).

The extension was made in the following manner:

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A type observed during the months of the rainy season (June to September) was extended to all the months of this season and for that which follows it (October), that is, for half of the transition period, rainy season-dry season.

/115 cont./

342 A type observed during the months of the dry season
361 (December to April) was extended to all the months of this season as well as that which precedes it (November) and that which follows it (May), that is, for half of the transition period rainy season-dry season, and all of the transition period, dry season-rainy season. The intermediate type is actually not reconstructed during this period as the Yaruro reinstate their winter huts immediately after the first serious downpours.

When a type has been observed only during the months of the transition period the months of the rainy season if it was a winter type, i.e., I and II 1 a or b (communities 7, 20, and 22) and for all those of the dry season if it was an aestival type II 2 a or b and III (communities 8, 9, 11, 19, 21 and 23).

In communities 16, 27, 29, and 30, the rainy season type was only observed occupied during the dry season.

/116/

162 Each community is comprised of ten to 30 individuals
621 including children (average: 17.9), distributed in one or
342 several habitations of which the type varies according to function and the nature of the terrain and the season (1).

[132]
[133]

1. The Venezuelan llanos are huge savannas furrowed with watercourses running west-east and bordered with a corridor of forest, narrow but dense; they have a tropical climate characterized by two seasons: a rainy season, winter (June to September), during which the rivers overflow their beds and flood the savanna, and a dry season, summer (December to April), during which the latter become dry in part, uncovering long sandy shores.

342 The first type (I) is an upright house with a rectangular base (sometimes oval), three to four meters wide by five to seven long and three to four high, without walls and covered with a straw or palm roof with two sloping sides, open or closed at one or two ends and protecting from rain. It is built on the hard ground of high banks that the floods of the rainy season do not reach..

The second type (II) is a small, low hut (a man cannot stand in it) with a round base (II a) or oblong (II b), also without walls and covered with a roof of palms, either hemispherical (II a) or with two sloping sides (II b), protecting from rain; it stands on the soft ground of sand dunes and shores raised above the flood level (II 1), or shores freed by a drop in the water level (II 2).

/116 cont./

342 The third type (III) is a shelter of the same height as the preceding hut; sometimes it is only one of the type II huts covered over with some palms; it is composed of leafy branches designed for protection against the sun's rays, and it stands on low sandy shores which are no longer covered by water.

342 361 The first type (I) and the second built on a sand dune or a shore out of reach of floods (II 1 a or b) are those which the Yaruro use in the rainy season, when the rivers overflow their beds and flood the savanna.

As soon as the water level begins to drop, these winter quarters are abandoned for the huts of the second type, but built on low shores (II 2 a or b), the roof of which protects them from the rain that still persists. At the height of the dry season, when the latter ceases to fall and only protection against the sun is necessary, they use the third type (III) which they install, approaching nearer to the water, on the sand which the dropping level of the river has newly freed.

With the return of the first rains they follow this same process in reverse, but skipping the transitional type, that is, directly reinstating their winter habitations.

[648] The most widespread winter habitation is type I. In winter, type II is only found in exceptional cases; it is present in nine communities (of which three also have type I) out of 30 when type I is temporarily nonexistent or unusable: destroyed and not reconstructed (its construction /117/ requiring time and manual labor and the adult men often being absorbed in the quest for daily food) or placed under an interdict by the Venezuelan peasants, as in the case of the communities of the lower Capanaparo where the Yaruro, accused of having stolen livestock, were driven from their winter habitations on the banks and forced to install themselves outside the domain of the Llaneros, i.e., on the sand dunes which border the river.

Concerning type II built during the transition period, it may sometimes be kept throughout the entire dry season (communities 2, 5, 7, 15, 16, 26, 29 and 30). As for type I, it

/117 cont./

342 361 may also be used, but rarely, throughout the year (communities 25, 26, and 28).

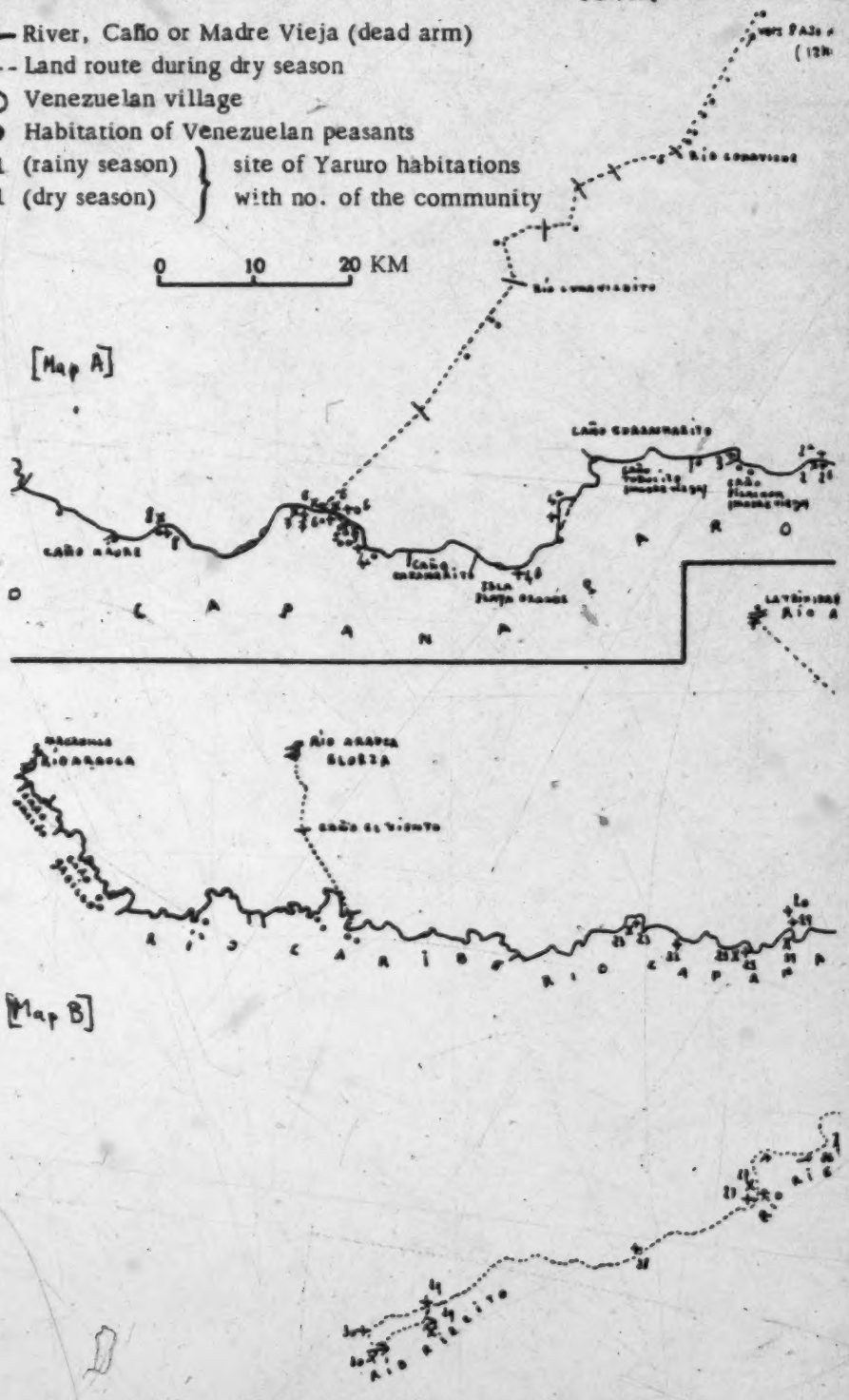
The type I house is a house that lasts for several years, whereas the small huts (II) and the shelters of boughs (III), either dismantled by the wind or carried off by the rising water in each new rainy season, must almost always be reconstructed the following year.

The winter habitations of a community are always grouped (the dispersion of those of communities 4 and 10 is provisional), whereas the huts and camping shelters of the seasonal changes and of the dry season are sometimes dispersed (one, two, or three huts) on shores located around the winter village.

[396 464] In addition, if the Yaruro spend the entire rainy season in the same place and lead a sedentary life at this time, during the dry season and even during the transition period between the two seasons, they move their encampments from one place to another on the same shore or from one shore to another, with the intention of either drawing nearer to water or of reinstalling themselves on sand which is clean and not encumbered with refuse, or in order to be closer to a hunting, fishing, or work place (construction of a monosylic canoe or employment on a Venezuelan farm at dry season jobs).

Let us add in conclusion that on the Capanaparo, between the Orinoco and the Riecito, all the permanent winter habitations with one or two exceptions are located, or were, in the case of the lower Capanaparo, on the southern bank. The cause of this situation seems to be the configuration of the terrain: the southern bank at this place is in general more elevated than the northern bank and hence better shielded from floods.

5:Le Besnerais--19 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Venezuela SS1



Map 2. Yaruro Territory

Venezuela SS1

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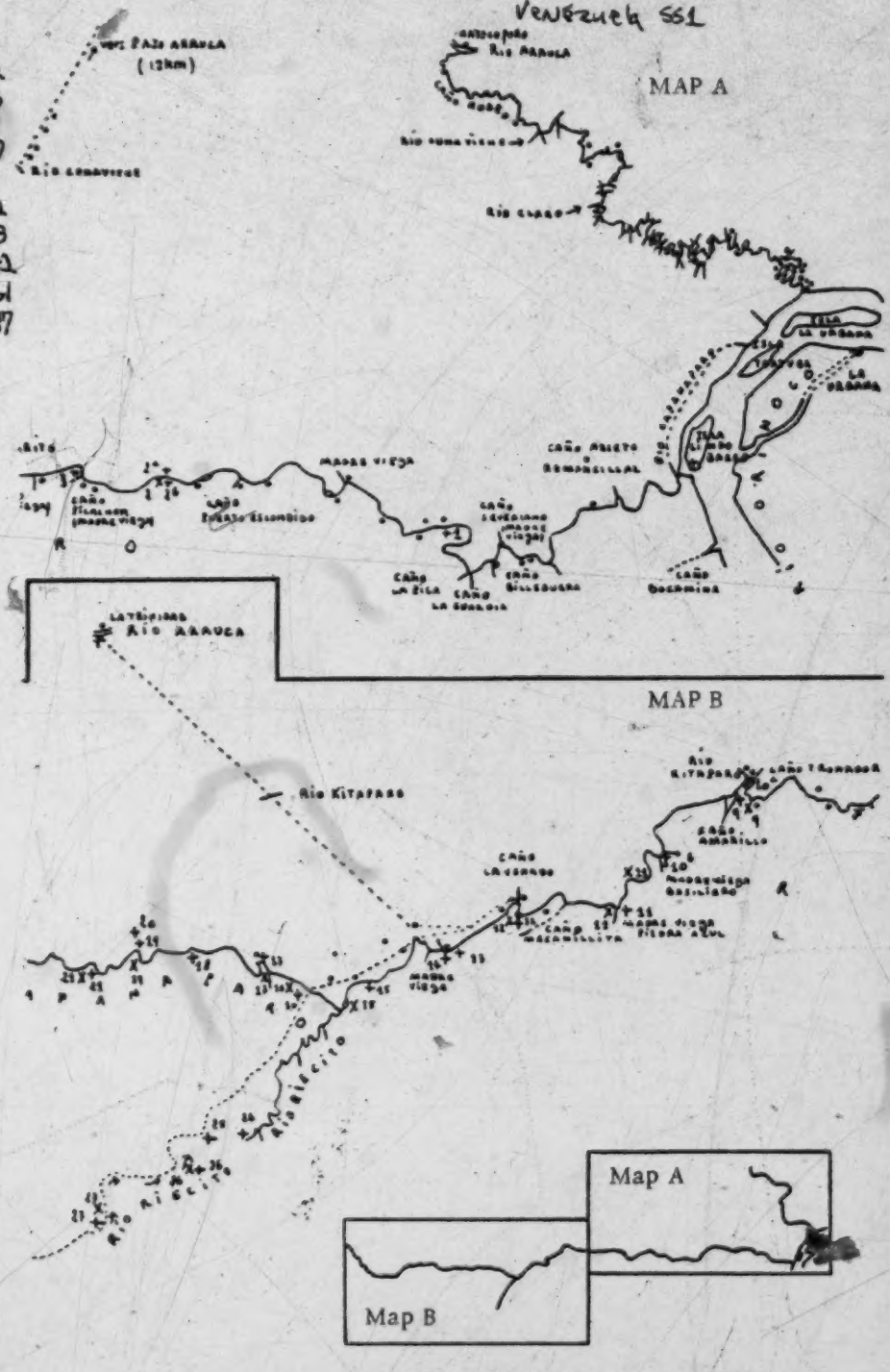

Author's correction: In MAP B, the first Yaruro community on the Capanaparo after the mouth of the Riecito should be 16 instead of 10.

/12 cont./

budare (24), of tinaja (25), etc...which are found there are

24. Dish to cook flat manioc cakes, in Venezuelan.

25. Jar, in Venezuelan.

from the Otomaco women. But they often came this way--sometimes to dance or to buy canoes--to meet with the ancestors of the Yaruro of today. Like the former they were themselves good people. Yaruro and Otomaco each spoke in their dialect, which they mutually understood, which was not difficult. "Today," he added, "not a person remembers it."

Their relations must even have extended further, since they married among themselves without any obstacle /13/ placing itself in the way. Itiai in fact approved of these unions, as opposed to those with other Indians, the Piquero and Taparito included, Pedro Ramón Camacho specified, or with the Racionales, of which he disapproved.

They fed themselves, it appears, not only on fish, tortoise, deer, and vegetable produce grown in the conucos, but also on guiriguiri duck (26), a bird little in demand among the

26. Venezuelan name of the Dendrocygna automnalis.

present Indians because of the fishy taste of its meat. In addition, like the Yaruro, they appear to have lived in round huts built on the dunes, practiced a ball game, and made their pottery with the same technique and not with the aid of basketwork molds, contrary to what the remains with basketwork impressions which abound in the region where they apparently lived would lead us to suppose.

/14 cont./

O 115 361 In 1949 Catalina still had three brothers, Ramón, Pablo, and Nicolas, and a sister, Guadalupe. The first brother was living on the island of Fraile in the Orinoco--his existence had been confirmed for us by a trader of the Orinoco--and the two others in San Fernando in Apure, where they were employed in the firm, Casa Hermanos Vivas. The sister was also living in San Fernando. All four had been born in Los Caballos, whereas Catalina, older than they, had first seen the light of day on the Orinoco at a time when, no doubt, the Otomaco were still living along the river. According to our informant, Pedro Ramón Camacho, in addition to these five survivors, an old Otomaco woman, also Racional like the others, was living at Lucero, a farm situated on the right bank of the Capanaparo, at the time of our investigations. Finally, according to another source, some Otomaco still existed at this same time in Colombia on the banks of the Meta.

Y 128 III. Complementary observations on the habitat of the Yaruro (28)

28. See "infra" IV List...36.

The observations made are reproduced on the two tables which follow. They are summarized for certain communities in the notes below:

Y No. of the community

● 342 361 2a This community No. 2 is initially located (No. 2a) on a dune of sand and earth swept by wind and relatively little assailed by mosquitoes. It has five habitations of type II 1a. The chief's habitation is to the west; the others are spread out along the same line toward the southeast. The shaman's habitation is the one in the middle. The fourth from that of the chief of the community appears to be reserved, according to the latter, for children and for passing guests.

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6:Le Besnerais--13a E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

I. STATEMENT OF COMPLEMENTARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE COMMUNITIES OF THE YARURO (29)

29. For date of observations, location of communities on the Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, and description of habitation types, see "infra" IV List ...36.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30)					Remarks on Sites
			30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.					
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III
On the Capanaparo River:								
1	Carlos José Delgado, then, after his death, his wife Severiana.	Santa Ana		2				According to Vicenzo Petrullo's (31) investi- 31. See "infra" IV List...32. gations, the community was called Las Mercedes and was located near the Venezuelan farm of the same name.
2	José Ladema	a) Lagunota abandoned for:		5				Same community as Petrullo's Lagunota (31). 31. See "infra" IV List...32. which was situated beside the Venezuelan farm of Piedra Azul.
	or Juan Esteban Bellac (in the absence of the former)	b) Potrerito	x (32)	x		x		
		32. "x" indicates unenumerated habitations.						
3	Adán Matute	Potrero Grande		4 to 6				The summer encampment located on a shore and not observed is called San Luis.

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...38. Type II	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
4	Marcelio Castillo	3 sites occupied simultaneously: a) Guascharaca		2					
		b) Agua Linda	2						
		c) Médano Alto		1					At the time of the observations (29), the site [29. /See footnote 29 above./] had only one type II 1 a habitation, temporarily occupied by one ♂, 2 ♀, and 2 children who were to return to Guascharaca.
5	Ramón Beltrán	Médano Alto		5		5			
8	Pedro Ramón Camacho (33)	a) Guamacho abandoned for:		3 to 4				x	
	His actual authority over Ramón Beltrán is contested.	b) (island opposite it)		3 to 4				x	The island was later abandoned for a site farther upstream.

33. The underlined names are those of higher chiefs (in Spanish: capitán mayor) with greater authority than the other chiefs (in Spanish: capitán menor). This authority generally extends to the neighboring communities sometimes directed by a capitán menor and grouped together on this table by wavy lines.

6:Le Besnerais--13b E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30)							Remarks on Sites
			30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.							
			Type I	Type II 1		Type II 2		Type III		
				a	b	a	b			
7	Ezequiel Padrón	Merecurito		x		x		x		
8	Ramón Jesús Caravajal (named by the Venezuelans) (34)	Magdalena								
	34. "Named by the Venezuelans" means that he was designated or confirmed as chief by a representative of the Venezuelan authorities.									
		or Caravajal	2			x				
9	Antonio Perasa (named by the Venezuelans and not recognized by the Yaruro)	San José and San Luis	3			x				The winter habitations are invisible from the bank. The summer encampment located on a shore is at San Luis.
10	José Carmen Garcillo	2 sites occupied simultaneously								
		a) Santa Rosa			1					
		b) Caño Amarillo	2							

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...30						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
11	André or Juan Pío (subordinate of Bernardino Agustín Lopez, surnamed Venado —see community no. 15)	Puec El Robo (briefly occupied)	x			x			
		then simultaneously Vuelta Mala 1 and Vuelta Mala 2	x			x			
12	Santo Romilio Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Chaparal or (Vuelta Mala) or (Barranca)	2					x	The type I habitations are located 400/500 m. from the bank.
13	Jacinto Lopez father of the preceding (named by the Venezuelans)	El Rosario	1						The community is located near a forest and a spring of clear water coming from the savanna.
14	Judo Arcaya	Manguito	1						
15	Bernardino Agustín Lopez surnamed Venado; also has authority over André or Juan Pío (see comm. no. 11). (no doubt named by the Ven.)	El Caibose	2				1	1	The summer encampment is located on an island downstream from the mouth of the Riecito.

G:Le Besnerais--13d E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...38.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
16	Ramón Diaz	El Ceibote	3				5	3	The type I habitations are located about 300 m. from the bank.
17	Castillo	La Gavinera	5				x		
18	Simón Pacheco	Merecurito	1						
19	Simón Pacheco	Argentina	3			x			
20	Billegas	Argentina	x						The habitations are located on the savanna far from the bank.
21	Billegas	Garici	1 to 2			x			
22	José Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Matacaballo	3						The habitations are far from the bank.
23	Eloy	Monte Zamuro (La Patilla)		x		x			

6:Le Besserais--13e E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...38. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
On the Riecito River:									
24	?	?	2						The habitations are located about 200 m. from the bank.
25	Cecilio (Cecilito)	Manguito	6 to 7						The habitations are located 1 km. 500 from the bank. They are surrounded by mango trees.
26	Felipe (Felipito)	?	2			1		1	
27	Jerdaimo	?	x					x	The summer encampment is set up under some trees.
28	Gregorio	?	1						
29	José Blanco	?	2			3		1	
30	Luis	?	4	1		5		8	

6:Le Besnerais--13o E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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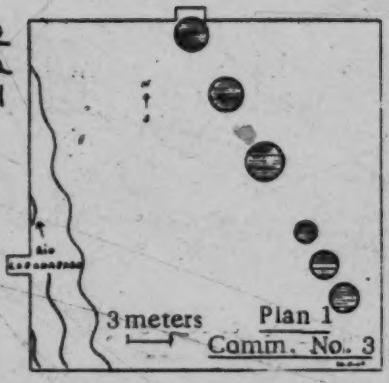

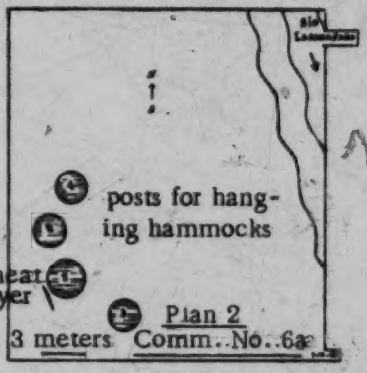

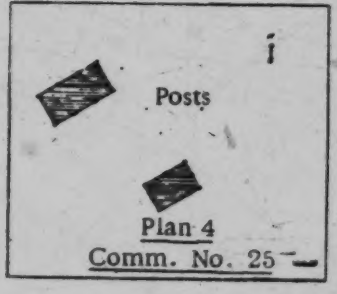

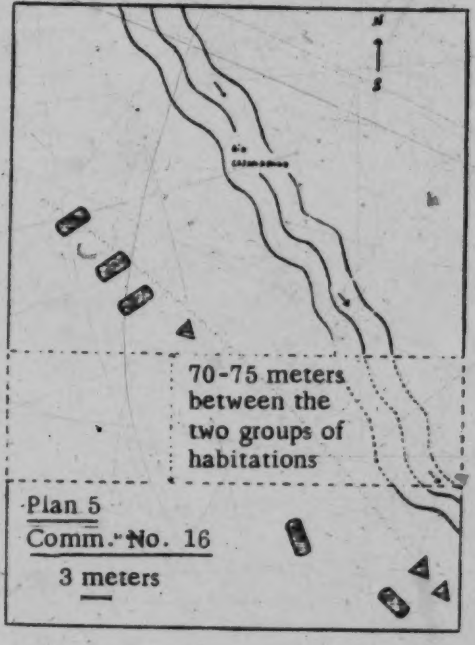

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3 This one has six type II 1a habitations laid out, at the end of our observations, along the bank as plan No. 1 shows.[1] At the beginning of our observations the habitation of the chief -- and at the time shaman -- of the community was located to the side and approximately 100 meters to the east of the other habitations.

5 Community No. 5 formerly formed one and the same community, No. 7. It was created at the beginning of our observations by Ramón Beltran, who no longer wanted to accept the authority of Pedro Ramón Camacho, capitán mayor.

[578]
[631]

6a and b In each of its successive sites -- (a): a sand dune on the right bank of the Cápanaparo about 30 meters from the water and (b): a sandy shore on the island facing it -- the community has no permanent shape except for three type II 1a habitations (plans No. 2 and 3). The fourth, shown on plan No. 2, was built by the inhabitants of community No. 8 for a temporary stay. Habitation No. I, for the chief and shaman of the community, is larger than the others.

8 This community has two large type I habitations, the base and roofing of which, however, are rectangular at one end and rounded at the other.

9 The three large type I habitations of this community are more comfortable in appearance than the normal, but their deficient height does not allow a man to stand up in it.

11 The chief of the community lives in Vuelta Mala 2.

[1] [see p. 13a. -Author]

/15 cont./

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12 The community has two large type I houses, the base and roofing of which, however, are rounded at the ends.

13 This community is, from its appearance, less comfortable than the others.

14 In this one also the large type I house has its base and roofing rounded at the ends.

/16/

15 The two type I habitations of the community located on the hard ground of the high, steep river banks are laid out as plan No. 4 indicates.

16 These eight type II 2b and III habitations are laid out as plan No. 5 indicates.

17 The type I habitations are too low to stand up in, even that of the chief of the community, although it is larger than the others.

23 The community has type II 1a and II 2a habitations. This latter type has a rectangular base here and an elevation, cut along its breadth, which is pointed in form.

26, 29, 30 The type I habitations of these three communities have oval bases.

113 IV. List of works and diverse documents relating to the study of the Yaruro and Otomaco.

This list does not take account of unpublished documents resulting from the author's investigations.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

THE YARUROS OF THE CAPANAPARO RIVER, VENEZUELA

By Vincenzo Petrullo

Introduction

121 The American primitive aborigines are rapidly becoming extinct. Some groups are dying out, and others are being assimilated in the lowest laboring classes of the various nations. In any case, the American aborigines, as first found by the sixteenth century explorers, are rarely met today. Only in a few spots, difficult of access or geographically undesirable to the Euro-American, can one find a few primitive peoples still eking out an existence as did their ancestors of four centuries ago. Some of these groups have had intermittent contact with European culture; others do not even know of it at first hand. It is these tribes which can furnish the key to many problems of American anthropology and to some extent to world anthropology, but there is need for haste in studying them, for they may not survive this generation.

511 A simple hunting and fishing culture is the most primitive economic existence. When such a culture has not been able to lift itself above the wood, shell, and bone stage, it should be ranked among the primary. The presence of the bow and pottery may lift a culture slightly above the Australian, but not very much so. The Yaruro culture described in the following pages can be classified as being on that level. Certainly it is as primitive as the Fuegian. The Yaruros, like most tribes of the South American tropical lowlands, have been handicapped by lack of stone in the country. Wood, shell, and bone were [177] substituted until they came in contact with iron. Today they obtain scraps of iron, which they have learned to fashion into arrow points, from the cattle ranchers, but they would have done just as well without this new material.

511 A people like the Yaruros are forced to economize in every aspect 361 of their material culture. Literally they may have only that which they are able to transport with them. All the worldly possessions of each family must be crowded into one small dugout canoe. The

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

511 superfluous needs to be dispensed with every time camp is moved,
361 which occurs every few days. Only in thoughts and feelings can they be as rich as any other people; but this requires a particular kind of temperament possessed by only a few individuals in the tribe.

182 Their economic life, social organization, mythology, and religion form a well-knit pattern of existence. There are no loose ends, but a knot here and there appears in the form of vagueness or contradiction. But I think that the fault lies with us who would introduce our type of organization into their knowledge. We expect more from a primitive group than we ourselves could offer. Besides, it is doubtful whether we ever present the picture of their culture as they see it; if we did we might not understand or we might even be surprised at its orderliness.

177 Although the Yaruros have been in touch with Euro-American cul-
121 ture for several centuries they have borrowed remarkably little. What culture they possessed several centuries ago we do not know. There is practically no information about them in the literature. There is justification, therefore, in publishing this record, in spite of many apparent deficiencies. Since plans for another visit to fill in the gaps in my field notes have not materialized and the Yaruros may be gone before another ethnologist can live with them it seems advisable to make this material available.

121 Anthropology, among other things, is concerned with the interrelationships of groups of men and with the functions of social structures as developed by man and his environment. I have tried to keep in mind that in presenting a first account of an unknown people it may not be at all out of place to draw a general but intimate picture of the daily life of the Yaruros, their emotional, cognitive and conative responses to the world about them, and even their attitude toward the ethnologist who appeared among them with only the objective of hold-
123 ing friendly conversations about themselves. At first they were suspicious, but they soon caught the point and enjoyed the experience as much as I did. An attempt has been made to give these pictures, and to explain the series of events which made possible with these nomads the intimate association that followed the first few days of unfriendliness.

124 No attempt has been made to reconcile differences in the information
128 obtained from various informants, not even if there is a contradiction. It was the first time that the Yaruros had been asked to organize their knowledge of their own culture; contradictions and vagueness were to be expected. My informants were exclusively men, even for those
123 phases of culture which admittedly belong to the female world. A cultural obstacle which I respected prevented any direct social intercourse with the women. The women's domain is respected by the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

123 men. A female ethnologist might get an interesting, and perhaps different, picture of Yaruro culture. I do know that there were many things, especially in the field of shamanism, from which I was shut off. The Yaruros saw this and the women relayed a pressing request that on my next visit to them I bring my "wife" (I have none!), with whom they could lie on the sands at night and tell things about their world similar to what their men told me.

My visit took place in the months of February, March, and April of 1934. Several species of intestinal parasites acquired in Brazil not only precluded my roaming about the countryside, but forced the Yaruros to attend me day and night for many weeks, giving ample opportunity—once it lasted for thirty-four consecutive hours—to talk. A sedentary life is so foreign to a nomadic people that this chance to corner them for "talk" was too good to miss. In fact, after a while it was becoming too much for them, and besides, hunting in the area became impractical. Everything considered, we reached a saturation point and I started on my way back. Many of these friends may be dead by now.

The Yaruros and Their Country

YARURO DAILY LIFE

101 131 181 Peaceful and mystical, the Yaruros, or Pumeh as they call themselves, wander up and down the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers (fig. 15) gathering their daily dinner and thinking about the life awaiting them in the Land of Kuma when they leave this world.

361 133 As dawn breaks over the hills of Guiana we may discover a Yaruro camp on one of the sandy beaches of the Capanaparo River about a day's journey by canoe from where it flows into the Orinoco. It appears as a dark blotch on the wind-packed white sands at a distance of some 50 yards from the water's edge and more than that from the wall of vegetation which marks the bank of the river during the rainy season and hides the open savanna country beyond. The camp gives no sign of life until the sun shows clearly in the sky. Then we see that it consists of some leafy branches and 3-foot sticks bare of bark thrust in the sands, casting long shadows in the early morning to where the vultures are fighting among themselves at the refuse heap located to the west of the camp; or the white vulture, the "king," may be seen feasting alone while his black brethren await disconsolately on the side.

361 As the light becomes stronger we make out under the branches piles of debris, recumbent human forms, and mangy dogs tied to the sticks. The debris consists of baskets and pots, with here and there small

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

cheesecloth contraptions no more than 2 feet high under which human beings are sleeping half buried in the sand.

Approaching the river, we see canoes pulled up on the sands and discover that there is more debris close by, but its owners are not in sight. In the water close to the canoes are turtles with their hind legs tied to the front ones. Some of these are also fastened to the canoes, by means of strings which pass through holes drilled in their carapaces. They make fruitless efforts to move away whenever anyone comes near to them.

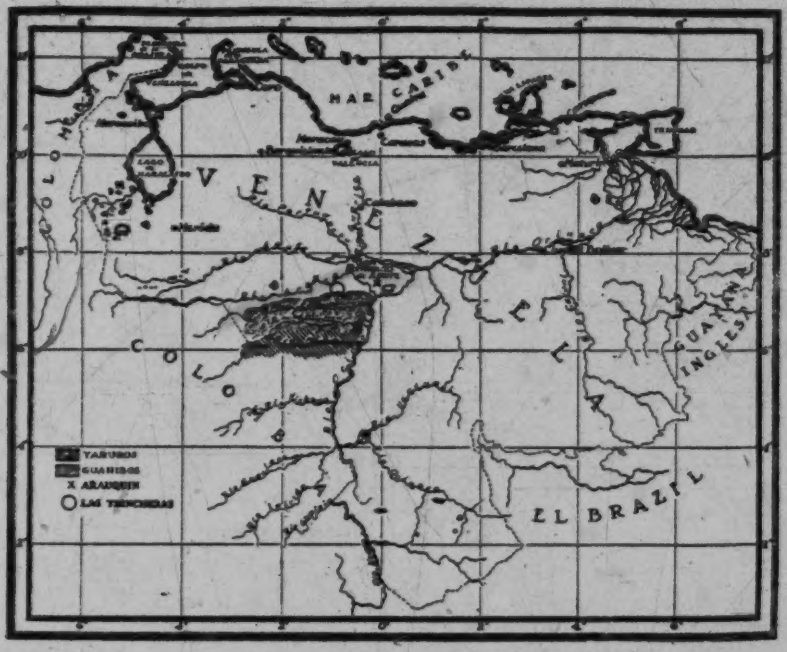

FIGURE 15.—Map of Venezuela.

It is not a large camp, and the sleepers do not number many. As we look around us they appear to be insignificant and lost in immense space, so distant and even is the horizon. Only to the east do we see a wall of shadow rising a little above the horizon. It is all that can be seen of the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco not far away. In the early morning light they look like mountains, though they are only a few hundred feet high.

The awakening of a Yaruro camp is quiet, almost surreptitious. As the grayness of the landscape gives place to bright orange-gold, some of the sleepers are up, squatting with their legs doubled under them. They face the west; they do not move, merely sit still watching

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

paddle up the five rivers: the Apure, Arauca, Capanaparo, Sinaruco, and the Meta. In the dry season it is possible to make one's way southward from Caracas by way of Ortiz, Calabozo, San Fernando de Apure, to San Juan de Payara by automobile, and then on horseback to Cunaviche and beyond. Beginning our journey from Caracas at the end of January, we followed the latter route.

San Juan de Payara and Cunaviche are ancient colonial mission villages and the farthest outposts of civilization in the llanos. There are no missions there now. Their populations are typically llanero; that is, civilized mixed bloods. We rode southward across the dry and sandy plains, over which roam herds of wild cattle and horses. Mirages, which amazed the widely traveled Humboldt, were frequent. In the treeless plains forests were suspended in the sky, horses ran through the air, and great clear lakes stretched out before us. But water was scarce, and had we not been guided by men who knew every square inch of the ground we should have suffered for lack of it. We picked up our guides in relays on the way, a merry, capable lot, with much Indian blood in their veins, conscious of being free men of the llanos whom no dictator nor army has been able to tame. At night, if we stopped at a ranch, we listened to cowboy songs accompanied by the harp and rattle, music which reflected Indian, Spanish, and Negro influences. Our meager baggage was carried by an unwilling bull. Using a common cowboy expedient, we tied its nose to the guide's horse's tail and the bull was literally dragged all the way to El Buron.[2]

We made our first contact with the Yaruros at El Buron, a ranch owned by Don Manuel Hurtado. Don Manuel, like most of the native llaneros, is sympathetic to the Yaruros, and keeps on friendly terms with them. With his help and that of his household, particularly a young woman called Maria, we attempted to establish friendly relations with the Yaruros. In the llanos human beings are not plentiful, and consequently, it doesn't occur to them to erect social barriers that would tend to keep various groups apart.

There was not much about the camp of the Yaruros to interest the casual glance. There were present about a dozen women, eight men, and some children. The extreme poverty and simplicity of the camp were its outstanding features. There were no houses, nor shelters of any sort; only a few old baskets, a few sticks, a few rags, calabashes and water jars, and a few seminaked human beings lying half buried in the sand under the shade of thinly leafed branches thrust into the ground. Several fires were burning, and over them there were pots

[2] In working cattle the llanero ties one end of his lariat to his horse's tail instead of to the saddle, which often he may be lacking. The horses are trained to keep the rope taut after the animal is roped.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

772 considered to be their ancestorial relatives; that once upon a time
[173] the Yaruros were very many and now very few; that the Yaruros had been visited with great calamities the preceding year, and many of their people had died through sickness and other destructive forces.

123 Also, I learned that, though I could gather inklings of a rich spiritual culture and a good cross section of the material phases from this band, I had to go farther down river to meet the spiritual leaders of the remnants of this race if I wanted to reach the heart of the Yaruros' religion, cosmology, mythology, and ethics.

791 In all of the primitive groups with which I have come in contact,
123 certain individuals are recognized as the leaders and authorities, especially on such matters as religion and social organization. The younger people hesitate and often refuse to discuss such matters altogether, but age alone is not enough to qualify an individual as the mouthpiece of the group. The Yaruros were no exception. As soon as they grasped that I wanted to know a great deal about their history and culture they urged me to talk to "Landaeta", their leader and great "musico" or shaman. He, with his family, was hunting on the lower Capanaparo. They offered to guide me to him. Accordingly, we journeyed downstream by moonlight to avoid the heat of the day, and as I subsequently discovered, to avoid meeting with crocodile hunters.

361 About noon the next day we sighted several empty canoes drawn up
482 on the bank, and knew that there must be more Yaruros nearby. We
462 landed on the sandy beach and awaited their return. They came early in the afternoon, the men carrying turtles and crocodiles slung on poles, the women with baskets filled with changuango, leaning forward as they walked, looking not unlike grotesque apes under their heavy loads; and also, little children carrying their share of food,
[152] straggling behind. Upon seeing me they were frightened, but did not run away.

123 My Yaruro paddlers acted the part of mediators perfectly, for soon afterwards we were all embarked and moving downstream to join the main body of Landaeta's band which, I was told, was encamped
[152] several miles downstream. Their good humor almost amounted to
462 gaiety. The three canoes moved steadily down the river, the men paddling hard, and the women sitting quietly and casting shy inquisitive glances in my direction.

361 We found Landaeta and his people on a large exposed wind-swept beach. There was the white sand, the strong wind blowing from the east raising it into dust clouds, and the intense glare from river and sand; a few water jars, a few baskets, several refuse heaps with buzzards feeding at them, canoes drawn up on the beach, and some

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

361 captive turtles; and a few human beings were sitting or lying in the midst of all this, and exposed to all of the elements.

[203] 791 Among primitive people news travels rapidly. Landaeta, in this case, received me with the air of one who was expecting a visitor and it turned out that my reputation had preceded me. Not only did he know that I was in the country, but also why I was there. He was expecting me in order to teach me his ways and the ways of his people, and to learn my ways and the ways of my people. To him I was a shaman, no different than himself, who knew their mother goddess intimately and who was perhaps related to the gods themselves. He asked me for pictures of Kuma and Kuma's land. I soon discovered that he was under the illusion that in some way I was on intimate terms with the Yaruro's god.

763 A little to one side a branch was planted in the sand, and lying in its thin shade a girl was waiting to die. She was burning with fever and delirious. Her people were hovering over her, without being able to alleviate her sufferings or to help her to the end of life. Her malady was a new one to them, passed on by the newcomers to their world, and therefore they had no remedy for it.

758 123 The sick girl was Landaeta's daughter and as one physician to another, he came to me requesting that I save his daughter from death. Being neither physician, magician, nor priest, I responded to his plea the best way I could. Lest I be drawn into a situation of attempting to cure a sick person without adequate knowledge of the sickness or its remedy, I moved off the same day to seek other Yaruros; but only after Landaeta had promised that he would commence his journey in the cool of the evening and rejoin me several days later.

577 It has often been said that to accept the promise of a primitive Indian is to abandon all thought of its being remembered. Perhaps it would seem that I put too much faith and trust in my friends in sitting down to wait for them to join me. But a promise made and accepted without coercion is to the Indian one that has to be kept; and, as in many other cases of my experience with primitive people, this one was kept.

123 That the feeling of suspicion had not disappeared completely was proven by the attitude of another hunting group which I visited. I went alone among them, and unarmed. On my arrival in a canoe, carrying no equipment, they sullenly warned me to keep away from them and their camp. However, good will is never unproductive, and when they saw that I merely squatted on the sands, shared my tobacco with them, said nothing, and then cheerfully paddled away, their hearts must have melted, for several days later they too had joined my band of friends, later becoming among those most deeply attached to me.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19 sia RC

521 performances would be given which would last until sunrise. Therefore there was an intense exchange of ideas for relatively long times with no rest.

• 361 The time came when Landaeta became a little restless. He was not accustomed to camping on one spot for more than two or three days at a time and he himself had done no hunting since I had joined them. Besides, the men and women had to forage farther and farther away for food. If my physical condition had permitted, it would have been well to continue living with them, moving from place to place, as is normal.

123 152 However, I knew I had to return to civilization quickly. The effect of my announcement on my hosts was interesting, and touching. It will be recalled that I had appeared in their midst as a stranger and a potential enemy and it was through a fortuitous event that I was accepted by them, not only as a friend but as a relative who worshipped the same gods. Since then I had actually been given an affectionate place in their emotional lives and they were sorry to see me go. They understood the reasons that were making it urgent for me to leave, especially understandable was the fact that my "wife and child" who had not seen me for many months were waiting for me to return. Nevertheless, they expressed sorrow, a certain amount of listlessness began to appear and they would come to me and sit by my side, telling me that they would be a rather lonesome people after I had gone; that they liked to talk about religious matters, and that when I would no longer be there with them they would have no one to talk things over with. This attitude affected the men and women in a very curious way. We had very little food in the camp, but still they would not go out and gather fresh quantities. And when I urged them to do so they answered that the knowledge of my coming departure made them very sad, and consequently they did not have the proper spirit to gather food, or even to eat.

609 511 These people have very little in the way of excess goods. Each family has a few baskets, perhaps a water jar, a mat or two, scraps of clothing and their tools, nothing more. And these generally were in very poor condition from long use. Knowing that I wanted to take back with me some of these things, they became busy weaving hammocks, making basketry and even pottery, so that I would take back to my "wife and child" objects new and well-made. This reaction on their part was spontaneous and they all expressed the idea that I should take back with me only new, well-made articles to remember them by; so for about a week before my departure there was intense activity around camp.

The day of my departure finally arrived and I said good-bye. There was no ceremonial wailing as had attended my departure from the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

In the case of the Yaruros all of these factors have played an important role and are currently active in reducing their territories and food supply to a degree that will mean imminent extermination of the people. It is true that since the first settler arrived in their country the Yaruros could have made readjustments in their culture which perhaps might have permitted them to survive. They could have learned, for instance, to raise horses, cattle, and to cultivate the soil as the Guajiros, living in a country similar to the llanos, have done. But they have chosen to remain firm in their own culture, own traditions, and own universe, and as a result are expecting to pay the penalty. Why they have failed to make the readjustment which would have brought them into a livable relationship with the newcomers and have persisted in keeping to their primitive, nomadic existence may be answered in the pages that follow.

Dependency on hunting, fishing, and gathering of edible fruits and roots imposes nomadism upon a people and prevents living together in large groups. The degree to which a people have to wander, the extent of the territory over which they must roam, and the size of the group, is dependent upon the abundance of the food supply in the region. The Yaruro hunting groups are small and they stay in one camp not more than a few days; so, they are to be met plying up and down the river in their canoes or traveling over land to the water holes, ever hunting for food.

HUNTING TERRITORIES

Each hunting group has a territory over which it is free to roam. Over this region only its members are allowed to hunt and gather fruits and roots, but the rivers, the main streams, are open to all. The accompanying map shows the limits of the present hunting territory of the Yaruros of the Capanaparo. It would seem that anciently, when the Yaruros were more numerous, they roamed over a vaster region cut up into small portions over which hunting rights were distributed among various hunting family groups. I was assured that the Yaruros of the Sinaruco also have divided their country into family units.

There is also a sort of division among the Yaruros which transcends family grouping. The Yaruros of the Capanaparo, for instance, consider themselves a unit, though loosely bound, as distinct from the Yaruros of the Sinaruco, so that they consider the land drained by the Capanaparo as theirs and the region drained by the Sinaruco as the land of the Yaruros of that river. And yet, above all this, there seems to be a tribal feeling as opposed to the tribal divisions. The real significance of this is that among the Yaruros there is permitted a degree of mutuality in the use of the hunting rights

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

516 the Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-
502 tom of the canoe on several cross sticks without any back rest or any foot rest on which to brace himself. To one not accustomed to such a position it is clumsy and painful, and easily fatiguing. The paddler's stroke is short, quick, and choppy, like that of many South American tribes in Brazil.

SHELTER

362 Yaruro shelter is the simplest thing in the world. Nothing simpler could be devised. Shunning the forest and camping only on the open beaches by the river, the shelter is devised for two purposes—to protect the family from the winds, the insects, the sun,
342 and in the rainy season from the rain. They make, therefore, a variety of shelters. The camp shelter for daytime in the dry season consists of branches thrust vertically into the sands. If there are any persons about camp during the day, which there are generally, they will sit in the shade of these branches, moving around them as the sun changes its position in the sky. At night they dig holes in the sand and lie in them, protecting themselves from the winds by a shelter of branches or basketry at the head. These shelters, however, must allow a certain amount of wind to come through in order to prevent the gathering of large swarms of insects. Sleeping in holes in the sand, they keep warm, since the dry winds make it quite
361 chilly at night. All of the Yaruro in the Capanaparo are too no-
364 madic to build better shelter than the types described, since they stay in one camp only a few days, generally two or three. They move about so much, both for the lack of game in the area and the refuse that accumulates around camp, even though the vultures can always be seen feasting upon the remains of crocodile and turtle. The Yaruro are aware that if they stay too close to such piles of refuse they may become infected.

101 However, the Yaruro living on Linda Bara, the islands at the
361 mouth of the Capanaparo, have such an abundance of food that they
342 make somewhat more permanent structures. This consists generally of a low hemispherical structure covered with palm leaves which reach to about 2 feet from the ground, leaving the interior open to the winds, but even these structures are abandoned in a few weeks because of the insect life. This is the type of structure that is employed during the rainy season when life becomes more sedentary.

POTTERY

317 At certain places along the banks of the Capanaparo the proper
323 clay is found for pottery. The type preferred is whitish in color. Generally a small quantity of yellowish red clay is mixed with it.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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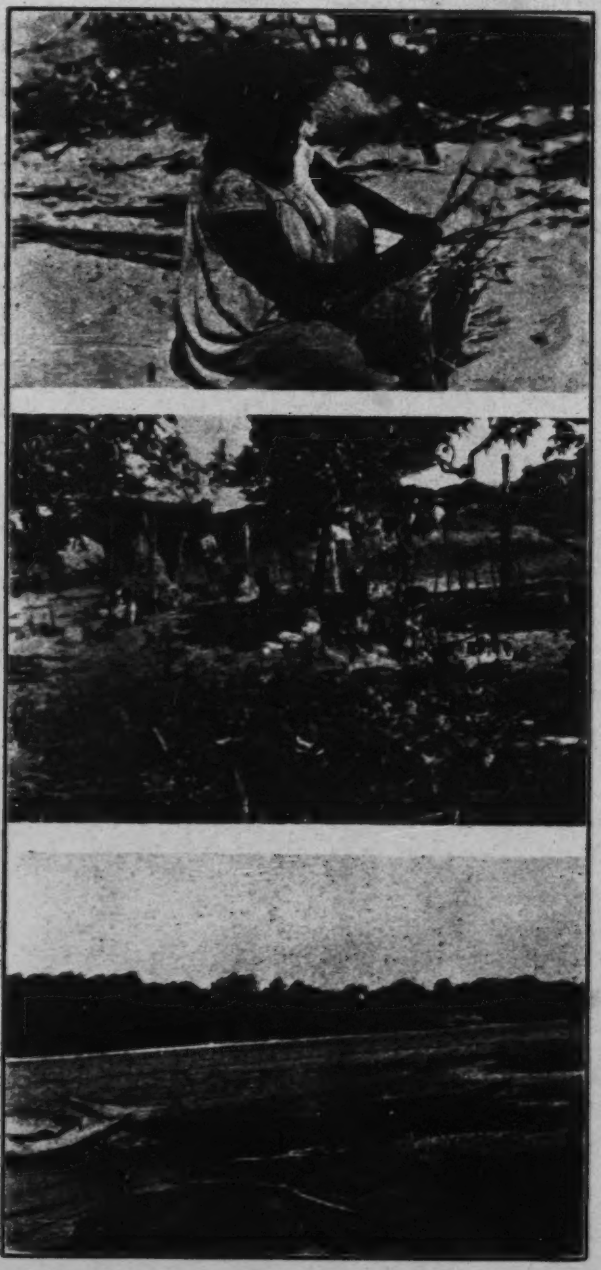

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1. Basket weaving is woman's work. Carrying and storage baskets are crude affairs, often woven out of one palm leaf. Pouches are made with greater care and take a considerably longer time. 2. Yaruro camp at El Burro. Note the lack of shelter. 3. Yaruro dugout canoes.

(End Plate 6)

182 First, through time, the gardens tend to radiate further and further
241 from any given residence point since, given the 13-year planting-fallow
361 cycle, plots near the village will be exhausted. Since the major garden resource areas lie in a crudely east-to-west direction, there will be a slow westward migration of the geographic center of garden activities, enough so that at some point, the village is suspended, as it were, among distant resource points (see Maps), and enhanced by the dispersed nature of the hunting and fishing, and to some extent the gathering, areas. If the "suspension" is weighted more in one direction than another, there will be some tendency either to move the village or to send out temporary or permanent branches of it, respectively in the form of work cottages in the swiddens or in larger long-term house groups which are intermittently occupied. This process is, in fact, easily observed among the Yaruro in existent and abandoned house and subsidiary village sites scattered over the whole territory. Similarly, the locus of gathering, so important in
[221] summer, moves further and further from the village. This, together with the considerable shift to fishing and river-hunting in summer, as well as the need for water, causes an extensive seasonal transhumance to occur within the territory. These factors contribute to fissioning as well as to inhibiting the development of permanently located villages, let alone larger aggregations. Thus, with a radiating ecology, a degree of group dispersion and geographical mobility within the territory is to be expected and is indeed characteristic of the Yaruro.

512 Second, if one examines the location of all resources it will be seen that, taken together, they constantly enjoin a dispersal of the labor force in all directions, regardless of season, so that more or less equivalent quantities of labor are being used at the same time in many varying kinds of productive activity independently of each other -- at the peripheries of the territory, in the areas between, or in the village centers themselves,
[462] where the women are constantly doing the significantly important work of
[252] converting otherwise unusable food resources, like raw, bitter manioc or uncooked corn, into edibles.

476 Third, it will be noted that none of the Yaruro technological processes require cooperative work, even when they may permit it, if it were so desired. On the whole, the productive activities might be described as dispersive of labor, whether it is individuals or small groups of twos or threes who go out to keep each other company. Even the work of preparing
[241] the swiddens is carried out individually, though two or three men may
[463] work as neighbors in what appears as a single plot. Further, the technology
[242] is such as to require no highly specific and difficult or esoteric skills. The most difficult skill to acquire is the knowledge of the soil types and appropriate planting procedures attached to each. Thus, each adult is in
462 a position to learn the inventory of technological knowledge appropriate
463 to his or her sex, and somewhat of that belonging to the other sex too, and to apply it by himself whenever he wants or must. A man, well-instructed in Yaruro technology, could probably subsist alone successfully for long periods of time. One divorced adult man, although he was largely fed by his

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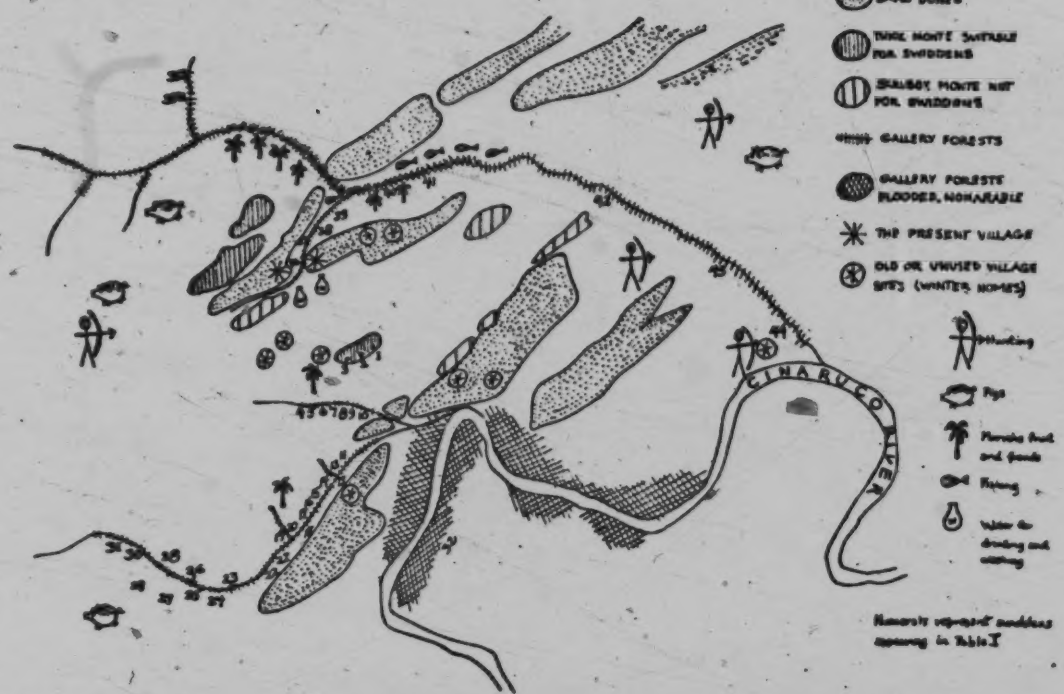
2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

MAP I- Winter Resource Areas



I inch = ca 1.25 mi

Maps by Jo Leeds.

Cp. 40J

[p.41]

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

221 262 Finally, the Yaruro deny any considerable long-term oscillations in the environment and consequently in the resources. The extremes, particularly the minima, of habitat factors which regulate food and population balances, according to Liebig's Law, fall within narrow limits and again elicit no special institutions of management or of equilibrium maintenance to compensate for them, as in the case of the potlatches of the Northwest Coast of America, the buffalo hunts in the Great Plains of the United States, or the use of pigs in Melanesia.[23]

VI

868 One more point may be made regarding the ecology as limiter of chieftainship among the Yaruro. The tools, techniques, and resources require no very extensive, highly specialized or esoteric knowledge. In fact any man or woman, and any child as well, has access to such knowledge, and it is easily acquired by all members of the society who thus have, at least potentially, equal access to control over the means of life. There is no specialized knowledge, at least with respect to technology and habitat, which requires a specialized repository in the form of a chief or learned person. Yaruro knowledge, itself dependent upon the inventory of tools, techniques, and resources, inhibits any tendency towards the development of any [463] sort of specialists in technical or managerial knowledge. As one might expect, there are no true specialists in Yaruro society. Here and there women make pots and certain women seem to have a special bent for making woven sacks but these [756] are not properly specialities. Nor, from a technological or ecological point of view, is male or female shamanism in any way a speciality. They do not appear to be specialists even in esoteric knowledge. Knowledge of the general type described here might be called 'dispersive' or 'egalitarian' since it tends to become more or less uniformly distributed among the members of the society. A consequence of the existence of this type of knowledge, associated with the kind of technology described, is that there will be no specialised training of any specialists and, of course, no specialised personnel to do such training. This is the situation which obtains among the Yaruro both with respect to technical and managerial activities. Thus, in Yaruro knowledge, there is no source for the support of an institutionalized and strong chieftainship.

VII

221 241 ●361 622 In one respect, the ecology encourages chiefly functions. A balance is struck between the cultural resources, the possibilities that the habitat affords for their production, and the length of time that areas of land can be exploited. This is particularly true of the horticultural lands since they can no longer be used after three years of cropping, and it becomes necessary to move on. The result is that there is a slow migration of resource areas, chiefly of horticultural areas across the tribal territory. The lands in cultivation move further and further from any given village until a point of suspension is reached at which the walking and working

[23] Cf. Suttles, 1960 a, 1960 b; Llewelly and Hoebel, 1941; Vayda, 1961; Vayda, Leeds, and Smith, 1961.

3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

distance of the gardens is too far from the village for effective or efficient exploitation. At this point a village or part of a village must move. Moving the villages involves decision-making with respect to time, new location, and so on. Plainly, moving a village involves a community decision. A community institution for handling the decision-making is necessary. Technologically speaking, the moving itself is not a community task and does not involve supervision and direction. Therefore, one would not expect the institution of decision-making to be a directive one, but a consultative one. Again this corresponds to the observed modes of action of the Yaruro chiefs. The chiefs' function is to facilitate the formation of the decisions of the community by funnelling and interpreting individuals' feelings and expressions to the rest of the members of the community.

In sum, I have presented a model of a form of ecology which, hypothetically, determines the limits within which any sort of chiefly functions may operate. This model, again hypothetically, is applicable to all cultures having the kind of technological and habitat characteristics and forms of surplus here described. I think the model applies particularly to cultures which grow root-crops such as manioc, which utilize no labor-concentrative techniques, such as irrigation, and for whose food resources notable seasonality is absent. Such cultures have been noted widely in tropical South America and also in Melanesia. In both areas, chiefly functions are notably limited as contrasted, say, with Circum-Caribbean corn-raising cultures with some irrigation and other intensive techniques[24] and with Polynesian high cultures with elaborate irrigation and other public works.[25] It should be noted, first, that the Yaruro were not far from these Circum-Caribbean chiefdoms and even show a number of trait similarities, and, second, that the Yaruro have been under Spanish acculturation, which has involved encouragement of chiefly functions, for probably 250 years. Yet, despite the pressures of both diffusion and acculturation to produce a more developed chieftaincy, the attenuated form described persists. The explanation of this persistence seems to me to be ecological. I suggest that the model of explanation presented here is based on a set of analytic dimensions — the characteristics of the technology, those of the habitat, those of the harvest surplus, and the interrelationships of these — which may be used for all cultures, but whose formal, systemic relations vary from culture to culture, or class of cultures to class of cultures, thus giving different models for different cultures or classes of cultures. By using such dimensions, one can account for cultural differences by means of a standard set of principles, thus faciliating genuine comparisons and generalizations.

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[24] Cf. Sturtevant, 1961; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961.
[25] Cf. Sahlins, 1958.

/111 cont./

G 101 114 Raymond Fiasson (1) in 1947 reported the existence of

1. Raymond Fiasson, "Algunos aspectos cientificos del Apure /Some Scientific Aspects of the Apure/," in El Agricultor Venezolano, Year XII, No. 127, No. 1947, p. 11.

Guliguli Indians on the banks of the Juriepe, a southern tributary of the Cinaruco. According to our Yaruro informants, these did not exist. Guliguli perhaps is only a synonym for Guahibo-Chiricoa.

The Amburua.

G 101 The Amburua appear to live on the other side of the Meta, on the Rio Negro in Colombia. Not direct neighbors of the Yaruro, they have only rare contacts with the latter. The Y G 648 Yaruro of village 30 on the Riecito recounted to us a fight against the Amburua which took place not far from them, in the course of which their adversaries were decimated.

2. The Habitat (Capanaparo and Riecito Rivers) (see Map 2[1] and Tables I and II)

Y 361 621 The Yaruro population is divided on an economic basis into small communities, established near a water course and composed of several families grouped under the authority of one head.

Y 361 Along the Capanaparo and Riecito explored by us, there are some 30 irregularly spaced on the 400 kilometers of river (2).

2. We shall dwell in detail on the structure of the communities in other articles, as we have on habitation types further on here.

1 [see pp. 19-20. -Analyst]

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Table I

Statement of Observations on Habitation Types

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Nos.[1]	Dates of Observations	TYPE I	TYPE II$_1$ a	TYPE II$_1$ b	TYPE II$_2$ a	TYPE II$_2$ b	TYPE III
1	25-28 Aug. 47		●				
2 a	29 Aug. - 3 Sept. 47		●				
b	30 June 49; 5-6 July 49	★	●				
»	22 Oct. 49; 3 Jan. 50	☆	○		■		
3	3-4 Sept. 47; 30 June 49		●				
4 a	5 Sept. 47; 5 July 49		●				
b	5 Sept. 47	★					
c	5 Sept. 47		●				
5	6 Sept. 47; 20 Oct. - 17 Nov. 47		●				
	24 Oct. 49; 1 Jan. 50		○		■		
6 a	6-7 Sept. 47; 20 Oct. - 11 Nov. 47		●				
»	11-17 Nov. 47		○				▲
b	4-5 July 49; 24-30 Oct. 49		●				
»	30 Oct. 49 - 1 Jan. 50		○				▲
7	24 Oct. 40 - 1 Jan. 50		●		■		▲
8	31 July 47; 8 Sept. 47	★					
	19 Oct. 47	☆			■		
9	11 Sept. 47	★					
	17 Oct. 47	☆			■		
10 a	11 Sept. 47; 17 Oct. 47; 4 July 49			◗			
b	12 Sept. 47	★					
»	15 Oct. 47	☆					
11	12-13 Sept. 47	★			■		
	15 Oct. 47	☆			■		
12	14 Sept. 47	★					
	24-26 Feb. 48	☆					▲
13	14 Sept. 47	★					
14	15 Sept. 47	★					
15	5-6 Mar. 48; 5 Apr. 48; 12 Apr. - 5 Mar. 48	☆				◆	▲
	2-3 July 49	★					
16	4 Mar. 48; 23-24 Apr. 48; 27 Apr. 48	☆				◆	▲
17	16 Sept. 47	★					
	13 Oct. 47; 25 Apr. 48	☆				◆	
18	16 Sept. 47	★					

1. Number of communities corresponding to those on Map 2.

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Nos	Dates of Observations	TYPE I	TYPE II 1 a	TYPE II 1 b	TYPE II 2 a	TYPE II 2 b	TYPE III
19	16 Sept. 47 13 Oct. 47	★ ☆			■		
20	13 Oct. 47	★					
21	17 Sept. 47 13 Oct. 47	★ ☆			■		
22	12 Oct. 47	★					
23	17 Sept. 47 12 Oct. 47		● ○		■		
24	2-3 July 49	★					
25	5 Apr. 48; 11 Apr. 48 2 July 49	★ ★					
26	6 Apr. 48	★			■		▲
27	6 Apr. 48; 11 Apr. 48	☆					▲
28	6-7 Apr. 48; 10-11 Apr. 48	★					
29	7 Apr. 48; 10 Apr. 48	☆			■		▲
30	7-10 Apr. 48	☆	○		■		▲

HABITATION TYPE	I	II 1 a	II 1 b	II 2 a	II 2 b	III
Observed occupied	★	●	◗	■	◆	▲
Observed unoccupied	☆	○	◡	□	◇	△

HABITATION TYPES

342

I. Upright house with rectangular base, sometimes oval, three to four meters wide by five to seven long and three to four high, without walls, and covered with a roof of straw or palms with two sloping sides, open at one or two ends and which protects from rain. It is built on the hard ground of high banks which the floods of the rainy season do not reach.

II. 1 a. Small low hut, hemispherical (a man cannot stand erect in it), without walls, and covered with a palm roof which protects from rain. It stands on the soft, sandy ground of dunes and high shores out of reach of floods.

II. 1 b. Small low hut (a man cannot stand up in it) with an oblong base, without walls, and covered with a roof of palms with two slopes which protects against rain. It stands on the soft, sandy soil of dunes and high shores out of reach of floods.

II. 2 a. Same type as II 1 a but standing on the lower shores freed by a drop in the water level.

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Table II

Habitation Types by Community and according to the Months of the Year

No. of the Community	Rainy Season						Dry Season					
	June	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May
1	☆	☆	★	☆	☆							
2	★ ●	★ ●	☆ ●	☆ ●	■	□	□	■	□	□	□	□
3	●	○	○	●	○							
4	☆ ○	☆ ●	☆ ○	★ ●	☆ ○							
5	○	○	○	●	● ■	● ■	■	■	□	□	□	□
6	○	●	○	●	● ▲	● ▲	▲	▲	△	△	△	△
7	○	○	○	○	● ■ ▲	● ■ ▲	● ■ ▲	● ■ ▲	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △
8	☆	★	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
9	☆	☆	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
10	☆ D	☆ ◗	☆ D	★ ◗	☆ ◗							
11	☆	☆	☆	★ ■	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
12	☆	☆	☆	★	☆	△	△	△	▲	△	△	△
13	☆	☆	☆	★	☆							
14	☆	☆	☆	★	☆							
15	☆	★	☆	☆	☆	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◆ ▲	◆ ▲	◆ ▲
16	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◆ ▲	◆ ▲	◇ △
17	☆	☆	☆	★	◆	◇	◇	◇	◇	◇	◆	◇
18	☆	☆	☆	★	☆							
19	☆	☆	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□

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No. of the Comm.	Rainy Season					Dry Season						
	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May
20	☆	☆	☆	☆	★							
21	☆	☆	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
22	☆	☆	☆	☆	★							
23	○	○	○	●	■	□	□	□	[illegible]	□	□	□
24	☆	★	☆	☆	☆							
25	☆	★	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	★	☆
26	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	★ ■ ▲	☆ □ △
27	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	△	△	△	△	△	▲	△
28	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	★	☆
29	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	■ ▲	□ △
30	☆ ○	☆ ○	☆ ○	☆ ○	☆ ○	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	■ ▲	□ △

HABITATION TYPE	I	II, a	II, b	II, a	II, b	III
Type observed occupied (Table I)	★	●	◗	■	◆	▲
Type presumed resulting from the extension of the type observed occupied	☆	○	◗	□	◇	△

Corrections: Put all the white signs of the table and its legend in grey.

Community No. 1 -- Replace all the signs for Type 1 (stars) by the signs for Type II 1 a (circles).

The extension was made in the following manner:

A type observed during the months of the rainy season (June to September) was extended to all the months of this season and for that which follows it (October), that is, for half of the transition period, rainy season-dry season.

132
342
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/115 cont./

341 A type observed during the months of the dry season
361 (December to April) was extended to all the months of this season as well as that which precedes it (November) and that which follows it (May), that is, for half of the transition period rainy season-dry season, and all of the transition period, dry season-rainy season. The intermediate type is actually not reconstructed during this period as the Yaruro reinstate their winter huts immediately after the first serious downpours.

When a type has been observed only during the months of the transition period the months of the rainy season if it was a winter type, i.e., I and II 1 a or b (communities 7, 20, and 22) and for all those of the dry season if it was an aestival type II 2 a or b and III (communities 8, 9, 11, 19, 21 and 23).

In communities 16, 27, 29, and 30, the rainy season type was only observed occupied during the dry season.

/116 cont./

342 The third type (III) is a shelter of the same height as the preceding hut; sometimes it is only one of the type II huts covered over with some palms; it is composed of leafy branches designed for protection against the sun's rays, and it stands on low sandy shores which are no longer covered by water.

342 The first type (I) and the second built on a sand dune or a
361 shore out of reach of floods (II 1 a or b) are those which the Yaruro use in the rainy season, when the rivers overflow their beds and flood the savanna.

As soon as the water level begins to drop, these winter quarters are abandoned for the huts of the second type, but built on low shores (II 2 a or b), the roof of which protects them from the rain that still persists. At the height of the dry season, when the latter ceases to fall and only protection against the sun is necessary, they use the third type (III) which they install, approaching nearer to the water, on the sand which the dropping level of the river has newly freed.

With the return of the first rains they follow this same process in reverse, but skipping the transitional type, that is, directly reinstating their winter habitations.

[648] The most widespread winter habitation is type I. In winter, type II is only found in exceptional cases; it is present in nine communities (of which three also have type I) out of 30 when type I is temporarily nonexistent or unusable: destroyed and not reconstructed (its construction /117/ requiring time and manual labor and the adult men often being absorbed in the quest for daily food) or placed under an interdict by the Venezuelan peasants, as in the case of the communities of the lower Capanaparo where the Yaruro, accused of having stolen livestock, were driven from their winter habitations on the banks and forced to install themselves outside the domain of the Llaneros, i.e., on the sand dunes which border the river.

Concerning type II built during the transition period, it may sometimes be kept throughout the entire dry season (communities 2, 5, 7, 15, 16, 26, 29 and 30). As for type I, it

/117 cont./

342 361 may also be used, but rarely, throughout the year (communities 25, 26, and 28).

The type I house is a house that lasts for several years, whereas the small huts (II) and the shelters of boughs (III), either dismantled by the wind or carried off by the rising water in each new rainy season, must almost always be reconstructed the following year.

The winter habitations of a community are always grouped (the dispersion of those of communities 4 and 10 is provisional), whereas the huts and camping shelters of the seasonal changes and of the dry season are sometimes dispersed (one, two, or three huts) on shores located around the winter village.

[396 464] In addition, if the Yaruro spend the entire rainy season in the same place and lead a sedentary life at this time, during the dry season and even during the transition period between the two seasons, they move their encampments from one place to another on the same shore or from one shore to another, with the intention of either drawing nearer to water or of reinstalling themselves on sand which is clean and not encumbered with refuse, or in order to be closer to a hunting, fishing, or work place (construction of a monosylic canoe or employment on a Venezuelan farm at dry season jobs).

Let us add in conclusion that on the Capanaparo, between the Orinoco and the Riecito, all the permanent winter habitations with one or two exceptions are located, or were, in the case of the lower Capanaparo, on the southern bank. The cause of this situation seems to be the configuration of the terrain: the southern bank at this place is in general more elevated than the northern bank and hence better shielded from floods.

5:Le Besnerais--15 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19 Venezuela 552

/119 cont./

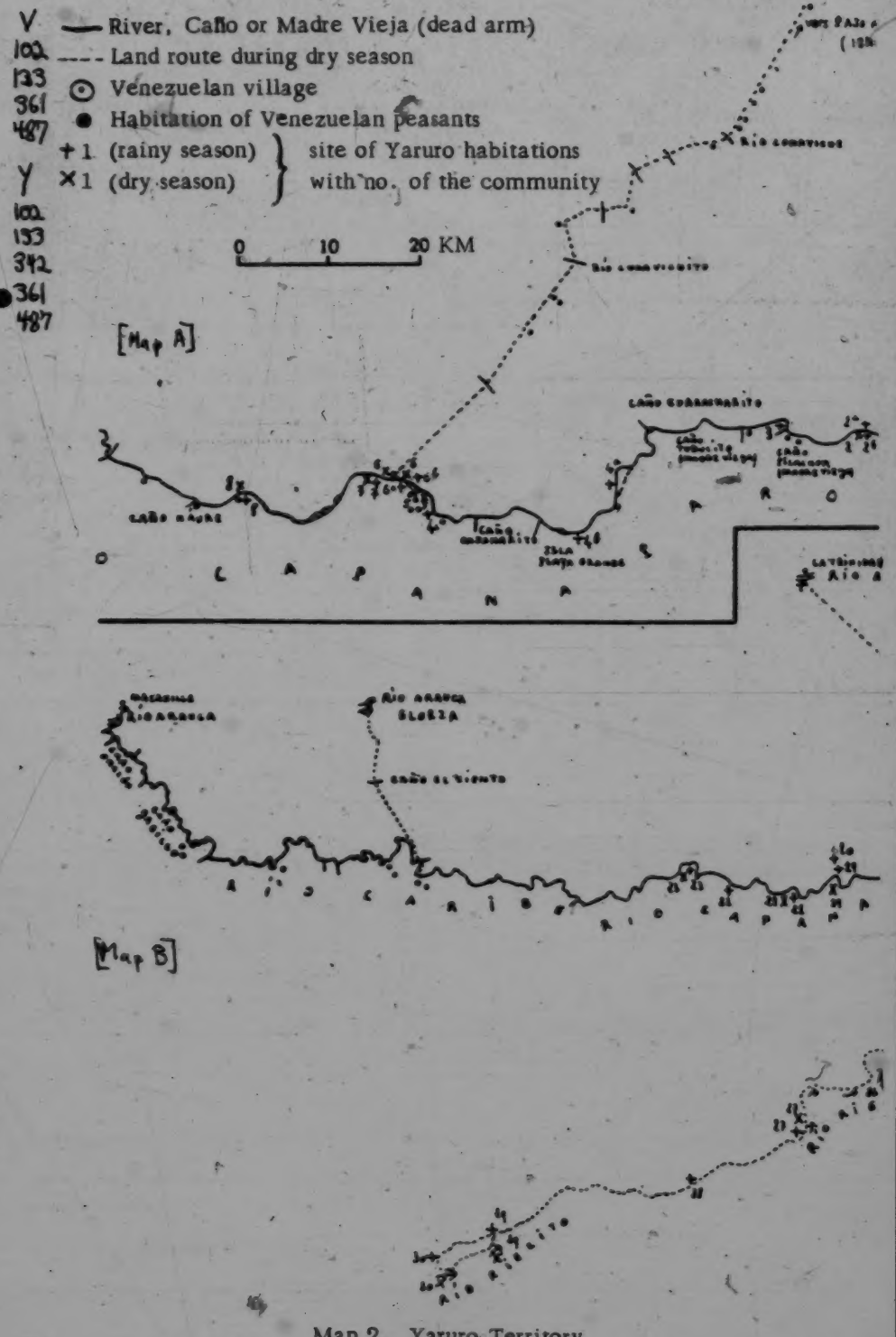
TABLE V

DENSITY

TERRITORY			YARURO		VENEZUELAN PEASANTS				
					Farms				
Sections	Nos. of the Communities	Kms.	Population	Density per 10 kms.	South bank	North bank	Total	Population 8 per Farm	Density per 10 kms.
Orinoco to Madre Vieja Basiliero	1 to 10	220	220	10.0	29	8	37	296	13.5
Madre Vieja Basiliero to Riecito	11 to 15	40	83	20.5	0	8	8	64	16.0
Riecito to Caribe	16 to 23	55	134	24.5	0	0	0	0	0
Riecito	24 to 30	89	82	9.0	0	0	0	0	0
Whole Territory	Totals and averages	404	519	13.0	29	16	45	360	14.0 (a)

(a) On 260 kms.

5:Le Besnerais--19 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Venezuela SS1



Map 2. Yaruro Territory

5:Le Besnerais--20 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Venezuela SS1

V
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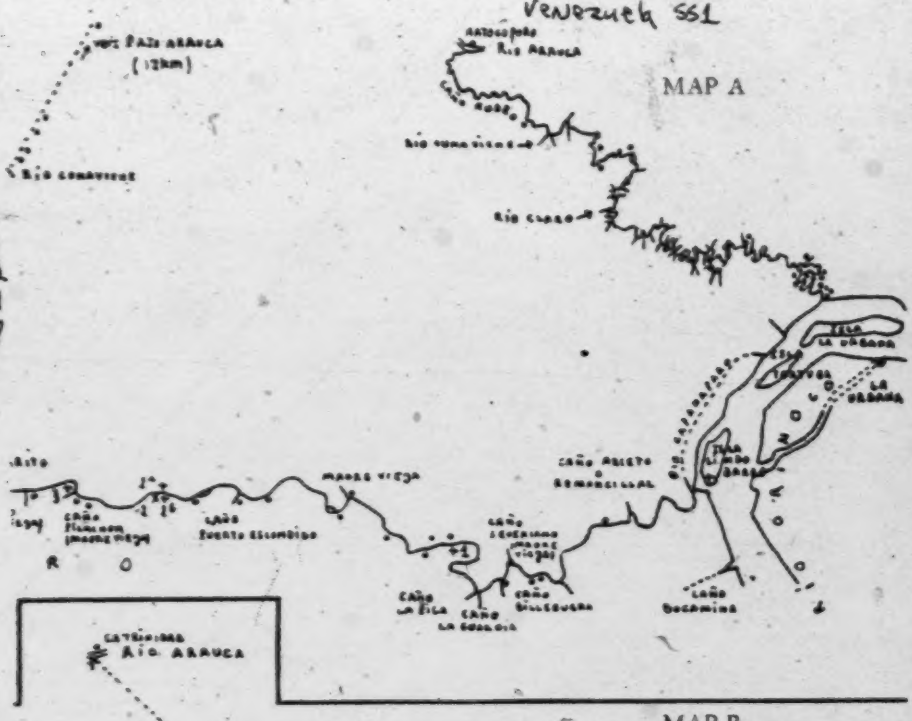

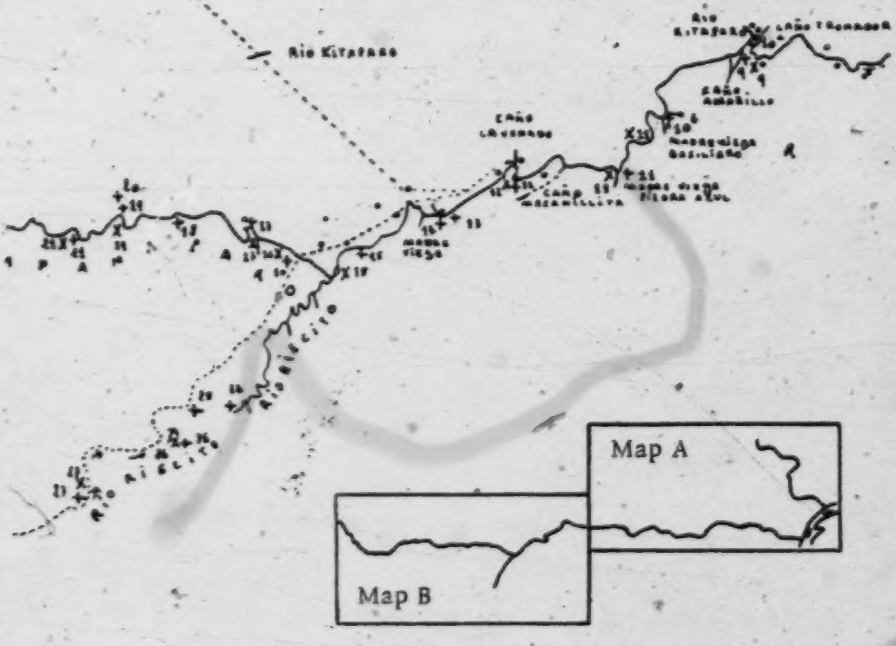

Author's correction: In MAP B, the first Yaruro community on the Capanaparo after the mouth of the Riecito should be 16 instead of 10.

/14 cont./

O 115 361 In 1949 Catalina still had three brothers, Ramón, Pablo, and Nicolas, and a sister, Guadalupe. The first brother was living on the island of Fraile in the Orinoco--his existence had been confirmed for us by a trader of the Orinoco--and the two others in San Fernando in Apure, where they were employed in the firm, Casa Hermanos Vivas. The sister was also living in San Fernando. All four had been born in Los Caballos, whereas Catalina, older than they, had first seen the light of day on the Orinoco at a time when, no doubt, the Otomaco were still living along the river. According to our informant, Pedro Ramón Camacho, in addition to these five survivors, an old Otomaco woman, also Racional like the others, was living at Lucero, a farm situated on the right bank of the Capanaparo, at the time of our investigations. Finally, according to another source, some Otomaco still existed at this same time in Colombia on the banks of the Meta.

Y 128 III. Complementary observations on the habitat of the Yaruro (28)

28. See "infra" IV List...36.

The observations made are reproduced on the two tables which follow. They are summarized for certain communities in the notes below:

Y No. of the community

342 361 2a This community No. 2 is initially located (No. 2a) on a dune of sand and earth swept by wind and relatively little assailed by mosquitoes. It has five habitations of type II 1a. The chief's habitation is to the west; the others are spread out along the same line toward the southeast. The shaman's habitation is the one in the middle. The fourth from that of the chief of the community appears to be reserved, according to the latter, for children and for passing guests.

Y [485]

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I. STATEMENT OF COMPLEMENTARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE COMMUNITIES OF THE YARURO (29)

29. For date of observations, location of communities on the Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, and description of habitation types, see "infra" IV List ...36.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30)					Remarks on Sites
			30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...38.					
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III
On the Capanaparo River:								
1	Carlos José Delgado, then, after his death, his wife Severiana.	Santa Ana		2				According to Vicenzo Petrullo's (31) investi- 31. See "infra" IV List...68. gations, the community was called Las Mercedes and was located near the Venezuelan farm of the same name.
2	José Ladema	a) Lagunota abandoned for:		5				Same community as Petrullo's Lagunota (31). 31. See "infra" IV List...68.
	or Juan Esteban Bellac (in the absence of the former)	b) Potrerito	x (32)	x		x		which was situated beside the Venezuelan farm of Piedra Azul.
		32. "X" indicates unenumerated habitations.						
3	Adón Matute	Potrero Grande		4 to 6				The summer encampment located on a shore and not observed is called San Luis.

6:Le Besnerais--13a E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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361
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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30)						Remarks on Sites
			30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
		3 sites occupied simultaneously:							
		a) Guacharaca		2					
4	Marcelio Castillo	b) Agua Linda	2						
		c) Médano Alto		1					At the time of the observations (29), the site
									29. /See footnote 29 above./
									had only one type II 1 a habitation, temporarily occupied by one ♂, 2 ♀, and 2 children who were to return to Guacharaca.
5	Ramón Beltrán	Médano Alto		5		5			
	Pedro Ramón Camacho (33)	a) Guamacho abandoned for:		3 to 4				x	
8	33. The underlined names are those of higher chiefs (in Spanish: capitán mayor) with greater authority than the other chiefs (in Spanish: capitán menor). This authority generally extends to the neighboring communities sometimes directed by a capitán menor and grouped together on this table by wavy lines.								
	His actual authority over Ramón Beltrán is contested.	b) (island opposite it)		3 to 4				x	The island was later abandoned for a site farther upstream.

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6:Le Besnerais--13c E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30)						Remarks on Sites
			30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
7	Ezequiel Padrón	Merecurito		x		x		x	
8	Ramón Jesús Caravajal (named by the Venezuelans) (34)	Magdalena							
	34. "Named by the Venezuelans" means that he was designated or confirmed as chief by a representative of the Venezuelan authorities.								
		or Caravajal	2			x			
9	Antonio Perasa (named by the Venezuelans and not recognized by the Yaruro)	San José and San Luis	3			x			The winter habitations are invisible from the bank. The summer encampment located on a shore is at San Luis.
10	José Carmen Garcillo	2 sites occupied simultaneously							
		a) Santa Rosa			1				
		b) Caño Amarillo	2						

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●361
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[312]

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "Infra" IV List...36.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
11	Andrés or Juan Pío (subordinate of Bernardino Agustín Lopez, surnamed Venado --see community no. 15)	Pozo El Robo (briefly occupied)	x			x			
		then simultaneously Vuelta Mala I and Vuelta Mala II	x			x			
12	Ruso Rumilio Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Chaparal or (Vuelta Mala) or (Barracas)	2					x	The type I habitations are located 400/800 m. from the bank.
13	Jacinto Lopez father of the preceding (named by the Venezuelans)	El Rosario	1						The community is located near a forest and a spring of clear water coming from the savanna.
14	Jesús Arcaya	Manguito	1						
15	Bernardino Agustín Lopez surnamed Venado; also has authority over Andrés or Juan Pío (see comm. no. 11). (no doubt named by the Ven.)	El Caibote	2				1	1	The summer encampment is located on an island downstream from the mouth of the Riecito.

6:Le Besnerais--13d 'E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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6:Le Beaucerais--13e E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
16	Ramón Dias	El Ceibon	3				5	3	The type I habitations are located about 300 m. from the bank.
17	Castillo	La Gavinera	5				x		
18	Simón Pacheco	Mercurito	1						
19	Simón Pacheco	Argentina	3			x			
20	Billegas	Argentina	x						The habitations are located on the savanna far from the bank.
21	Billegas	Garici	1 to 2			x			
22	José Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Matacaballo	3						The habitations are far from the bank.
23	Eloy	Monos Zamuro (La Patilla)		x		x			

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
On the Riecito River:									
24	?	?	2						The habitations are located about 200 m. from the bank.
25	Cecilio (Cecilito)	Manguito	6 to 7						The habitations are located 1 km. 600 from the bank. They are surrounded by mango trees.
26	Felipe (Felipito)	?	2			1		1	
27	Jerónimo	?	x					x	The summer encampment is set up under some trees.
28	Gregorio	?	1						
29	José Blanco	?	2			3		1	
30	Luis	?	4	1		5		8	

6:Le Beslerais--13f E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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II. LIST OF YARURO COMMUNITIES NOT OBSERVED BUT MENTIONED BY OUR INFORMANTS (35)

35. For the approximate location of these communities see "infra" IV List...64.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
On the Arauca River:			
A	?	?	Opposite the Venezuelan farm La Trinidad
B	?	El Viento	On the upper Arauca
On the Caño del Agua:			
C	?	La Mata	
On the Caño del Medio:			
D	?	Palmarito	

6:Le Besnerais--13g E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
On the Cunaviche River:			
E	?	El Gavilán	A little upstream from the Venezuelan village Cunaviche. According to the inhabitants of community no. 1, these Indians are not the same as themselves.
F	?	El Burón	El Burón de Petrullo (31) 31. See "infra" IV List...52.
G	?	San Vicente	
H	?	Carolina	Near the Venezuelan village Guaracha
I	?	Fruta de Burro	Upstream from the Venezuelan village Guaracha

6:Le Besnerais--13h E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
J	?	Camaguán	id.
On the Caño San Felipe:			
K	?	?	
On the Isla Lindo Barro and at the Boca del Capanaparo:			
L	?	?	
M	?	?	
N	?	?	
O	?	?	On Fraile Island

6:Le Besnerais--131 E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Between the Capanaparo and Cinaruco Rivers:			
P	?	?	One day downstream from R
Q	Joseito Menor	La Vigía	2 km. downstream from R
R	Olivet	El Gomal	One league (5 km.) from the Cinaruco and one day in summer or 1 1/2 days in winter--because the Casanarito, which is deep, must be crossed with a raft--from community no. 7, the spot on the Capanaparo which is closest to it.
S	?	?	Near R
T	?	?	

6:Le Besnerais--13j E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
U	?	Lagunota	Traversed by Raymond Fiasson (36) in 36. See "infra" IV List...21 and 22. Nov./Dec. 1946. At sources of the Náure.
V	?	?	On the Caño Amarillo
W	Alfonso (reputed a thief)	Ceiba	At sources of the Macanillita
Between the Capanaparo and Riecito Rivers:			
X	Nicolás	?	On the right bank of the Capanaparo between communities No. 22 and 23.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Y	Padrón (reputed a thief)	?	At the sources of the Caño Perro de Agua.
Z	?	Moriche	Near a lagoon and not far from community no. 28.
Between the Riecito and Cinaruco Rivers:			
AA	Pablo and José Losa Cardona (other name cited: Leyi)	Reicero	On a dune located at the sources of the Cinarucquito, the Cinaruco, or the Riecito, or near the Cinaruquito and 1/2 day's travel on foot from the right bank of the Riecito or one day by canoe (up to the Paso Reicero) from the Boca del Riecito.
AB	Nicolás	?	

6:Le Bésnerais--13 E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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103 341

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
AC	Basilio	?	On the Cinaruquito, to the South of the Venezuelan farm Sol y Sombra.
On the Cinaruco River:			
AD	Pablo Emilio	?	At the Paso Mina
AE	?	Santa Rosa	
AF	Julio	?	South of the Venezuelan farm Sol y Sombra
AG	José Lopez Paez	?	

6:Le Besnerais--13m E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
On the Meta River:			
AH	?	?	
AI	?	?	On the upper Meta
On the Tomo River:			
AJ	?	?	

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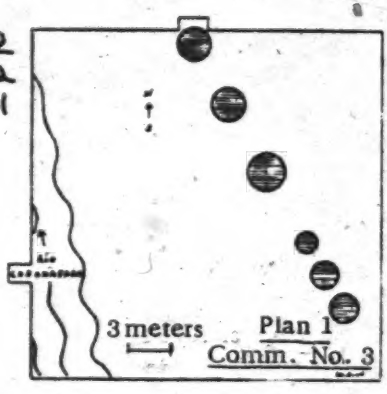
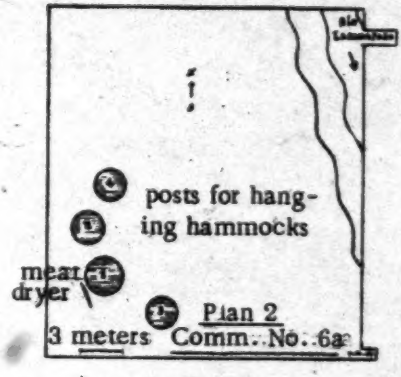
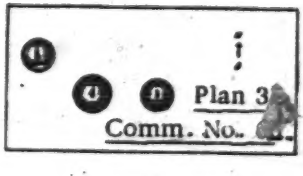
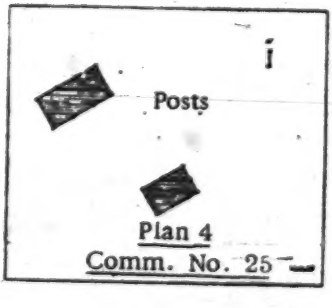
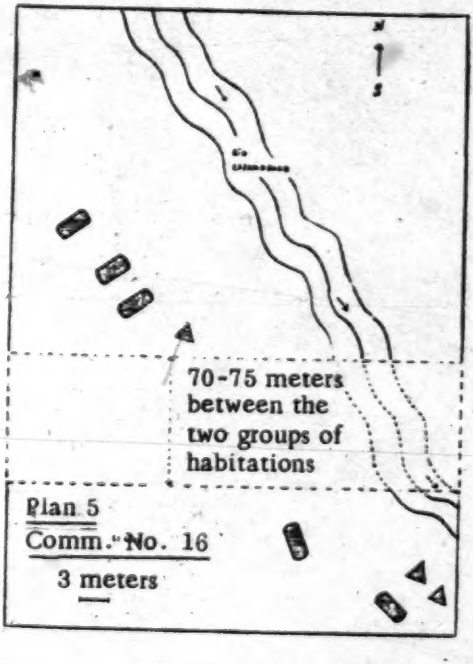

3 meters
Plan 1
Comm. No. 3


posts for hanging hammocks
meat dryer
Plan 2
3 meters
Comm. No. 6a


Plan 3
Comm. No.


Posts
Plan 4
Comm. No. 25


70-75 meters between the two groups of habitations
Plan 5
Comm. No. 16
3 meters

/15/

342
361

3 This one has six type II 1a habitations laid out, at the end of our observations, along the bank as plan No. 1 shows.[1] At the beginning of our observations the habitation of the chief -- and at the time shaman -- of the community was located to the side and approximately 100 meters to the east of the other habitations.

[578]
[631]

5 Community No. 5 formerly formed one and the same community, No. 7. It was created at the beginning of our observations by Ramón Beltran, who no longer wanted to accept the authority of Pedro Ramón Camacho, capitán mayor.

6a and b In each of its successive sites -- (a): a sand dune on the right bank of the Capanaparo about 30 meters from the water and (b): a sandy shore on the island facing it -- the community has no permanent shape except for three type II 1a habitations (plans No. 2 and 3). The fourth, shown on plan No. 2, was built by the inhabitants of community No. 8 for a temporary stay. Habitation No. I, for the chief and shaman of the community, is larger than the others.

8 This community has two large type I habitations, the base and roofing of which, however, are rectangular at one end and rounded at the other.

9 The three large type I habitations of this community are more comfortable in appearance than the normal, but their deficient height does not allow a man to stand up in it.

11 The chief of the community lives in Vuelta Mala 2.

[1] [see p. 130. -Analyst]

/15 cont./

342
361

12 The community has two large type I houses, the base and roofing of which, however, are rounded at the ends.

13 This community is, from its appearance, less comfortable than the others.

14 In this one also the large type I house has its base and roofing rounded at the ends.

/16/

15 The two type I habitations of the community located on the hard ground of the high, steep river banks are laid out as plan No. 4 indicates.

16 These eight type II 2b and III habitations are laid out as plan No. 5 indicates.

17 The type I habitations are too low to stand up in, even that of the chief of the community, although it is larger than the others.

23 The community has type II 1a and II 2a habitations. This latter type has a rectangular base here and an elevation, cut along its breadth, which is pointed in form.

26, 29, 30 The type I habitations of these three communities have oval bases.

113 IV. List of works and diverse documents relating to the study of the Yaruro and Otomaco.

This list does not take account of unpublished documents resulting from the author's investigations.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

1959), on the basis of later field research, he completely rejects his previous stand.

In 1949, after his earlier publications, Le Besnerais (cf. 1954) made a census of the entire Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, discovering among other things:

A) That most Yaruro settlements had dry season locations on or near the river, banks or on the sand bars in the river, and wet season locations back from the rivers on higher sand dunes,

B) that there were corresponding house types for each kind of location,

C) that a great many of these settlements appear to have had two divisions mainly in the wet season locations — often at considerable distances from each other, sometimes very close,

D) that near all winter locations and in all settlements along the entire length of the Riecito and Capanaparo rivers gardens existed with standard crops mentioned in my own work (1961 *a*, 1962),

E) and, by implication, that these garden plots are not readily visible from the river nor from dry season locations.

Fiasson (1947), speaking of a trip probably made in 1945, mentions gardens for the Yaruro in the Capanaparo-Meta area. The missionary, Raymond Kook, showed me pictures in 1958 of gardens on the upper Sinaruco. And, in the neighborhood of the mission station, near Guachara and along Caño del Medio and the Cunaviche River, all the Indians had horticulture. These Indians also reported gardens along the Arauca River. The linguist, Thomas P. Rootes, describes gardens along the Riecito and Sinaruco, and I have myself published in detail on Yaruro horticulture (1961 *a*).

In sum, present sources indicate horticulture for all Yaruro, going back at least to 1945 or 1946 and undoubtedly earlier — a period at maximum no more than twelve years after Petrullo's *dry-season* visit in 1934. It is hard to believe that the horticultural practice was diffused the length and breadth of Yaruro-land and integrated into a well-organized transhumance and even into the world view all in fifteen years. Nevertheless belief is not adequate proof. The only recourse is to try to resolve the problem by earlier evidence.

The second major difference between my findings and those of Petrullo relates to the asserted existence of matrilineal "clans", characterised, in localities, by a sib core of women and their children plus the locally inmarried husbands. Nowhere in Petrullo is proof given for the *unilineality* which is implied by the term clan, though the *matrifocality* seems genuinely confirmed by the genealogies reproduced. Matrifocality is not congruent with matrilineality, and, try as I might, I was not able to establish the latter. I am not ready to assert that matrilineality therefore does not, or did not, exist but I was quite unable to elicit any evidence for it.

A related aspect is, of course, exogamy. Petrullo claims that marriage can only occur reciprocally between the two clans, marriage *within* which would

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

516 The Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-
502 tom of the canoe on several cross sticks without any back rest or any foot rest on which to brace himself. To one not accustomed to such a position it is clumsy and painful, and easily fatiguing. The paddler's stroke is short, quick, and choppy, like that of many South American tribes in Brazil.

SHELTER

362 Yaruro shelter is the simplest thing in the world. Nothing simpler could be devised. Shunning the forest and camping only on the open beaches by the river, the shelter is devised for two purposes—to protect the family from the winds, the insects, the sun,
342 and in the rainy season from the rain. They make, therefore, a variety of shelters. The camp shelter for daytime in the dry season consists of branches thrust vertically into the sands. If there are any persons about camp during the day, which there are generally, they will sit in the shade of these branches, moving around them as the sun changes its position in the sky. At night they dig holes in the sand and lie in them, protecting themselves from the winds by a shelter of branches or basketry at the head. These shelters, however, must allow a certain amount of wind to come through in order to prevent the gathering of large swarms of insects. Sleeping in holes in the sand, they keep warm, since the dry winds make it quite
361 chilly at night. All of the Yaruro in the Capanaparo are too no-
364 madic to build better shelter than the types described, since they stay in one camp only a few days, generally two or three. They move about so much, both for the lack of game in the area and the refuse that accumulates around camp, even though the vultures can always be seen feasting upon the remains of crocodile and turtle. The Yaruro are aware that if they stay too close to such piles of refuse they may become infected.

101 However, the Yaruro living on Linda Bara, the islands at the
361 mouth of the Capanaparo, have such an abundance of food that they
342 make somewhat more permanent structures. This consists generally of a low hemispherical structure covered with palm leaves which reach to about 2 feet from the ground, leaving the interior open to the winds, but even these structures are abandoned in a few weeks because of the insect life. This is the type of structure that is employed during the rainy season when life becomes more sedentary.

POTTERY

317 At certain places along the banks of the Capanaparo the proper
323 clay is found for pottery. The type preferred is whitish in color. Generally a small quantity of yellowish red clay is mixed with it.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

572 the horizon. There is no chanting as in the villages of the Xingu, no whistling, no marching to the river for an early bath. There is no conversation, no motion. After a while a dog may sit up and watch the world as silently as his master. More and more of the recumbent figures sit up; some old man becomes busily engaged in making string; a woman gives suck to a baby; others rise, and, walking with heads
● [372] high, chests thrust forward, go toward the bushes, to reappear soon with armfuls of wood and quickly start fires with their laurelwood fire drills. Soon everyone is sitting up, and the cheesecloth tents disappear. A few women huddle around the fires.

It is only when the wind resumes its violent blowing that the camp is stirred into activity. The chilliness of the night is forgotten, reverential thoughts are discarded. The vulgar stomach, however, is re-
512 membered. Preparations are made to take care of its daily needs.
225 Bows and arrows are examined. A harpoon arrow for turtles and
462 crocodiles, a fish arrow, a gourd, and if the hunter possesses one, a knife, comprise the equipment. Then the men go to their canoes two by two, though a young boy may be taken along to make three. He too must learn to satisfy the daily craving of his inner machinery. The hunters paddle away upstream and disappear around the bend of the river.

512 The women prepare for their own voyages. Sometimes they ac-
222 company the men, sometimes they go alone in a canoe or go inland.
462 They carry baskets on their backs suspended from the forehead by a strap. Each woman carries a digging stick. Little girls accompany them, with their little baskets and their own digging sticks, in imitation of the grown-ups. Some women carry babies astride the hip,
291 feeding at the large full breasts. Naked but for a loin covering, with hair falling down their backs, they seem to fit the wild landscape. Some may wear a camisole, but that is only a thin veil, and their bodies are seen underneath. The loin covering is tied at the back, and, as they walk with chests thrown forward and high, resembles a huge tail rolled under the camisole. Their smooth-skinned ape appearance is graceful but amusing; the naked ones fit the picture better.

512 At camp are left only the old people and some young ones who
461 are too lazy to go out or have been hunting hard and need a rest. They are soon busy fixing bows and arrows, making string, carving ornaments, weaving basketry, taking care of very young children. There is very little talking and no fussing. They almost ignore each other. Those who stay at home will wait patiently for their dinner. They will watch the sun climb the heavens, and they will move from one side of the branches to the other to keep in the shade. Beaten by the wind which by noon blows a gale, bombarded by

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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BASKETRY.—The Yaruros make two types of baskets, a coarse kind which is used once or twice and then discarded, and finely woven pouches which are carried by the hunters. The coarse basketry is

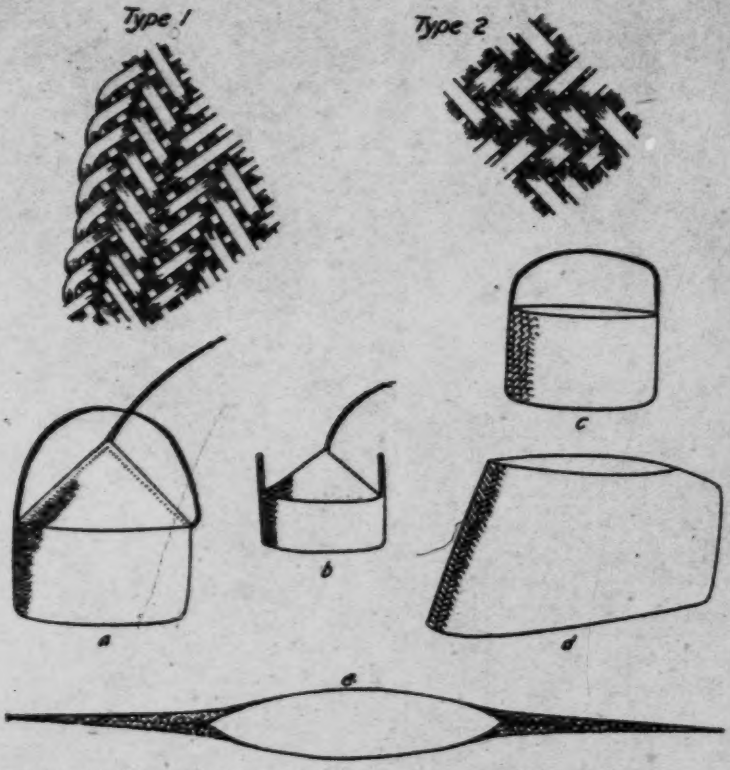

FIGURE 21.—Basketry. Type 1 and Type 2, weaves employed by the Yaruros. *a*, *b*, Pouches with flaps (Type 2 weave). *c*, *d*, Small baskets (Type 2 weave). *e*, Another type of basket used around camp (Type 2 weave generally). Only two weaves are employed by the Yaruros, both of which are shown (Type 1, Type 2). Baskets are used to carry food and to store objects. The coarser baskets, woven quickly and discarded after a few days, are woven as Type 1. The finer basketry, especially the pouches, are woven according to Type 2 technique.

often woven from one leaf. The finer type involves a more complex process. The outer cortex of the moriche leaves are stripped off and only the inner cortex, torn in narrow strips, is used. The techniques employed are fairly simple, as shown in figure 21.

● 372

FIRE STICKS.—The apparatus used for producing fire among the Yaruros is very simple, consisting of merely two sticks of laurel wood which is found in great abundance along the banks of the rivers. One stick is notched about the middle. This stick is placed on the ground and held in place with the foot, while the other stick, fitted into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the palms of the hands.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

372

1. Two laurel sticks are used by the Yaruros to make fire. The laurel is found in quantity along the banks of the Capanaparo River. Fire is produced in 30 seconds.

323

2. Pottery making is woman's work. Note the pins thrust through the lower lip of the potter. She is smoothing the pot before firing.

[End Plate 3]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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291

1. a, Fire sticks. Fire is produced by drilling one piece of laurel wood into a second. b, Fire fan. c, Horizontal piece is a hair rope worn around the waist by the women and the hairlike vertical piece is made from the moriche palm leaf and dyed red. The two pieces form the women's girdle.

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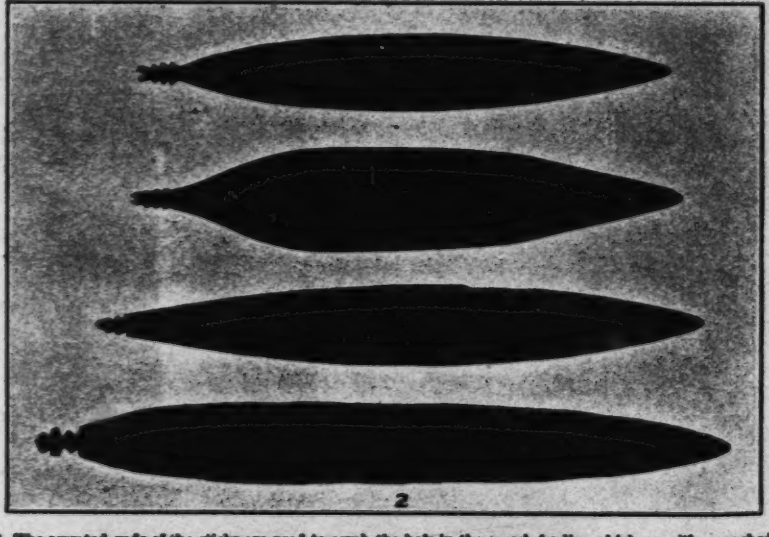

2. The serrated ends of the sticks are used to comb the hair in the search for lice which are either crushed between the fingers or between the teeth. The pointed ends are used to crush the blisters raised by various insects.

(End Plate 10)

/117 cont./

342 361 may also be used, but rarely, throughout the year (communities 25, 26, and 28).

The type I house is a house that lasts for several years, whereas the small huts (II) and the shelters of boughs (III), either dismantled by the wind or carried off by the rising water in each new rainy season, must almost always be reconstructed the following year.

The winter habitations of a community are always grouped (the dispersion of those of communities 4 and 10 is provisional), whereas the huts and camping shelters of the seasonal changes and of the dry season are sometimes dispersed (one, two, or three huts) on shores located around the winter village.

[396 464] In addition, if the Yaruro spend the entire rainy season in the same place and lead a sedentary life at this time, during the dry season and even during the transition period between the two seasons, they move their encampments from one place to another on the same shore or from one shore to another, with the intention of either drawing nearer to water or of reinstalling themselves on sand which is clean and not encumbered with refuse, or in order to be closer to a hunting, fishing, or work place (construction of a monosylic canoe or employment on a Venezuelan farm at dry season jobs).

Let us add in conclusion that on the Capanaparo, between the Orinoco and the Riecito, all the permanent winter habitations with one or two exceptions are located, or were, in the case of the lower Capanaparo, on the southern bank. The cause of this situation seems to be the configuration of the terrain: the southern bank at this place is in general more elevated than the northern bank and hence better shielded from floods.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

593 The sense of strict inviolability of personal rights carries over to personal services. Never did a husband order his wife to do anything outside of her proper domain. While I lived with them, in spite of the excellent care they gave me, even to the point of anticipating my wishes in a great many cases, never did a husband request his wife to prepare food for me. He asked her if she would, acting merely as my mes-
604 senger. No closer relationship can exist than between maternal uncle and nephew, yet even he does not feel free to ask any service of his nephew, nor to take the latter's personal property.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 Sexual dichotomy in economic activities is clearly defined. In a
562 general way, it may be said that the rougher, harder, and more dangerous work belongs in the province of male activity and that there is no task which calls for strength or danger that properly belongs in the realm of woman's activity. Should any woman be engaged in a hard or dangerous piece of work and a man happens to be present there is a tacit assumption of the task by the latter. Hunting and fishing and presumably the act of fighting in war are man's tasks. The gathering of roots, fruits, seed, and their preparation belongs to
[222] the women. It is interesting to note that the gathering of honey, which entails some risk, is done by the men. The making of canoes, the making of implements, of hammocks, the activities in making camp are all in man's domain. The preparation of food and the making of pottery and basketry are woman's tasks.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 Hunting and fishing are male occupations exclusively. As soon as
868 the young boy is able to toddle about he is made to play with bow
857 and arrow and learns to make these indispensable tools. It is a common sight to see little boys who are too young to be taken along by the men on hunting expeditions playing at the game of hunting; and when a man is in camp busily preparing his hunting equipment his young son is by his side working industriously on miniature bows and arrows.

225 The equipment of the hunter is simple. Bow, arrow, and canoe are
● 411 indispensable. A Yaruro does not like to roam on land, but there
501 is no need for him to do so since he can get his game in the watercourses or along their banks. So he sets off in the early morning, generally accompanied by his hunting companion, to look for crocodile (*Crocodilus babu*). He will hunt for other forms of life only reluctantly, having a special liking for crocodile meat.

Because of the shyness of crocodile the hunter is most often forced to shoot at it from a distance. Since an arrow will seldom kill one

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

of the beasts it is necessary to shoot it with a barbed arrow whose head becomes detached from the shaft but remains attached to the latter by a string. The babu will make for deep water and submerge, but the shaft will float on top, and the beast is drawn to the surface by its means, to be dispatched by another arrow or by a knife blow.

The technique for hunting turtles is similar but its execution is more difficult, due to the smaller size of the turtle. These generally can be seen floating on the water with their heads held erect above the surface.

Fishing is done mostly with bow and arrow. The hunter stands up on the prow of the canoe which is guided into the proper position by his companion paddling in the stern. When the hunter is almost over the fish he shoots his arrow some inches in front so as to allow for the deflection caused by the water.

Deer is seldom hunted since the Yaruro shun the land for fear that they may be accused of killing cattle. Unless the deer is caught on the river bank in the early morning or in the evening it is stalked. The hunter fixes his gaze on the deer and moves forward a few feet at a time, stopping stock still at the slightest sign of alarm on the part of the deer. In this way he can approach to within arrow range. This technique takes great patience and time. The hunter may camouflage himself by painting his torso white and pasting feathers on it. He wears a mask in imitation of the jivaro stork, which consists of a black head and beak and a red collar around the neck. He may use the beak of the jivaro or substitute his bow for it. Mimicking the motions of the jivaro, he approaches the deer. When he is close enough he waits for the deer to look up, when he transfixes it with an arrow. The arrow used is so heavy that it cannot be launched from afar.

In addition to these, the armadillo, the tortoise, and the chiguire are hunted. The hunter does not fail to gather turtle eggs, crocodile eggs, and honey as he roams along the river banks.

FOOD GATHERING

It is the task of the women to gather supplementary food. They organize their own expeditions. Armed with digging stick and baskets and accompanied by the children, they roam the plains, digging up the changuango, the barbaco, and the chigua.

MATERIAL CULTURE

In material culture the Yaruros are poverty stricken. Their nomadic existence limits their possessions to what they can carry with them in their canoes, which is very little. The whole range of objects made or possessed by the Yaruros consists of canoe, paddles,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

511 bow and arrows, digging sticks, baskets, small hammocks, a water jar or two, a mortar and pestle, several fishhooks, fire sticks, and scraps of clothing. As a rule, each family will possess the minimum of these objects.

501 [313] CANOES.—A typical Yaruro canoe measured about 18 feet long. Its longitudinal cross section was as shown in plate 16, *3*. It was made of the "salao" wood.

501 322

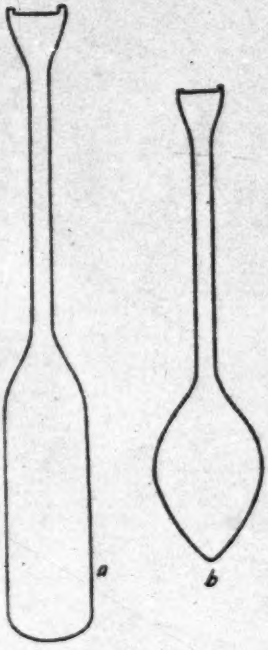

FIGURE 16.—Paddles. *a*, Type usually used by stern paddler. *b*, Generally used in the bow.

The only tools that the Yaruros have to fashion such a canoe are crude machetes, perhaps an ax, and fire. The canoes are never regular in outline and on the whole are rather crude. Both bow and stern end in a point and the bottom is round. These canoes are unstable, difficult to maneuver, and will split easily. No crosspieces are used to reinforce the canoe.

PADDLES.—Paddles are of two types, as shown in figure 16. The large paddles measure about 4 feet in length; the smaller paddles slightly over 3 feet. They are as crudely fashioned as the canoes and increase the difficulties of paddling.

411 [313] BOWS.—The bows are fashioned from macanilla or the mahaguillo wood. A large bow will measure about 6 feet, but most of them are closer to 5 feet. The inner surface of the bow is generally flat and the outer is curved. The greatest width on one such bow was about 1½ inches and its thickness less than 1 inch. When the string is relaxed these bows are perfectly straight. They are not reinforced unless they show signs of splitting. On the whole, these bows are inferior to those made by many other tribes in South America. The bow string is tied as shown in figure 17, *e*, *f*, *g*,[1] with three clove-hitch knots.

[284] 411 226 237 ARROWS.—The Yaruros, like most other South American primitives, have a variety of arrows, each type being designed for a specific purpose. A fish arrow consists of a reed shaft to which is attached a bone point with resin and string. Often the upper end of the bone point will protrude away from the shaft to form a small barb. Three feathers are used and fastened as shown in figure 18, *f*, *j*, *k*.[2] At the feathers' end of the arrow a notched piece of Brazil-wood is inserted.

A somewhat similar arrow with an iron point is made. In this case the point is inserted into a worked piece of wood which, in turn,

1 [See category 116, p. 205. --- Analyst]
2 [See category 116, p. 206. --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

411 226 237 is inserted into the reed shaft (fig. 19, *a*, *f*). The barb on the iron point is obviously more effective than on the bone point.

225 For crocodiles the arrow point is always of iron, barbed and detachable. Its length is considerably less than the other, measuring about 4 feet or less. A string about 30 feet long is attached to the point and wrapped tightly around the shaft. When the point strikes the animal the string becomes unwound and if the animal dives into the water the hunter can trace it by the shaft floating on the surface. He then proceeds to pull up the animal.

411 224 For deer and chiguire, land animals, a broad iron blade is used for the point, so heavy that one would suppose it would be a lance head. This is inserted into the shaft and at the point of insertion a crosspiece is fashioned to the shaft so that the point cannot penetrate more than 4 or 5 inches. The reason for this is that the Yaruro is afraid to lose his arrow should he fail to kill the animal and it were to run away. A barbless arrow will tend to fall out of the wound if the animal races away and then the hunter can recover it.

411 223 For birds, the bone-pointed arrows are used and sometimes a special arrow consisting of a shaft with a wooden knob. However, since birds are hunted so seldom there is very little use for special arrows.

411 326 412 The iron points are well made. Each man tries to possess himself of a stone and an iron hammer, but actually in the entire group that I saw, there were only two stones and one hammer. Iron is hard to obtain, and any scrap which comes into their possession is employed either as a knife or an arrow point. The iron is shaped both by hammering and by filing. I saw only one file in the group. At best, it must cause them a great deal of labor to fashion any of these points.

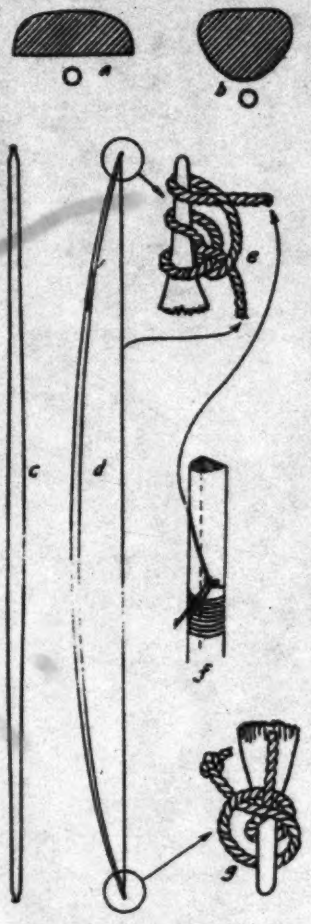

FIGURE 17. — Yaruro bows. *a*, *b*. Cross sections of bows. Circles represent original shape of wood, measuring about 7 cm before it is cut down to shape "*a*" and "*b*." *c*, *d*. Yaruro bow. One specimen measured 195 cm in length, 3.2 cm wide in cross section, 2 cm in thickness. *e*, *f*, *g*. Detail of knots on bow string.

1 [see category 116, 207 --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Perhaps that is one reason why no man had in his possession more than three or four arrows—for the most part he had only one of the iron tip kind.

FISHHOOKS.—Most of the fishing is done with bow and arrow, but hooks are known to the Yaruros, and when they are able to obtain string fine string they employ these hooks. Hooks are not only em-

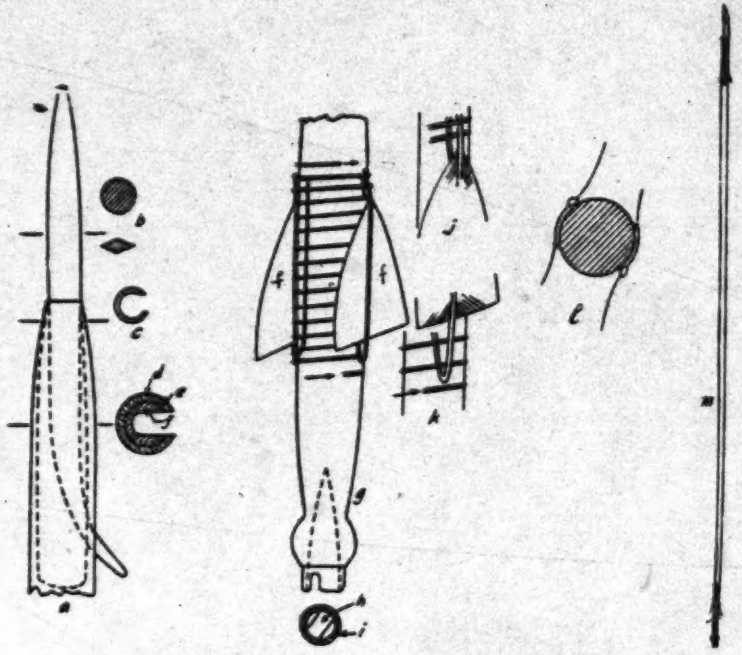

FIGURE 18.—*a*, Bone or iron point attached to shaft. *b*, Cross sections of points; round cross section is of the bone point; diamond-shaped cross section is of the iron point. *c*, Cross section of wax and twine binding. *d*, Cross section of reed shaft. *e*, Cross section of brazil wood to which point is actually fastened. *f*, Feathers. *g*, Butt end of arrow. *h*, Wooden plug nock. *i*, Reed shaft. *j*, *k*, *l*, Method of fastening feather to the arrow. *m*, Fish arrow.

ployed for fish, but even for the chiguire, and sometimes for the crocodiles. The simplest kind is that shown in figure 20, *c*, which may consist of bone or wood. It measures about 6 inches in length. A stronger point of iron or hard wood is used for the manatee. This type is shown in figure 20, *d*. For crocodiles, generally a hard stick sharpened at both ends and baited with a large piece of meat is used. The crocodiles will swallow the stick and, if it is attached to a thick wire, it makes an excellent means of capturing these beasts.

DIGGING STICKS.—Next to the bows and arrows, the most important implement of the Yaruro is the digging stick, which will consist of a wooden handle from 3 to 4 feet long slipped into the handle of an

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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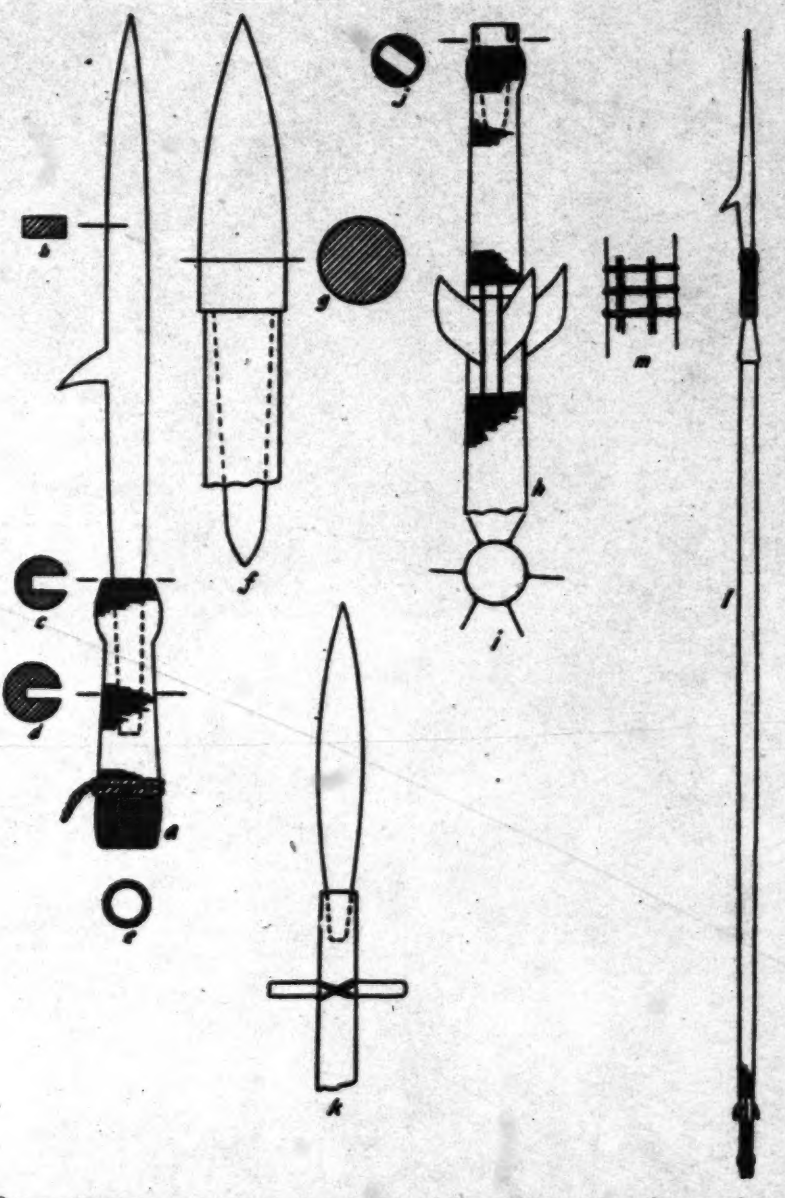

FIGURE 19.—a, Arrow point. b, Cross section of iron point. c, d, e, Cross sections. f, Details of point and wooden plug which is thrust into the reed shaft. g, Cross section. h, Method of fastening feathers to shaft. i, j, m, Details of h. k, Deer arrow, showing crosspiece. l, Harpoon type of arrow.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. Yaruro bowman. The arrow is held to the string between the forefinger and thumb. The middle and fourth finger help pull the string back. *2.* Crocodile meat is a staple food. The legs and tail have been cut off to make carrying easier. *3.* Yaruros of Laguneta wearing parts of author's towels for breechcloats.

[End Plate 2]

222 the moriche palm (*Maxritia flexuosa*); several seeds, notably chiga (= chigo?; — *Campsiandra comosa*); calabashes (*Crescentia Cujete*), and bees' wax and honey. Non of the items gathered are large in size or difficult of access except the bees' wax, one or two of the fruits, and calabashes which grow on higher trees, or may be very far. Gathered foods may be picked up by hand or with the aid of a digging [412] stick or machete, and may be brought back in the harvesting baskets. Other items [415] which may be gathered include the raw materials for baskets and mat-making or 824 for food-processing tools such as the tipití, pots, or mortars and pestels. These [285] items include the fronds of the moriche palm, used for making cord, baskets, tipi- [323] tis, mats, and sacks; in some villages, clay for pots; reeds for arrows, wood for house beams, mortars and pestles, bows, and for cooking utensils. Wood, palm fronds, and many other items are gathered with the help of the all-purpose machete.

231 Pig herding is unsystematically done. The pigs, a recent acquisition, spend most of their time at will in the foraging grounds. The significant herding activity occurs only at times when one or another of the groups of pigs breaks into the gardens, an almost daily occurrence. They are then driven to the foraging grounds again, or if late in the day, into a close till morning when they are either driven forth again or allowed to scavenge in the village. There are several herds of pigs of sizes varying from perhaps a maximum of 20 including piglets to the more usual six or eight animals. The only tools used in pig care include a slaughtering [412] stick with which the pig is clubbed to death and knives to cut up the meat. The [262] close is built of logs cut with a machete and carried in by one or two men. Pig meat, though eaten with regularity, is definitely a secondary element of diet.

411 Hunting is done almost exclusively with the bow and arrow. There are several types of arrows. One for fish has a metal point approximately 4 inches long with a side hook about five inches from the tip, where the tip is set into the shaft. This may also be used for smaller animals. One for birds has a blunt wooden head, and does not appear to be used very often. A third type is used for larger animals such as deer and capybara. It has a blade about 6 inches long shaped like a laurel leaf and, at present, made of steel. At the base of the blade, a small cross-piece is affixed in order to prevent the precious blade from piercing so deeply into the animal that, if it escapes, it would carry the arrow away with it. The fourth type of arrow is used for turtles, tortoises, and alligators or other animals which submerge. The head is short and strong with a sharp recurved hook. The entire metal head is attached to a cord, and this in turn is attached to the arrow shaft, from which the head is detachable. On detaching, the shaft floats and the game can be followed in its underwater course. The bow is generally about 6 feet long or a little more. It is made rather crudely of the wood of the macanilla palm (*Bactris Gasipaes*). Some animals, especially land tortoises and armadillos, may be caught [136] by hand. Alligators may also be hunted with exceedingly heavy steel hooks and [224] a strong line. In hunting, no traps, nets, surrounds, or drives are used.

226 Fishing is done chiefly with bows and arrows, though an arrow may sometimes be used as a spear, repeatedly jabbed into grassy waters near the river banks. Fishing may also be done with hooks and lines of different sizes. Bait is also used. A man may fish from a platform built by lashing logs horizontally to two trees

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

411 226 237 is inserted into the reed shaft (fig. 19, *a*, *f*). The barb on the iron point is obviously more effective than on the bone point.

225 For crocodiles the arrow point is always of iron, barbed and detachable. Its length is considerably less than the other, measuring about 4 feet or less. A string about 30 feet long is attached to the point and wrapped tightly around the shaft. When the point strikes the animal the string becomes unwound and if the animal dives into the water the hunter can trace it by the shaft floating on the surface. He then proceeds to pull up the animal.

411 224 For deer and chiguire, land animals, a broad iron blade is used for the point, so heavy that one would suppose it would be a lance head. This is inserted into the shaft and at the point of insertion a crosspiece is fashioned to the shaft so that the point cannot penetrate more than 4 or 5 inches. The reason for this is that the Yaruro is afraid to lose his arrow should he fail to kill the animal and it were to run away. A barbless arrow will tend to fall out of the wound if the animal races away and then the hunter can recover it.

411 223 For birds, the bone-pointed arrows are used and sometimes a special arrow consisting of a shaft with a wooden knob. However, since birds are hunted so seldom there is very little use for special arrows.

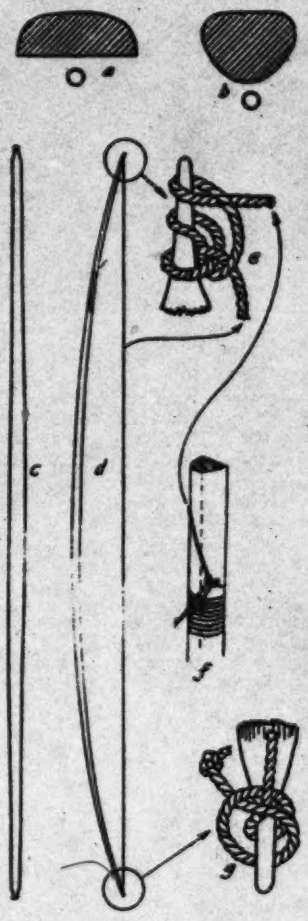


FIGURE 17. — Yaruro bows. *a*, *b*, Cross sections of bows. Circles represent original shape of wood, measuring about 7 cm before it is cut down to shape "*a*" and "*b*." *c*, *d*, Yaruro bow. One specimen measured 195 cm in length, 3.2 cm wide in cross section, 2 cm in thickness. *e*, *f*, *g*, Detail of knots on bow string.

411 326 412 The iron points are well made. Each man tries to possess himself of a stone and an iron hammer, but actually in the entire group that I saw, there were only two stones and one hammer. Iron is hard to obtain, and any scrap which comes into their possession is employed either as a knife or an arrow point. The iron is shaped both by hammering and by filing. I saw only one file in the group. At best, it must cause them a great deal of labor to fashion any of these points.

2 [see category 116, 207 --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Perhaps that is one reason why no man had in his possession more than three or four arrows—for the most part he had only one of the iron tip kind.

FISHHOOKS.—Most of the fishing is done with bow and arrow, but hooks are known to the Yaruros, and when they are able to obtain strong fine string they employ these hooks. Hooks are not only em-

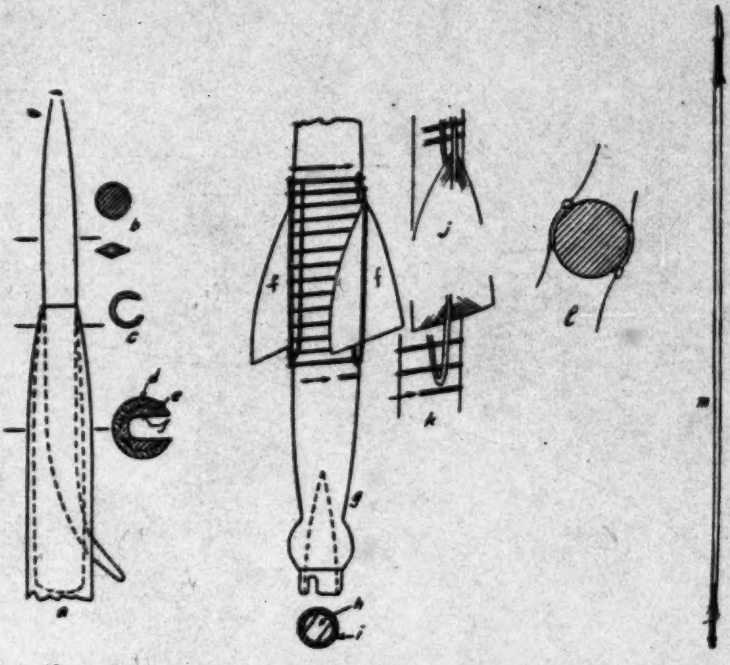


FIGURE 18.—*a*, Bone or iron point attached to shaft. *b*, Cross sections of points; round cross section is of the bone point; diamond-shaped cross section is of the iron point. *c*, Cross section of wax and twine binding. *d*, Cross section of reed shaft. *e*, Cross section of brazil wood to which point is actually fastened. *f*, Feathers. *g*, Butt end of arrow. *h*, Wooden plug nock. *i*, Reed shaft. *j*, *k*, *l*, Method of fastening feather to the arrow. *m*, Fish arrow.

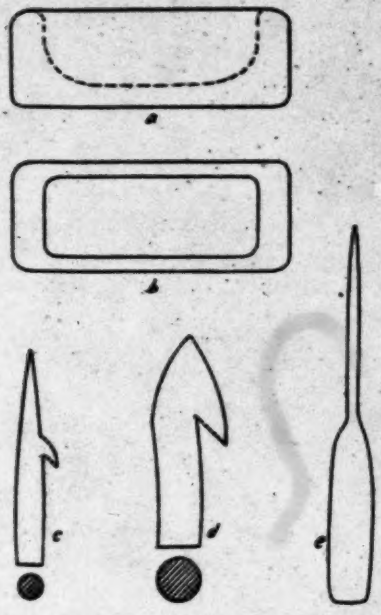
ployed for fish, but even for the chiguire, and sometimes for the crocodiles. The simplest kind is that shown in figure 20, *c*, which may consist of bone or wood. It measures about 6 inches in length. A stronger point of iron or hard wood is used for the manatee. This type is shown in figure 20, *d*. For crocodiles, generally a hard stick sharpened at both ends and baited with a large piece of meat is used. The crocodiles will swallow the stick and, if it is attached to a thick wire, it makes an excellent means of capturing these beasts.

DIGGING STICKS.—Next to the bows and arrows, the most important implement of the Yaruro is the digging stick, which will consist of a wooden handle from 3 to 4 feet long slipped into the handle of an

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

412 322 [437] iron hoe, which is also made by the Yaruro out of any heavy scrap of iron that they may gather. Sometimes they will work for the ranchers and with their earnings purchase this type of hoe from a trader. However, such a digging tool is quite a luxury and sharpened sticks are more common.

[252] [222] 415 322 MORTARS AND PESTLES.—During the rainy season, the Yaruros gather chigua, a seed, which they dry and pound into flour. Mortars of wood shaped as shown in figure 20, *a*, *b*, are used and the pestle is any ordinary hard stick.



513 854 COOKING LADLES.—These are small wooden paddles used in cooking, especially when meat is boiling in a pot (fig. 20, *e*).

HAMMOCKS.—The Yaruros prefer to sleep on the sands, especially during the dry season. The men make hammocks, however, small ones generally used by children as cradles, and by the women shamans when they sing, during the day. During the rainy season they may employ them for sleeping.

[137] 286 462 FIGURE 20.—*a*, *b*, Wooden mortar. *c*, Bone or iron point used for hunting chiguire. *d*, Hook used for manatee. *e*, Cooking paddle.

The fiber employed to make the hammock string comes from the moriche leaf. The string may be very fine, of course, depending on the interest of the maker. It is made by the men. To weave the hammock a loom is made of two poles thrust into the sand to which are fastened two crosspieces at both the top and bottom. The string is then wound around these crosspieces. The weaver employs a knotter's netting technique. When the entire hammock has been woven the weaving is held in place by another string thrust through one of the woven rows.

[137] 283 ROPE.—The fiber mostly employed by the Yaruros is taken from the leaf of the moriche and the macanilla. The inner cortex of the leaf is stripped off and dried and then is taken apart strand by strand. These long fibers are then moistened and twisted together in two's and three's into a string by rolling them on the thigh with the palm of the hand. A stronger string is made in the same way and used for making hammocks. The bow strings are made from the fiber of the macanilla.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

291 177 after I had been among the Yaruros for a time the women often discarded their camisoles, even though I were present.

291 286 462 The men would normally wear a breechclout which originally was woven by the women from the fibers of the moriche palm leaf, but now it consists of a piece of cloth. Formerly the women wove wide belts of the same fiber for the men, but this is no longer done. The breechclout is held in place by a string tied around the waist.

291 287 The women, underneath their camisoles, still wear the old-fashioned Yaruro girdle, which is made from the fibers of the moriche palm. The fibers, which are about 2 feet long, are fastened together at one end. This end is slipped through a hair rope tied around the waist, and the whole mass of fibers passes between their legs and under the waist string. Plate 25, 4, shows a Yaruro woman wearing one of these girdles. It is fastened in such a way that an enormous knot is formed in the rear, and when wearing their camisole the women have the appearance of sporting large tails.

562 291 301 The women on the whole seem to be more conservative than the men in their clothing and body decorations. Below the knees and around the ankles they wear a thin string, and often they have necklaces of carved asabache figures, which are shown in plate 21.

DELOUSING TOOL

412 515 462 302 An implement that is in great vogue is the delousing tool shown in plate 20, 2. The serrated end is used as a comb to expose the lice, which are seized between the fingers and crushed between the teeth. The pointed end is employed to crush blisters raised on the body by mosquito bites. These tools, also fashioned by the men, are used exclusively by the women to groom their menfolk and each other.

CARRYING NETS

482 286 854 Carrying nets, of the knotless variety, are woven and used to carry children and food. When carrying children the net is slung across the chest from one shoulder; when carrying food it is supported by the head.

COOKING

252 462 The culinary art among the Yaruro is poorly developed. Much of the fruit and the eggs are eaten raw. Fish is eaten half raw and the meat of the crocodiles and turtles is merely warmed over the fire. Sometimes the meat is boiled. In the afternoon the women who have gathered firewood are to be found in camp waiting patiently for the men. On the hot coals they will have eggs and changuango. If the hunt is successful, and no hunt is considered

1 [see category 116, and plate 15, - - - Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. a. Fire sticks. Fire is produced by drilling one piece of laurel wood into a second. b, Fire fan. c, Horizontal piece is a hair rope worn around the waist by the women and the hairlike vertical piece is made from the moriche palm leaf and dyed red. The two pieces form the women's girdle.

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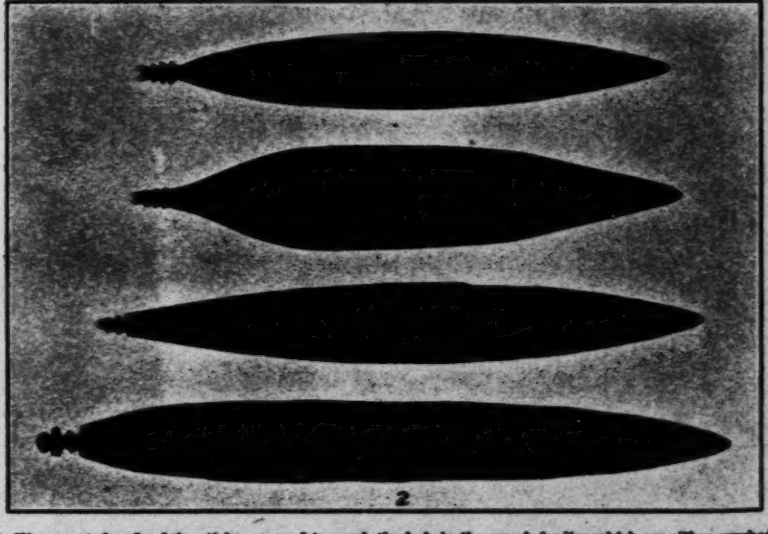

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2. The serrated ends of the sticks are used to comb the hair in the search for lice which are either crushed between the fingers or between the teeth. The pointed ends are used to crush the blisters raised by various insects.

[End Plate 10]

represent his people to the outside world without consultation and to make arbitrary decisions for them inside the community — mainly in his own interest — was, with the consent of the community, assassinated by one of the members, now in excellent standing in that community as a respected shaman. The chief in question had stepped beyond the bounds designated for his status. In sum, the position of chief, even though formally recognized by Yaruro society and reinforced by formal recognition and appointment by Venezuelan authorities, is feeble as an institution and as a status.[6] It is our hypothesis that ecological conditions of Yaruro life determine the form of the chieftainship in such a way that its stronger institutionalization would be impossible, and we turn to this question now.

III

Yaruro subsistence activities[7] comprise swiddening, gathering, pig herding, hunting and fishing, mentioned in the order of their importance as contributors to the total food supply as measured in calories.[8] Horticulture probably provides 60—70% of the total annual food supply. The horticulture practiced is characteristic of tropical forest slash-and-burn gardens, with a slow rotation of plots in order to permit soil renewal and weed control. Trees are cut, at present with steel axes and formerly, apparently, with axes of bone or shell, and then burnt. Occasional fences are roughly made of the logs to keep out pigs. Bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*),[9] in several varieties, is the main crop, though sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*), also in several varieties, is planted too, as are corn, bananas, sugar cane — each in several varieties — and a number of lesser crops such as melons, squashes, pumpkins, pineapples, sweet potatoes, and yautia or ocumo (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*). Crops are planted with a digging stick which may also be used in harvesting. Gardens are weeded, once only, early in the growth of the crops. Other than clearing, the only soil preparation is the construction of hills for planting bananas. This is done by burning hills made by a certain species of ants (*huachaquero*). The hills, which are quite wide and low, are filled with organic matter enriching the soil.[10] Harvesting is aided with baskets for carrying the crops. Baskets contain about half a bushel or less. No fertilization, no terracing, no drainage, no irrigation, no extensive turning of the soil is done.

The gathered resources include a number of roots, particularly changuango, changuanito, and guapo (*Marante arundinacea*);[11] varied fruits, especially that of

[6] Professor Benjamin N. Nelson informs me that in medieval Spain, village communities had an official, also called *capitan*, whose function was to treat with state functionaries representing the world beyond the village community's frontier. It is possible that the Yaruro capitan, and many others in Venezuela, are an acculturative transfer of this office to tribal groups. In the case of the Yaruro, this would have happened some 250—300 years ago.

[7] The use, here, of the terms 'activity', 'tasks', 'techniques', 'tools', 'resources', and 'habitat' corresponds to the definitions given in Leeds, 1960 b.

[8] Cf. Leeds, 1961, which gives this data in detail and describes the habitat and horticulture *in extenso*.

[9] Native terms for these crops are given *ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, note 9, contains data on soil values.

[11] Identifications are from Pittier, 1926.

the moriche palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*); several seeds, notably chiga (= chigo?; — *Campsiandra comosa*); calabashes (*Crescentia Cujete*), and bees' wax and honey. Non of the items gathered are large in size or difficult of access except the bees' wax, one or two of the fruits, and calabashes which grow on higher trees, or may be very far. Gathered foods may be picked up by hand or with the aid of a digging stick or machete, and may be brought back in the harvesting baskets. Other items which may be gathered include the raw materials for baskets and mat-making or for food-processing tools such as the tipití, pots, or mortars and pestels. These items include the fronds of the moriche palm, used for making cord, baskets, tipitís, mats, and sacks; in some villages, clay for pots; reeds for arrows, wood for house beams, mortars and pestles, bows, and for cooking utensils. Wood, palm fronds, and many other items are gathered with the help of the all-purpose machete.

Pig herding is unsystematically done. The pigs, a recent acquisition, spend most of their time at will in the foraging grounds. The significant herding activity occurs only at times when one or another of the groups of pigs breaks into the gardens, an almost daily occurrence. They are then driven to the foraging grounds again, or if late in the day, into a close till morning when they are either driven forth again or allowed to scavenge in the village. There are several herds of pigs of sizes varying from perhaps a maximum of 20 including piglets to the more usual six or eight animals. The only tools used in pig care include a slaughtering stick with which the pig is clubbed to death and knives to cut up the meat. The close is built of logs cut with a machete and carried in by one or two men. Pig meat, though eaten with regularity, is definitely a secondary element of diet.

Hunting is done almost exclusively with the bow and arrow. There are several types of arrows. One for fish has a metal point approximately 4 inches long with a side hook about five inches from the tip, where the tip is set into the shaft. This may also be used for smaller animals. One for birds has a blunt wooden head, and does not appear to be used very often. A third type is used for larger animals such as deer and capybara. It has a blade about 6 inches long shaped like a laurel leaf and, at present, made of steel. At the base of the blade, a small cross-piece is affixed in order to prevent the precious blade from piercing so deeply into the animal that, if it escapes, it would carry the arrow away with it. The fourth type of arrow is used for turtles, tortoises, and alligators or other animals which submerge. The head is short and strong with a sharp recurved hook. The entire metal head is attached to a cord, and this in turn is attached to the arrow shaft, from which the head is detachable. On detaching, the shaft floats and the game can be followed in its underwater course. The bow is generally about 6 feet long or a little more. It is made rather crudely of the wood of the macanilla palm (*Bactris Gaspiaes*). Some animals, especially land tortoises and armadillos, may be caught by hand. Alligators may also be hunted with exceedingly heavy steel hooks and a strong line. In hunting, no traps, nets, surrounds, or drives are used.

Fishing is done chiefly with bows and arrows, though an arrow may sometimes be used as a spear, repeatedly jabbed into grassy waters near the river banks. Fishing may also be done with hooks and lines of different sizes. Bait is also used. A man may fish from a platform built by lashing logs horizontally to two trees

and then shooting into the still side pools of a stream into which he has driven a post with bait attached. He may also stand in a canoe to shoot. It is reported, though I have not myself seen it, that barbasco (*Jacquinia revoluta* or *mucronulata*) poison is used by some Yaruro.[12] No nets, weirs, traps, sweeps, or artificial fish pools are used.

Given the techniques and tools of the Yaruro, all the subsistence activities described can conveniently be done by one person. Some *must* be done by one person only, since the tools and techniques themselves do not permit two or more persons to operate jointly. As it were, the logic of the tools and techniques concerned demands utilization by single persons.[13] Some of the tools and techniques might conveniently involve two or more persons, e. g. lashing tree trunks together to make a fence or cornering a capybara, but do not definitively *require* more than one person. Activities of all sorts may be done by aggregates of persons, each utilizing his own tools and techniques individually but neither the activity, the tools nor the techniques entail the aggregation of individuals. Thus, from the point of view of human organization, the technology, by itself, entails no managerial functions, no coordination of tasks which must be overseen by someone occupying an appropriately defined status.[14] That is, there are no technologically determined positions of leadership in Yaruro society. Further, the technology as such entails no significant cooperation in work organization, even when this is convenient, and correspondingly, no standard work groups or management functions, as represented in some defined status, for facilitating cooperation are to be expected or to be found. In fact, Yaruro technology and resource distribution are such as to elicit considerable dispersion of activities and actors at any given time of work, and to inhibit the development of rank and the personal acquisition of superordinating prestige.

IV

We may now examine the habitat aspect of the ecological relationship. A clearly marked annual cycle occurs in the Yaruro habitat.[15] However, despite a sharp seasonal change from heavy rains up to 60 inches in one half of the year to almost

[12] Personal communication from Mr. Thomas Rootes who has studied Yaruro linguistics for a number of months, having visited several groups.

[13] Different kinds of tools require different kinds of organization. A simple hand saw can be used by only one person at a time. A logging saw, though it can awkwardly be used by one person, is surely best used by two persons. Certain other saws, e. g. jig saws, make up one of a series of machine processes on a single part of a product, the entire series being the unit of operation which requires a still more complex level of organization. Cf. Leeds, 1960 b.

[14] For the structure of argument which is involved here, see Leeds, 1960 b.

[15] 'Habitat' here refers to all physical objects and conditions of the environment which are relevant to the existence or production of resources as defined by the culture. For the most part, then, 'habitat' refers to those environmental conditions such as humidity, temperature, insolation, rainfall, etc., which affect the food supply, as well as the food and water available for animals and plants and other culturally relevant physical objects. By extension, it refers to daily, seasonal, annual, and long-term variations and cycles in the various relevant factors of the environment, whether climatic, geologic, or biotic, which affect any of these supplies.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

along the west-to-east flowing rivers in ribbons some kilometers wide. Most significant fauna and flora of economic use occur in these ribbons. This ecological distribution of resources governs subsistence activities whether they be mainly hunting, fishing, collecting, or horticulture.

Yaruro subsistence comprises all these activities. (2). Horticulture in the rainy season appears considerably to outweigh all other sources of food together, but in the dry season, hunting, fishing, and collecting perhaps equal or outstrip horticulture. In any case, slash and burn gardening of manioc, corn, plantains, and a number of lesser crops is by far the single most important economic activity. The technology is exceedingly simple in all aspects of production, the main tools being the machete and digging stick. The most elaborate technology occurs in the conversion of food into edibles and in the manufacture of hammocks, pottery, objects of wood such as canoes, and woven containers of all types.

The economic organization displays a sharp division of labor between men's and women's work. Men do all hunting and fishing, make all objects of wood, haul lumber and householding materials, make hammocks, and carry out the heavy labor of gardening. Women do most of the collecting of roots, seeds, and fruits. Since collecting contributes a substantial portion of the food supply in summer, woman's contribution, here, is of considerable communal importance. Women's work, a continuous activity from dawn to dusk, is, first, the conversion of raw foodstuffs into edibles. Second, women make all pottery, mats and baskets, the manioc squeezers, and much of the cord used to make hammocks. Another important contribution of women is their help in harvesting in the gardens. Men sometimes help the women with the cookery.

Men may work alone, in groups of 2 or 3, or in larger groups on rare occasions. No occasion exists for all men to work at a single task since there is no technological need for it. Women's work groups for collecting or householding are of similar size. Work group alignments are often based on choice or accident but in other instances coresidence and kinship are determinants. The household, however, constitutes the only really necessary cooperative group for production. The man is a funnel for produce which the woman converts to

(2) The present description applies to the Cinaruco River Yaruro where the major part of the writer's field work, supported by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, was done. The Capanaparo River Yaruro were reported by Petrullo (1939) and Le Besnerais (1948) as being hunters and gatherers, although Le Besnerais observed small horticultural patches which he claimed were diffusions from Venezuelan farmers which had occurred recently. Le Besnerais in 1954 states directly that they were horticulturalists, omitting any mention of possible diffusions from Venezuelans. The passing mention of horticulture by Pinason (1947) confirms the present writer in his opinion that, although horticulture may be more restricted on the Capanaparo than on the Cinaruco and Cunaviche-Arauca (where the writer also spent several weeks) which are not discussed at all by Petrullo or Le Besnerais, nevertheless, the absence of horticulture is probably not aboriginal with the Yaruro as has been suggested by Kirchhoff (1948, p. 456). Rather the restricted gardening is a result of ecological conditions on the Capanaparo which are less favorable to horticulture than on the neighboring rivers, combined with extremely violent acculturation, including large-scale massacres of natives. The only other possibility, in my opinion, is that horticulture was introduced by the missionaries in the early part of the Eighteenth Century, which is certainly the period when the Yaruro first became acquainted with iron tools (cf Lodares, 1922).

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

iron hoe, which is also made by the Yaruro out of any heavy scrap of iron that they may gather. Sometimes they will work for the ranchers and with their earnings purchase this type of hoe from a trader. However, such a digging tool is quite a luxury and sharpened sticks are more common.

MORTARS AND PESTLES.—During the rainy season, the Yaruros gather chigua, a seed, which they dry and pound into flour. Mortars of wood shaped as shown in figure 20, *a*, *b*, are used and the pestle is any ordinary hard stick.

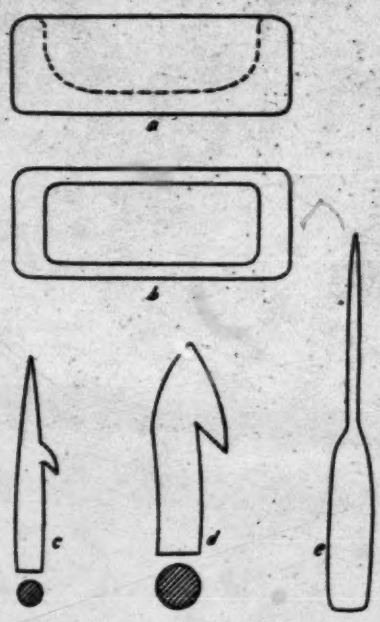

FIGURE 20.—*a*, *b*, Wooden mortar. *c*, Bone or iron point used for hunting chiguire. *d*, Hook used for manatee. *e*, Cooking paddle.

COOKING LADLES.—These are small wooden paddles used in cooking, especially when meat is boiling in a pot (fig. 20, *e*).

HAMMOCKS.—The Yaruros prefer to sleep on the sands, especially during the dry season. The men make hammocks, however, small ones generally used by children as cradles, and by the women shamans when they sing, during the day. During the rainy season they may employ them for sleeping.

The fiber employed to make the hammock string comes from the moriche leaf. The string may be very fine, of course, depending on the interest of the maker. It is made by the men. To weave the hammock a loom is made of two poles thrust into the sand to which are fastened two crosspieces at both the top and bottom. The string is then wound around these crosspieces. The weaver employs a knotter's netting technique. When the entire hammock has been woven the weaving is held in place by another string thrust through one of the woven rows.

ROPE.—The fiber mostly employed by the Yaruros is taken from the leaf of the moriche and the macanilla. The inner cortex of the leaf is stripped off and dried and then is taken apart strand by strand. These long fibers are then moistened and twisted together in two's and th..e's into a string by rolling them on the thigh with the palm of the hand. A stronger string is made in the same way and used for making hammocks. The bow strings are made from the fiber of the macanilla.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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BASKETRY.—The Yaruros make two types of baskets, a coarse kind which is used once or twice and then discarded, and finely woven pouches which are carried by the hunters. The coarse basketry is

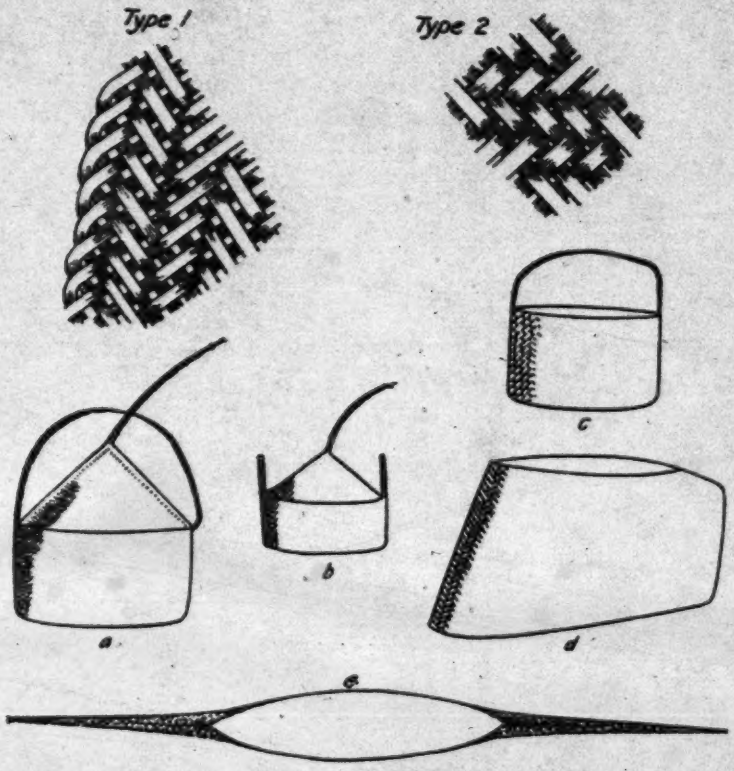

FIGURE 21.—Basketry. Type 1 and Type 2, weaves employed by the Yaruros. *a*, *b*, Pouches with flaps (Type 2 weave). *c*, *d*, Small baskets (Type 2 weave). *e*, Another type of basket used around camp (Type 2 weave generally). Only two weaves are employed by the Yaruros, both of which are shown (Type 1, Type 2). Baskets are used to carry food and to store objects. The coarser baskets, woven quickly and discarded after a few days, are woven as Type 1. The finer basketry, especially the pouches, are woven according to Type 2 technique.

often woven from one leaf. The finer type involves a more complex process. The outer cortex of the moriche leaves are stripped off and only the inner cortex, torn in narrow strips, is used. The techniques employed are fairly simple, as shown in figure 21.

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FIRE STICKS.—The apparatus used for producing fire among the Yaruros is very simple, consisting of merely two sticks of laurel wood which is found in great abundance along the banks of the rivers. One stick is notched about the middle. This stick is placed on the ground and held in place with the foot, while the other stick, fitted into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the palms of the hands.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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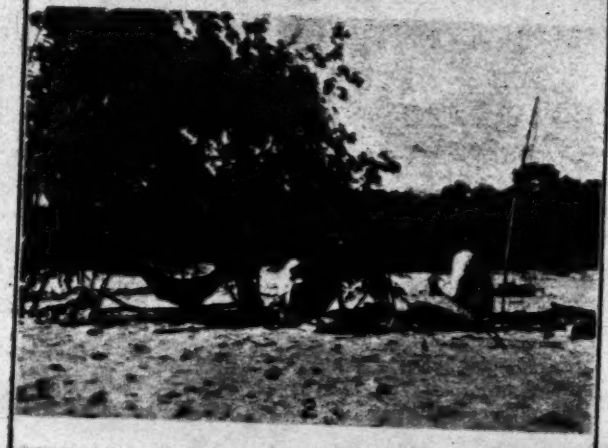

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1. Branches thrust into the sands form Yaruro shelter against sun and wind. All the possessions of this family, with the exception of bow and arrows which the hunter has taken with him, are scattered on the ground. They consist of an iron pot, a piece of cloth, several baskets, a hammock, and a water jar. 2. Yaruros prefer to sleep half buried in the sands, both for warmth and protection from insects. During the day young children are put to sleep in hammocks. 3. During the rainy season, or when a site is occupied for more than several days, the Yaruros may build structures such as the one shown in this picture.

[End Plate 4]

222 the moriche palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*); several seeds, notably chiga (= chigo?; — *Campsiandra comosa*); calabashes (*Crescentia Cujete*), and bees' wax and honey. Non of the items gathered are large in size or difficult of access except the bees' wax, one or two of the fruits, and calabashes which grow on higher trees, or may be very far. Gathered foods may be picked up by hand or with the aid of a digging [412] stick or machete, and may be brought back in the harvesting baskets. Other items [415] which may be gathered include the raw materials for baskets and mat-making or 824 for food-processing tools such as the tipití, pots, or mortars and pestels. These [285] items include the fronds of the moriche palm, used for making cord, baskets, tipi- [323] tís, mats, and sacks; in some villages, clay for pots; reeds for arrows, wood for house beams, mortars and pestles, bows, and for cooking utensils. Wood, palm fronds, and many other items are gathered with the help of the all-purpose machete.

231 Pig herding is unsystematically done. The pigs, a recent acquisition, spend most of their time at will in the foraging grounds. The significant herding activity occurs only at times when one or another of the groups of pigs breaks into the gardens, an almost daily occurrence. They are then driven to the foraging grounds again, or if late in the day, into a close till morning when they are either driven forth again or allowed to scavenge in the village. There are several herds of pigs of sizes varying from perhaps a maximum of 20 including piglets to the more usual six or eight animals. The only tools used in pig care include a slaughtering [412] stick with which the pig is clubbed to death and knives to cut up the meat. The [262] close is built of logs cut with a machete and carried in by one or two men. Pig meat, though eaten with regularity, is definitely a secondary element of diet.

411 Hunting is done almost exclusively with the bow and arrow. There are several types of arrows. One for fish has a metal point approximately 4 inches long with a side hook about five inches from the tip, where the tip is set into the shaft. This may also be used for smaller animals. One for birds has a blunt wooden head, and does not appear to be used very often. A third type is used for larger animals such as deer and capybara. It has a blade about 6 inches long shaped like a laurel leaf and, at present, made of steel. At the base of the blade, a small cross-piece is affixed in order to prevent the precious blade from piercing so deeply into the animal that, if it escapes, it would carry the arrow away with it. The fourth type of arrow is used for turtles, tortoises, and alligators or other animals which submerge. The head is short and strong with a sharp recurved hook. The entire metal head is attached to a cord, and this in turn is attached to the arrow shaft, from which the head is detachable. On detaching, the shaft floats and the game can be followed in its underwater course. The bow is generally about 6 feet long or a little more. It is made rather crudely of the wood of the macanilla palm (*Bactris Gaspiaes*). Some animals, especially land tortoises and armadillos, may be caught [136] by hand. Alligators may also be hunted with exceedingly heavy steel hooks and [324] a strong line. In hunting, no traps, nets, surrounds, or drives are used.

226 Fishing is done chiefly with bows and arrows, though an arrow may sometimes be used as a spear, repeatedly jabbed into grassy waters near the river banks. Fishing may also be done with hooks and lines of different sizes. Bait is also used. A man may fish from a platform built by lashing logs horizontally to two trees

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

136 thought to be related to the race of mankind. On the other hand, the
225 manatee is hunted occasionally. Birds are hunted but seldom, but the
262 meat of the iguana is prized. This animal is not found in great
[224] quantities, however, in the open plains.

The vegetable diet is somewhat more plentiful and varied. There
262 are no restrictions or taboos on what can be eaten. In the dry season
137 it is the potato-like changuango, which is gathered by the women and
[251] which is to be seen broiling over the fires at all times, and which is the only food which the Yaruros are able to keep for a few days by burying it in the sand. In the rainy season it is the chigua seed and the barbaco which form the basic foods. The following list includes most of the foods eaten by the Yaruros:

DRY SEASON

221 *Eggs.*—Terracai (small water turtle) (mostly in February), turtle (March,
262 April), galapago (tortoise—December), crocodile (cayman—February), babu
(December).

136 *Meats.*—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire (capibara),
137 birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Changuango (root found in the savanna), barbaco (root found in the forest, mostly in May), guapo (a root found in the forest), wild yam (found in the savanna and the forests), fruit of the macanilla palm, honey, hearts of palm (in April).

DRY AND RAINY SEASON

Fish.—(Local Spanish names) tapuara, caribe, toporo, tachiama, palumeta, pavon, cajani, temblador (electric eel).

RAINY SEASON

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire, birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Fruit of the moriche, chigua, barbaco.

PROPERTY

421 The Yaruros do not have much personal property. Nevertheless,
422 what each person possesses is respected scrupulously. This attitude is especially in evidence when, for instance, a visitor attempts to purchase such a thing as a pot. In my case I was forced to ask the men. In spite of any price that I might offer they never allowed themselves to give any kind of an answer to my offer. Instead they offered the explanation that the pots were the property of the women and, therefore, they had to be asked if they wished to sell them. My own property I left in camp often without anyone to watch over it, but never did I miss even a sheet of paper.

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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make it usable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses.

[461]

Objects used by men are men's property and are inherited by the men; objects used by women are women's property and are inherited in the women's line. Immovable property such as gardens and houses are said to be inherited by the decedent's children of both sexes. Male animals such as boars and dogs, are owned by men, the females by women. Thus the division of property is as sharp as the division of labor, a fact reflected throughout the ideology.

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No two producers produce the same quantity or inventory of goods, especially as each has great freedom to concentrate in the productive activities he prefers to the exclusion of others. Yet each producer contributes to household and community in what is felt to be equivalent value since most foods are considered good and of equal worth. Each household producing unit distributes supplies of raw or cooked foods to other households along the lines of coresidence and kinship. In this way, all villagers, as consumers, receive the same total amount of food and no one goes without. Thus all persons and households in the community are equivalent as producers, distributers, and consumers. All are tied together in a loosely formalized network of coordinate reciprocal exchanges and obligations in which scales of value are not necessary, since each person contributes approximately equally of all values. In this situation, accumulation of wealth by individuals is out of the question and management of production or of wealth distribution is unnecessary. Consequently, there are no economic status differentiations and no effective leadership among the Yaruro.

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Similarly, no purely social differentiations based on status ranking occur in Yaruro society, except by casual deference to those of age and experience like shamans and village spokesmen, called 'capitans'. The status of women is coordinate with that of men. The complementary and coordinate units, a man and a woman, combine into a series of coordinate but semi-autonomous units, the households. A group of these constitute the Yaruro social unit, the neither endogamous nor exogamous (Murdock's "agamous") village. All these units are tied together by links of bilaterally traced kinship, with coordinate relations on both sides, the ultimate tie being the reciprocal marriage of cross-cousins. Marriage is ideally matrilocal, and occurs most frequently within the village. As a consequence, the most immediate kinship ties in the village are matrilateral, whereas kinship among the men is more diffuse. The villages themselves are tied together by kinship ties, real or imputed, as well as by marriage and visiting, but by no other ties of an all-tribal nature. People who are known to any particular village —to 'us'— are considered part of our village's family, since their kinship ties to our members can be discovered or invented freely. Persons recognized as being of our linguistic and cultural stock will be included under the general term *pumé*, but may not be considered 'of our family' unless the kinship ties are recognized. Thus there is a Yaruro people, but no Yaruro tribal unit. Even the persons included in 'our family' do not constitute a unit, since there are no cross village unifying institutions other than real or imputed bilateral kinship ties. Even these vary from

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

251 During the rainy season the seed of the chigua is gathered. It is crushed, toasted, and stored in small quantities in the same way as the changuango, provided, of course, that a spot is found high enough to keep it dry.

Social Organization and Social Customs

596 616 622 791 554 Economically the family hunting group is the basic unit, as has been shown in the previous chapter. In social matters, however, it is the moiety. Each family hunting group recognizes a headman and each moiety recognizes a chief who in all cases is the shaman. Both of these positions of authority are acquired only through personal merit. There is no inheritance of chieftainship or shamanism. If the nephew of a headman shows ability he may inherit his uncle's position, and theoretically this is the scheme. In natural practices we find that not only the Yaruros but perhaps a great many other primitive peoples are very realistic and are loath to give authority to an individual whose personality does not stand for leadership.

616 428 Every Yaruro is born in either the "Itciai" or "Puaná" moiety. Descent, with its social affinities, prerogatives, and obligations, being traced through the female line, the child belongs to its mother's moiety. Nothing is inherited from the father, who belongs to the other moiety, except obligations.

616 773 There is a legend among the Yaruros that two young men not finding any marriageable girls among their own people mated with the Jaguar and with the Snake. From these two unions are descended the two moieties. Since only among animals do brothers and sisters mate it has become a rule that two descendants of the Jaguar, "Itciai", cannot marry with each other; nor can two descendants of the Snake, "Puaná", marry with each other. They must seek a mate from the other group. Thus an "Itciai" must always marry a "Puaná", and vice versa. Cross-cousin marriage solves this problem.

582 604 In this system, therefore, a man's children belong to his wife's moiety, from which he is socially excluded. His sister's children, on the other hand, are socially close to him since they too inherit moiety membership from their mother which is the same as his own. Deprived of his own children to carry on his traditions, a man looks to his sister's children to take their place. It is his nephews who will help him in hunting, who will come to his defence, who will take care of him in old age. As if in payment of such attention he gives them his daughters in marriage. Thus his sisters' sons become his sons-in-law.

621 596 Yaruro society is built around the hunting group, which in numbers is never stable. The hunt and the gathering of food such as roots and fruits calls for a certain amount of cooperative effort, but

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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make it usable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses. [461]

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mother's and sister's households, nevertheless hunted and harvested for himself, and often cooked for himself meals of the type ordinarily cooked only by women. 462 463

The forms and characteristics of surpluses, as defined by Harris, [16] shed further light on the structure of the ecology. The technological surplus, defined as the difference between total calories annually produced by any definable group and the calories used to produce them, or as the ratio between these two figures, may be estimated at about 8 or 9 to 1 as compared with Harris's estimated figures of 2:1 for the Sirionó or 33:1 for the Pencuyut Maya. [17] Since as Harris remarks, the degree of social stratification in a large number of cases correlates with the size of the technological surplus, we would scarcely expect to find social stratification among the Yaruro, nor even any significant ranking. Where the technological surplus is low, the producer's surplus, defined as the difference between total calories produced by any given group and the total calories used by the producers for all purposes must also be low. Therefore the number of persons other than producers who can be supported by the producers is also limited. The producers' surplus may provide an index of the degrees of specialization which might be expected. In the case of the Yaruro one would expect no, or very low, specialization. Again, with a low producers' surplus, one would expect to find a greater proportion of the group involved in production than where such surpluses are high, for otherwise there would be insufficient calories to support more than a few people other than the producers. With a low producers' surplus, one would expect, in general, to find a greater proportion of both sexes engaged in the food quest. This is, of course, born out in the case of the Yaruro. Finally, Harris's harvest surplus is defined as the difference between the amount produced at any given moment, especially at seasonal maxima, and the amount consumed at that time. The actual amount consumable is governed by the seasonal *minima*, since the population cannot rise higher than the food supply at minimum periods permits unless special technological features such as storage, are present. Where the harvest surpluses are of non-storable goods, the population level is in equilibrium with the absolute minima of the harvests. The greater the degree of storability through a nonproductive season, or the less marked a crop is by seasonality, the higher the level to which the minimum population can be raised as compared with the number of people supportable at levels of production comparable to those at the time of harvest. Storability, however, is only one dimension of the harvest surplus. Absolute size of the peak surpluses, their regularity over the years, their distribution in space and time in the annual cycle, their utility in raw form, and the proportion of labor needed to harvest them relative to the time allotted for the harvest are all important dimensions of the harvest surplus. Thus, manioc, the Yauro's chief food resource has no clear peak, is regular over the years (the Yaruro disclaim any famines), is storable both in raw form and in prepared forms, is, in the case of the Yaruro, so located as not to permit of a concentration of labor at any one time and needs no massive labor for harvesting because of short harvest periods. Thus, in general, the very nature of manioc as a crop, and the labor requisites for

121 433 182 [56] [463] [462] [262] [251] [241]

16, 17 [For footnotes see p. 43, category 116--Analyst]

harvesting it, require no centralized authority and render it possible and even probable that the management of production or distribution be carried on without it. The same may be said, on the whole, for all the hunting, fishing, and gathering harvests, a notable and probably permanent feature of Yaruro ecology. Perhaps the only crop which has a marked seasonality is corn, but its absolute size in the total production, its geographical distribution in production, and its position relative to all other harvests renders it insignificant as an effective promoter of managerial functions and formal arrangements of social stratification. It is unlikely, given Yaruro ecology that the forms of surplus would change; consequently their concomitants in social structure would remain constant.

On the basis of the formal characteristics of the ecology and of the surpluses one may deduce an essentially egalitarian social organization, with minimal ranking and leadership and with dispersion of the acts of economic distribution among a number of adult males or females any one of whom may produce a small harvest surplus at any time. With a relatively steady and reasonably comfortable total subsistence base, and with ecological arrangements which are spatially repeated in identical form up and down river, no necessity exists for stringent rules of local exogamy as an institution to regulate the labor force by redistributing its members. One would expect frequent marrying in the village according to the convenience of the contractants, and out-marriages to occur either as economic opportunity offered elsewhere or lack of women at home urged one out. The combined biological and productive role of women, with their particularly important technical roles in gathering and in food preparation, suggest sedentary communities and a matrifocal emphasis in the rules of residence. However, the importance and location of the men's economic contribution might be expected to balance this to a degree so that one might deduce male uxorimatrilocal residence but with other, subsidiary patterns. This in fact occurs, occasional male matrilocality or patrilocality [18] comprising the subsidiary residence rules. Political authority would be vested in the community, mainly among its elders, since little or no ranking or stratification is to be expected. In fact, Yaruro socio-political forms, in general, conform to all of these deduced conditions. They represent a model for any society based on the kinds of ecological conditions or form of ecology we have described. Where the ecology is even more restricted the deduced characteristics should be matched even more closely by the observed data. In this respect, the Sirionó, for example, tend to confirm the hypothesis, in that their partial sedentariness which revolves about horticulture is associated with matrifocal social organization: matrilocality and matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. They also possess autonomous local communities. [19] The Apinayé also tend to confirm the hypothesis. [20]

Where our analysis permits us to predict about the course of the ecological conditions, we should also be able to extend this prediction to the social structure. Since, under the given ecology, we can establish a maximum population for each Yaruro socio-cultural unit, and under the given technology we would expect no significant change in the ecology, no significant

[18,19,20 For footnotes see pp. 43-44 category 116 --Analyst]

represent his people to the outside world without consultation and to make arbitrary decisions for them inside the community — mainly in his own interest — was, with the consent of the community, assassinated by one of the members, now in excellent standing in that community as a respected shaman. The chief in question had stepped beyond the bounds designated for his status. In sum, the position of chief, even though formally recognized by Yaruro society and reinforced by formal recognition and appointment by Venezuelan authorities, is feeble as an institution and as a status.[8] It is our hypothesis that ecological conditions of Yaruro life determine the form of the chieftainship in such a way that its stronger institutionalization would be impossible, and we turn to this question now.

III

Yaruro subsistence activities[7] comprise swiddening, gathering, pig herding, hunting and fishing, mentioned in the order of their importance as contributors to the total food supply as measured in calories.[8] Horticulture probably provides 60—70% of the total annual food supply. The horticulture practiced is characteristic of tropical forest slash-and-burn gardens, with a slow rotation of plots in order to permit soil renewal and weed control. Trees are cut, at present with steel axes and formerly, apparently, with axes of bone or shell, and then burnt. Occasional fences are roughly made of the logs to keep out pigs. Bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*),[9] in several varieties, is the main crop, though sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*), also in several varieties, is planted too, as are corn, bananas, sugar cane — each in several varieties — and a number of lesser crops such as melons, squashes, pumpkins, pineapples, sweet potatoes, and yautia or ocumo (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*). Crops are planted with a digging stick which may also be used in harvesting. Gardens are weeded, once only, early in the growth of the crops. Other than clearing, the only soil preparation is the construction of hills for planting bananas. This is done by burning hills made by a certain species of ants (*huachaquero*). The hills, which are quite wide and low, are filled with organic matter enriching the soil.[10] Harvesting is aided with baskets for carrying the crops. Baskets contain about half a bushel or less. No fertilization, no terracing, no drainage, no irrigation, no extensive turning of the soil is done.

The gathered resources include a number of roots, particularly changuango, changuanito, and guapo (*Maranta arundinacea*);[11] varied fruits, especially that of

[8] Professor Benjamin N. Nelson informs me that in medieval Spain, village communities had an official, also called *capitan*, whose function was to treat with state functionaries representing the world beyond the village community's frontier. It is possible that the Yaruro capitan, and many others in Venezuela, are an acculturative transfer of this office to tribal groups. In the case of the Yaruro, this would have happened some 250—300 years ago.

[7] The use, here, of the terms 'activity', 'tasks', 'techniques', 'tools', 'resources', and 'habitat' corresponds to the definitions given in Leeds, 1960 b.

[8] Cf. Leeds, 1961, which gives this data in detail and describes the habitat and horticulture *in extenso*.

[9] Native terms for these crops are given *ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, note 9, contains data on soil values.

[11] Identifications are from Pittier, 1926.

Gathered resources are found near the streams in marshy places where the moriche palm grows, and to a lesser extent in the savannas.[17] The dry season resources are also distributively located though the pattern is somewhat different. Quanta of production from these resources at any one time are rarely great. The larder, as it were, must be filled from a number of sources at once, even though one crop, particularly bitter manioc, and occasionally sweet manioc and corn, may rise briefly to as much as 50 or 60% of the food supply. Thus the available quanta of resources and their distribution at given moments in time are such as to demand a distributive form of labor organization: workers, as individuals or in very small groups, must go off in different directions at the same time. The obverse of this, of course, is that no sizable or permanent working groups are to be expected and none in fact occur. Further, because a dispersion of the labor force and a constant flux in the constitution of work groups is entailed by the relationships between the technology and the habitat, organized and permanent managerial functions can scarcely occur, and no fixed status with significant managerial powers would be expected. The observed data of leadership among the Yaruro and many other tribes in South America and other parts of the world, such as Melanesia, having fundamentally similar ecologies, corresponds precisely with what one is led to expect logically from the form of the ecology.

The absolute size of work groups achievable in the Yaruro habitat is limited not only by the dispersed locations and temporal harvest patterns of resources, but also by the absolute productivity of the ecology. If one calculates the distribution per land area of those calories potentially convertible to human energy, the rate of calories per unit of land surface is so low that even at maximum utilization only a very low population density of about 2 persons per square mile would be possible. If concentrated in the center of an effective walking distance for exploiting resources of, say, six miles radius from a village, with a resultant total area of about 110 square miles, there would be about 220 souls. Of these, perhaps 70% (all persons over age 10), at maximum, might constitute the labor force, i. e. 154 adults and older children. The actual conditions are, of course, much more limiting, since the efficiency of the technology is such that it cannot exploit the totality of calories potentially available for conversion to human energy at any one time.[18] The actually harvested calories are considerably less, though I have no estimates as to how much less. Let us estimate half, or enough to support one person per square mile, that is, 110 persons. With a somewhat smaller per cent of the population available for the labor force, say 60% of the 110, the force would have only about 67 persons at most. This appears to be a reasonable number for the Cinaruco Yaruro groups, although due to depopulation from disease and mas-

[17] *Ibid.*, Map I.

[18] *Ibid.*, Map II.

[19] For example, all the fish available in the streams at a given time cannot be caught. More could be caught with an improved technology, such as the use of fish traps, weirs, or fish poisons, which, as we have said, are absent from the technology of the Cinaruco Yaruro. Density of fish, or any other biotic population, can be estimated (cf. Dice, 1952, Ch. IV), and then compared with rates of harvesting. Furthermore, it should be noted that often the totality of an actually harvested resource may not be available. For example, in

46 acre, the labor force actually observed in "my" group was a little more than 25% of that number, or 18, and neighboring groups were generally still smaller. These 154, 67, and especially the actual 18 workers, even if, at any given moment, *all* were working at subsistence activities, would be distributed over various parts of the 110 square miles of territory under the kind of dispersive habitat and technological conditions described. They are in fact so thinly scattered as to preclude any sort of continuing managerial functions.

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241 433 A consideration of the forms of the harvest surplus[89] is relevant to our discussion. Harvest surpluses must be considered with respect both to individual subsistence resources and to all subsistence resources taken together. In the annual cycle, there is considerable variation in the amount produced of any given crop, except for sweet and bitter manioc which together constitute perhaps 40% of the annual food supply of the Yaruro. Manioc produces throughout the year. Given that the manioc-growing areas are widely dispersed and that considerable labor is drawn from manioc areas by still more dispersed resources, it follows that most work units for manioc gardens will consist of only one or two men, each having their own swidden or sharing it with one or two others to supply themselves and their immediate families throughout the year. As might be expected, land tenure and land usage patterns are in accord with this inference. Occasionally small oscillations in the manioc crops may produce small harvest surpluses. These, at least nominally, belong to the man in whose swidden they grow and are his for disposal. The quantities, however, are exceedingly small, and present no problems of storage or disposal necessitating more centralized supervision and allocation. Most other resources display a similar pattern though to an even smaller degree. 262 Fish are obtainable, for the Cinaruco Yaruro, all year round with almost equal ease, though the Palmariteños have a more difficult time because of the grassy and muddy waters in the rainy season. Hunting windfalls and large pigs are the only animal sources which present harvest surpluses of any size. However, these are small enough so that they last at most two or three days, and they are so irregular both as to occurrence and as to personnel involved that no regular centralized [251] institutional mode of handling them is entailed. The virtual absence of meat storage

For example, in [171] the Trobriand Islands, in a good year, all the yams harvested cannot be eaten at once, nor can they be stored. Some portion of the crop is then lost by spoilage. We may construct, in terms of calories or other significant food values, two ratios:

[146 464] $\frac{C_h}{C_p}$ $\frac{C_c}{C_h}$

C — Calories
c — consumed
p — potential
h — harvested (= available for use)

The first may be used as a measure of the efficiency of the productive capacity of the technology; the second as a measure of the efficiency of the distributive capacity of the technology.

[89] The technological, producers, and harvest surpluses are defined in Harris, 1958, and implied in Harris, 1959. They are dealt with in detail with respect to the Yaruro in [114] Leeds, 1961. Other relevant discussions of surplus are found Sahlins, 1958; Jacobs and Stern, 1952, Ch VI.

also inhibits any such development because it forces the immediate distribution of most of the meat of the slaughtered pig or captured game. There is no constantly or repeatedly stored supply to be supervised or allocated. In fact swine and windfall game, properly considered, correspond to the small oscillations of the manioc supply and are totally different from the regularly occurring massive incidence of food sources like buffalo herds, salmon runs, and wheat harvests of temperate climates or crab runs in the tropical Orinoco delta of Venezuela.[21] Of all the food resources, the only one with a marked harvest surplus is corn. The significance of even this harvest surplus is reduced by a) the smallness of the quanta involved relative to the total food supply, and b) the fact that there are two corn seasons, one beginning in June, one about the beginning of February. Temporary harvest surpluses of corn may, however, contribute slightly to the enhanced prestige of those individuals who by their own will and work have been most productive.[22] They say with appreciation, "He is a hard worker", but the prestige is relevant only to the sphere in which it is gained. It does not necessarily give him prestige in some other spheres of cultural life, such as; for example, the ceremonial or decision-making activities.

In taking an overall view of the food resources, it will be noted that there are no clear harvest surpluses, and that the oscillations in supply, which are in truth minute and momentary harvest surpluses, are so small and irregular and varied in location as to be insignificant determiners of managerial functions. At most one might expect the harvest surplus of corn to elicit some small allocative function, generally none. Storage, too, in this case, is not a technique requiring administration as with wheat in grain elevators. It would in fact be better to consider this kind of storage as a steady presence of food rather than as storage at all, even though it functions as such.

The extra labor requirements of these small upward oscillations of the harvest surplus are likewise, in general, indistinguishable from regular labor requirements and are easily absorbed by individual workers. Or a worker may take along a child, who goes as much for the fun of being with his father or grandfather, but nevertheless carries back some produce. This type of situation is in sharp contrast with, say, the labor requirements of a large harvest surplus like the wheat crop in the United States which demands a large amount of labor quickly and temporarily. Such a harvest surplus entails a number of organizational problems foreign to the harvest oscillations.

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[21] Personal communication from Johannes Wilbert who has done extensive fieldwork with the Warrau in the Amacuro Delta of the Orinoco River.

[22] Yaruro individuals differ in productivity not only because of inborn qualities such as strength and native abilities, but also by choice based on tastes. Some do not like to grow corn, others do not like to grow pigs, others still prefer to hunt or trade. The food quanta produced by these several activities vary greatly. The individual may exercise these choices in a cultural setting where any such choice benefits the community. All produce eventually finds its way into the community at large through the distribution mechanism. The person is not acting as an individualist regardless of the interest of others, but at his own optimum, given his unique person, in the community as a whole. Cf Fn 5 *supra*.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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along the west-to-east flowing rivers in ribbons some kilometers wide. Most significant fauna and flora of economic use occur in these ribbons. This ecological distribution of resources governs subsistence activities whether they be mainly hunting, fishing, collecting, or horticulture.

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Yaruro subsistence comprises all these activities. (2). Horticulture in the rainy season appears considerably to outweigh all other sources of food together, but in the dry season, hunting, fishing, and collecting perhaps equal or outstrip horticulture. In any case, slash and burn gardening of manioc, corn, plantains, and a number of lesser crops is by far the single most important economic activity. The technology is exceedingly simple in all aspects of
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production, the main tools being the machete and digging stick. The most elaborate technology occurs in the conversion of food into edibles and in the manufacture of hammocks, pottery, objects of wood such as canoes, and woven containers of all types.

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The economic organization displays a sharp division of labor between men's and women's work. Men do all hunting and fishing, make all objects of wood, haul lumber and householding materials, make hammocks, and carry out the heavy labor of gardening. Women do most of the collecting of roots,
[222]
seeds, and fruits. Since collecting contributes a substantial portion of the food supply in summer, woman's contribution, here, is of considerable communal importance. Women's work, a continuous activity from dawn to dusk, is, first, the conversion of raw foodstuffs into edibles. Second, women make all pottery, mats and baskets, the manioc squeezers, and much of the cord used to make hammocks. Another important contribution of women is their help in harvesting in the gardens. Men sometimes help the women with the cookery.

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Men may work alone, in groups of 2 or 3, or in larger groups on rare occasions. No occasion exists for all men to work at a single task since there is no technological need for it. Women's work groups for collecting or household-
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ing are of similar size. Work group alignments are often based on choice or accident but in other instances coresidence and kinship are determinants. The household, however, constitutes the only really necessary cooperative group for production. The man is a funnel for produce which the woman converts to

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[122]
(2) The present description applies to the Cinaruco River Yaruro where the major part of the writer's field work, supported by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, was done. The Capanaparo River Yaruro were reported by Petrullo (1939) and Le Besnerais (1948) as being hunters and gatherers, although Le Besnerais observed small horticultural patches which he claimed were diffusions from Venezuelan farmers which had occurred recently. Le Besnerais in 1954 states directly that they were horticulturalists, omitting any mention of possible diffusions from Venezuelans. The passing mention of horticulture by Fiasson (1947) confirms the present writer in his opinion that, although horticulture may be more restricted on the Capanaparo than on the Cinaruco and Cunaviche-Arauca (where the writer also spent several weeks) which are not discussed at all by Petrullo or Le Besnerais, nevertheless, the absence of horticulture is probably not aboriginal with the Yaruro as has been suggested by Kirchhoff (1948, p. 456). Rather the restricted gardening is a result of ecological conditions on the Capanaparo which are less favorable to horticulture than on the neighboring rivers, combined with extremely violent acculturation, including large-scale massacres of natives. The only other possibility, in my opinion, is that horticulture was introduced by the missionaries in the early part of the
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Eighteenth Century, which is certainly the period when the Yaruro first became acquainted with iron tools (cf Lodares, 1922).

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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make it usable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses. [461]

Objects used by men are men's property and are inherited by the men; objects used by women are women's property and are inherited in the women's line. Immovable property such as gardens and houses are said to be inherited by the decedent's children of both sexes. Male animals such as boars and dogs, are owned by men, the females by women. Thus the division of property is as sharp as the division of labor, a fact reflected throughout the ideology. 428 [422] [231]

No two producers produce the same quantity or inventory of goods, especially as each has great freedom to concentrate in the productive activities he prefers to the exclusion of others. Yet each producer contributes to household and community in what is felt to be equivalent value since most foods are considered good and of equal worth. Each household producing unit distributes supplies of raw or cooked foods to other households along the lines of coresidence and kinship. In this way, all villagers, as consumers, receive the same total amount of food and no one goes without. Thus all persons and households in the community are equivalent as producers, distributers, and consumers. All are tied together in a loosely formalized network of coordinate reciprocal exchanges and obligations in which scales of value are not necessary, since each person contributes approximately equally of all values. In this situation, accumulation of wealth by individuals is out of the question and management of production or of wealth distribution is unnecessary. Consequently, there are no economic status differentiations and no effective leadership among the Yaruro. 433 ● 592 621 [435] [556] [554] [622]

Similarly, no purely social differentiations based on status ranking occur in Yaruro society, except by casual deference to those of age and experience like shamans and village spokesmen, called 'capitans'. The status of women is coordinate with that of men. The complementary and coordinate units, a man and a woman, combine into a series of coordinate but semi-autonomous units, the households. A group of these constitute the Yaruro social unit, the neither endogamous nor exogamous (Murdock's "agamous") village. All these units are tied together by links of bilaterally traced kinship, with coordinate relations on both sides, the ultimate tie being the reciprocal marriage of cross-cousins. Marriage is ideally matrilocal, and occurs most frequently within the village. As a consequence, the most immediate kinship ties in the village are matrilateral, whereas kinship among the men is more diffuse. The villages themselves are tied together by kinship ties, real or imputed, as well as by marriage and visiting, but by no other ties of an all-tribal nature. People who are known to any particular village —to 'us'— are considered part of our village's family, since their kinship ties to our members can be discovered or invented freely. Persons recognized as being of our linguistic and cultural stock will be included under the general term *pumé*, but may not be considered 'of our family' unless the kinship ties are recognized. Thus there is a Yaruro people, but no Yaruro tribal unit. Even the persons included in 'our family' do not constitute a unit, since there are no cross village unifying institutions other than real or imputed bilateral kinship ties. Even these vary from 554 621 [562] [592] 621 [612] [602] [619] [612]

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

iron hoe, which is also made by the Yaruro out of any heavy scrap of iron that they may gather. Sometimes they will work for the ranchers and with their earnings purchase this type of hoe from a trader. However, such a digging tool is quite a luxury and sharpened sticks are more common.

MORTARS AND PESTLES.—During the rainy season, the Yaruros gather chigua, a seed, which they dry and pound into flour. Mortars of wood shaped as shown in figure 20, *a*, *b*, are used and the pestle is any ordinary hard stick.

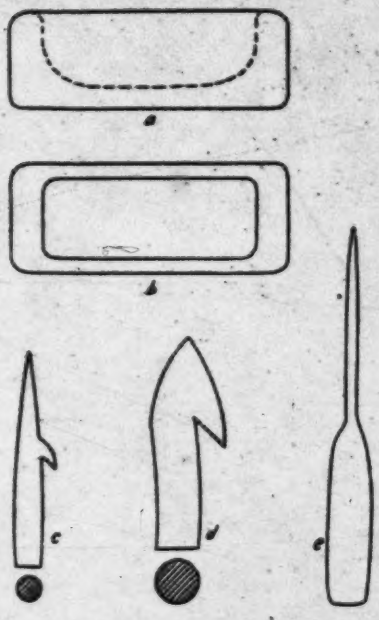


FIGURE 20.—*a*, *b*, Wooden mortar. *c*, Bone or iron point used for hunting chiguire. *d*, Hook used for manatee. *e*, Cooking paddle.

COOKING LADLES.—These are small wooden paddles used in cooking, especially when meat is boiling in a pot (fig. 20, *e*).

HAMMOCKS.—The Yaruros prefer to sleep on the sands, especially during the dry season. The men make hammocks, however, small ones generally used by children as cradles, and by the women shamans when they sing, during the day. During the rainy season they may employ them for sleeping.

The fiber employed to make the hammock string comes from the moriche leaf. The string may be very fine, of course, depending on the interest of the maker. It is made by the men. To weave the hammock a loom is made of two poles thrust into the sand to which are fastened two crosspieces at both the top and bottom. The string is then wound around these crosspieces. The weaver employs a knotter's netting technique. When the entire hammock has been woven the weaving is held in place by another string thrust through one of the woven rows.

ROPE.—The fiber mostly employed by the Yaruros is taken from the leaf of the moriche and the macanilla. The inner cortex of the leaf is stripped off and dried and then is taken apart strand by strand. These long fibers are then moistened and twisted together in two's and three's into a string by rolling them on the thigh with the palm of the hand. A stronger string is made in the same way and used for making hammocks. The bow strings are made from the fiber of the macanilla.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

123 342 We camped on a large wind-swept beach on the Capanaparo and waited there for Landaeta. While waiting I made visits about the country, seeking out Yaruros wherever I could find them. In one nearby group I noticed that unlike most of the Yaruros, these had built permanent shelters, constructed similarly to the houses of the ranchers. However, there was one significant difference. With true Indian logic, they had left the walls open at the bottom, so that the wind could sweep through the house and keep it cool and free from insects.

791 One morning we embarked to visit a group led by Pablo Reyes, being on an island in the Orinoco, at the mouth of the Capanaparo. Pablo Reyes had been described to us as a very old and very wise man. Borrowing a small dugout, we set out to visit him, traveling mostly by night. On our way we saw and heard a great deal of [311] animal and bird life, for the lower part of the river was less hunted by the Yaruros than the upper part. On the banks we saw numerous tracks of the cats, we saw many capibaros or "chiguires" and we were often serenaded by the roar of the howlers.

133 Our entrance into the Orinoco was dramatic. We were catapulted out of the swift waters of the mouth of the Capanaparo and staggered about among the powerful cross currents and eddies at the confluence of the two rivers. The east wind made travel no easier, as it was blowing a gale. On the far side of the Orinoco were the hills of Guiana, rough and jagged, with gnarled vegetation, and dark patches of jungle growth. There were several islands of odd shape, and one of them, about halfway across the Orinoco, was the Linda Bara, to which we made our way.

177 Encamped on this island we found Pablo Reyes' band and a number of "Racionales," that is, "civilized," Venezuelans of the llanos, who during the dry season take to living like the Indians, except that they clutter their shelters with civilized equipment. The result is that their houses are infested with parasites of all kinds. However, they too live upon crocodiles, turtles, and the eggs of the latter.

311 237 This portion of the Orinoco is, in late March and early April, the gathering ground of both Indians and Racionales. The region teems with turtles. By common agreement, stretches of the beaches where the turtles are known to gather in large numbers are not hunted until April, at which time the people dig up thousands and thousands of newly laid eggs out of which they make an oil for export. The [436] center for this commerce is the little settlement of La Urbana, originally a Capuchin mission established about 1750.

791 Like Landaeta, Pablo Reyes had also learned of my coming, and was ready for me. He too is a shaman, and delights in speaking to a sympathetic listener about religious themes, of his conception of

/110/

Y 101 On the other boundaries the neighbors of the Yaruro are Indians. They are the Cuiba to the west, and the Guahibo and the Chiricoa to the south (1). In addition, Amburua coming

1. Unverified information received from Yaruro, llaneros, or travelers.

from the south would have had intermittent contact with them. As for the Otomaco /Otomac/, whose territory formerly extended to the north of the Capanaparo, there remain only a few survivors who have become Venezuelan peasants and have completely forgotten their ancient culture. /Map 1 appears here./ !A

We shall deal with the llaneros and the Otomaco, with whom the Yaruro may perhaps be related, in subsequent articles, and we shall limit ourselves here to giving the little information gathered on the other Indians mentioned.

The Cuiba.

J 131 Some Cuiba appear to live on the upper Capanaparo and the upper Riecito near the border which on the west separates Venezuela from Colombia, but their territory /111/ lies principally in Colombia along the Casanare and on the other bank of the Meta. They seem to maintain commercial relations with the Yaruro, bringing to the last Yaruro village on the Riecito (community 30) canoes (we saw one) or hammocks for barter against manufactured products of Venezuelan origin, cloth or machetes that they use in clearing forest galleries and in cultivating land. They may likewise trade with the Guahibo, but by silent trade.

J Y [439] ●

G 101 114 131 Guahibo and Chiricoa.

Guahibo and Chiricoa, according to the majority of our informants, may be two synonymous terms; only one informant claims that they designate two distinct groups, the first inhabiting

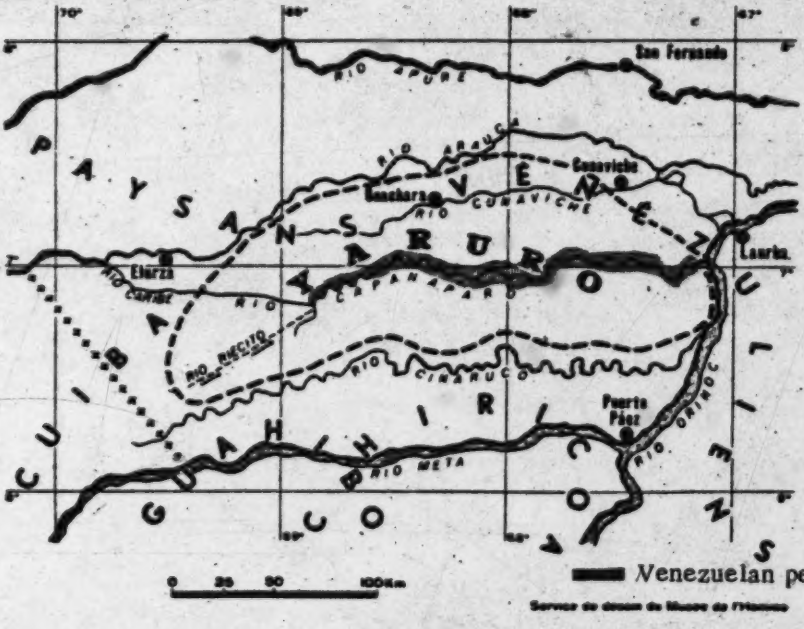
!A [Map 1 now appears on p. 3. —Ed.]

G 101 114 131 G Y 431

/111 cont./

the territory mentioned above, in the west, and the second in the east along the Orinoco; they meet to the south of the Cinaruco, the northern limit of their territory which lies principally in Colombia. Like the Cuiba, they seem to trade with the Yaruro, exchanges taking place in the Yaruro villages located near the Cinaruco and consisting also of products of their making for manufactured ones.

J G 101 Y 101 102 131 133



Map 1

Correction: Elorza instead of Elurza.

3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Gathered resources are found near the streams in marshy places where the moriche palm grows, and to a lesser extent in the savannas.[17] The dry season resources are also distributively located though the pattern is somewhat different. Quanta of production from these resources at any one time are rarely great. The larder, as it were, must be filled from a number of sources at once, even though one crop, particularly bitter manioc, and occasionally sweet manioc and corn, may rise briefly to as much as 50 or 60% of the food supply. Thus the available quanta of resources and their distribution at given moments in time are such as to demand a distributive form of labor organization: workers, as individuals or in very small groups, must go off in different directions at the same time. The obverse of this, of course, is that no sizable or permanent working groups are to be expected and none in fact occur. Further, because a dispersion of the labor force and a constant flux in the constitution of work groups is entailed by the relationships between the technology and the habitat, organized and permanent managerial functions can scarcely occur, and no fixed status with significant managerial powers would be expected. The observed data of leadership among the Yaruro and many other tribes in South America and other parts of the world, such as Melanesia, having fundamentally similar ecologies, corresponds precisely with what one is led to expect logically from the form of the ecology.

The absolute size of work groups achievable in the Yaruro habitat is limited not only by the dispersed locations and temporal harvest patterns of resources, but also by the absolute productivity of the ecology. If one calculates the distribution per land area of those calories potentially convertible to human energy, the rate of calories per unit of land surface is so low that even at maximum utilization only a very low population density of about 2 persons per square mile would be possible. If concentrated in the center of an effective walking distance for exploiting resources of, say, six miles radius from a village, with a resultant total area of about 110 square miles, there would be about 220 souls. Of these, perhaps 70% (all persons over age 10), at maximum, might constitute the labor force, i. e. 154 adults and older children. The actual conditions are, of course, much more limiting, since the efficiency of the technology is such that it cannot exploit the totality of calories potentially available for conversion to human energy at any one time.[19] The actually harvested calories are considerably less, though I have no estimates as to how much less. Let us estimate half, or enough to support one person per square mile, that is, 110 persons. With a somewhat smaller per cent of the population available for the labor force, say 60% of the 110, the force would have only about 67 persons at most. This appears to be a reasonable number for the Cinaruco Yaruro groups, although due to depopulation from disease and mas-

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V

A consideration of the forms of the harvest surplus[39] is relevant to our discussion. Harvest surpluses must be considered with respect both to individual subsistence resources and to all subsistence resources taken together. In the annual cycle, there is considerable variation in the amount produced of any given crop, except for sweet and bitter manioc which together constitute perhaps 40% of the annual food supply of the Yaruro. Manioc produces throughout the year. Given that the manioc-growing areas are widely dispersed and that considerable labor is drawn from manioc areas by still more dispersed resources, it follows that most work units for manioc gardens will consist of only one or two men, each having their own swidden or sharing it with one or two others to supply themselves and their immediate families throughout the year. As might be expected, land tenure and land usage patterns are in accord with this inference. Occasionally small oscillations in the manioc crops may produce small harvest surpluses. These, at least nominally, belong to the man in whose swidden they grow and are his for disposal. The quantities, however, are exceedingly small, and present no problems of storage or disposal necessitating more centralized supervision and allocation. Most other resources display a similar pattern though to an even smaller degree. Fish are obtainable, for the Cinaruco Yaruro, all year round with almost equal ease, though the Palmariteños have a more difficult time because of the grassy and muddy waters in the rainy season. Hunting windfalls and large pigs are the only animal sources which present harvest surpluses of any size. However, these are small enough so that they last at most two or three days, and they are so irregular both as to occurrence and as to personnel involved that no regular centralized institutional mode of handling them is entailed. The virtual absence of meat storage

For example, in the Trobriand Islands, in a good year, all the yams harvested cannot be eaten at once, nor can they be stored. Some portion of the crop is then lost by spoilage. We may construct, in terms of calories or other significant food values, two ratios:

$$\frac{C_h}{C_p} \qquad \frac{C_c}{C_h}$$

C — Calories
c — consumed
p — potential
h — harvested (= available for use)

The first may be used as a measure of the efficiency of the productive capacity of the technology; the second as a measure of the efficiency of the distributive capacity of the technology.

[39] The technological, producers, and harvest surpluses are defined in Harris, 1958, and implied in Harris, 1959. They are dealt with in detail with respect to the Yaruro in Leeds, 1961. Other relevant discussions of surplus are found Sahlins, 1958; Jacobs and Stern, 1952, Ch VI.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

512 the horizon. There is no chanting as in the villages of the Xingu, no whistling, no marching to the river for an early bath. There is no conversation, no motion. After a while a dog may sit up and watch the world as silently as his master. More and more of the recumbent figures sit up; some old man becomes busily engaged in making string; a woman gives suck to a baby; others rise, and, walking with heads [372] high, chests thrust forward, go toward the bushes, to reappear soon with armfuls of wood and quickly start fires with their laurelwood fire drills. Soon everyone is sitting up, and the cheesecloth tents disappear. A few women huddle around the fires.

It is only when the wind resumes its violent blowing that the camp is stirred into activity. The chilliness of the night is forgotten, reverential thoughts are discarded. The vulgar stomach, however, is remembered. Preparations are made to take care of its daily needs. Bows and arrows are examined. A harpoon arrow for turtles and crocodiles, a fish arrow, a gourd, and if the hunter possesses one, a knife, comprise the equipment. Then the men go to their canoes two by two, though a young boy may be taken along to make three. He too must learn to satisfy the daily craving of his inner machinery. The hunters paddle away upstream and disappear around the bend of the river.

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291

512 461 At camp are left only the old people and some young ones who are too lazy to go out or have been hunting hard and need a rest. They are soon busy fixing bows and arrows, making string, carving ornaments, weaving basketry, taking care of very young children. There is very little talking and no fussing. They almost ignore each other. Those who stay at home will wait patiently for their dinner. They will watch the sun climb the heavens, and they will move from one side of the branches to the other to keep in the shade. Beaten by the wind which by noon blows a gale, bombarded by

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

grains of sand, they wait patiently and quietly, though hungry. They seek no shelter from the wind, preferring it to the myriads of insects lurking in any sheltered spot. And then, too, it is cool in the wind, terrifically hot away from it.

About midafternoon the hunters and food gatherers straggle in. They bring small crocodiles and turtles, crocodile eggs, turtle eggs, perhaps some honey; and the women return with full baskets containing changuango, a wild root that they have dug up in the savanna. They, too, may bring turtle eggs. Not always, of course. The men and the women may return with empty hands and empty baskets. In any event there is no boisterous reception, but the same silence, the same quiet acceptance of the day and what it brings as they have shown at its beginning. Fires are built larger, the women roast the roots, the men help with the turtles and the crocodiles. These are placed whole on the fire until the shells are toasted and then they are cracked open. Wives become busy delousing their husbands, using a carved stick to help in the search. Sometimes the lice are picked and eaten. But the bodies of the men are covered with numerous black blisters, showing that they have suffered the daily torment from the insects. The wife crushes all of these blisters with the same delousing tool.

Dinner is a gala time. Calabash dishes containing the various courses are placed in the center of the ring formed by each family. The food is picked up and carried to the mouth with the fingers. There are crocodile eggs. These are opened and the contents are sucked up raw. The same is done with the turtle eggs. There is the course of roasted changuango, and the pieces of turtle meat. But the real delicacy is crocodile, the best meat of all. The crocodile is eaten in its entirety, except for the entrails, and when the dinner is over some of it is left by the fire, an open invitation to anyone to fill any empty portion of his stomach. The stomachs become distended as tremendous quantities of food are swallowed. This is the only real meal of the day, and the fear of a dinnerless tomorrow drives the eaters to exceptional feats of gourmandizing until their bodies can hold no more. The lean dogs fight among themselves over the refuse heaps. The vultures glide overhead or are busy at crocodile entrails.

There is no after dinner work—no kitchen or table ware to wash, nothing to spoil the proper enjoyment of a full stomach. They eat until they have had enough, and then they move to the east of the fires to lie on the clean sands and watch the sun hide beneath the western horizon. For about half an hour they watch the ever-changing colorful western sky and when rays of light emanate from below the horizon to streak the heavens with blue and gold and white, they

also inhibits any such development because it forces the immediate distribution of most of the meat of the slaughtered pig or captured game. There is no constantly or repeatedly stored supply to be supervised or allocated. In fact swine and windfall game, properly considered, correspond to the small oscillations of the manioc supply and are totally different from the regularly occurring massive incidence of food sources like buffalo herds, salmon runs, and wheat harvests of temperate climates or crab runs in the tropical Orinoco delta of Venezuela.[21]. Of all the food resources, the only one with a marked harvest surplus is corn. The significance of even this harvest surplus is reduced by a) the smallness of the quanta involved relative to the total food supply, and b) the fact that there are two corn seasons, one beginning in June, one about the beginning of February. Temporary harvest surpluses of corn may, however, contribute slightly to the enhanced prestige of those individuals who by their own will and work have been most productive.[22] They say with appreciation, "He is a hard worker", but the prestige is relevant only to the sphere in which it is gained. It does not necessarily give him prestige in some other spheres of cultural life, such as, for example, the ceremonial or decision-making activities.

In taking an overall view of the food resources, it will be noted that there are no clear harvest surpluses, and that the oscillations in supply, which are in truth minute and momentary harvest surpluses, are so small and irregular and varied in location as to be insignificant determiners of managerial functions. At most one might expect the harvest surplus of corn to elicit some small allocative function, generally none. Storage, too, in this case, is not a technique requiring administration as with wheat in grain elevators. It would in fact be better to consider this kind of storage as a steady presence of food rather than as storage at all, even though it functions as such.

The extra labor requirements of these small upward oscillations of the harvest surplus are likewise, in general, indistinguishable from regular labor requirements and are easily absorbed by individual workers. Or a worker may take along a child, who goes as much for the fun of being with his father or grandfather, but nevertheless carries back some produce. This type of situation is in sharp contrast with, say, the labor requirements of a large harvest surplus like the wheat crop in the United States which demands a large amount of labor quickly and temporarily. Such a harvest surplus entails a number of organizational problems foreign to the harvest oscillations.

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[21] Personal communication from Johannes Wilbert who has done extensive fieldwork with the Warrau in the Amacuro Delta of the Orinoco River.

[22] Yaruro individuals differ in productivity not only because of inborn qualities such as strength and native abilities, but also by choice based on tastes. Some do not like to grow corn, others do not like to grow pigs, others still prefer to hunt or trade. The food quanta produced by these several activities vary greatly. The individual may exercise these choices in a cultural setting where any such choice benefits the community. All produce eventually finds its way into the community at large through the distribution mechanism. The person is not acting as an individualist regardless of the interest of others, but at his own optimum, given his unique person, in the community as a whole. Cf Fn 5 *supra*.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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make it usable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses. [461]

Objects used by men are men's property and are inherited by the men; objects used by women are women's property and are inherited in the women's line. Immovable property such as gardens and houses are said to be inherited by the decedent's children of both sexes. Male animals such as boars and dogs, are owned by men, the females by women. Thus the division of property is as sharp as the division of labor, a fact reflected throughout the ideology. 428 [422] [231]

No two producers produce the same quantity or inventory of goods, especially as each has great freedom to concentrate in the productive activities he prefers to the exclusion of others. Yet each producer contributes to household and community in what is felt to be equivalent value since most foods are considered good and of equal worth. Each household producing unit distributes supplies of raw or cooked foods to other households along the lines of coresidence and kinship. In this way, all villagers, as consumers, receive the same total amount of food and no one goes without. Thus all persons and households in the community are equivalent as producers, distributers, and consumers. All are tied together in a loosely formalized network of coordinate reciprocal exchanges and obligations in which scales of value are not necessary, since each person contributes approximately equally of all values. In this situation, accumulation of wealth by individuals is out of the question and management of production or of wealth distribution is unnecessary. Consequently, there are no economic status differentiations and no effective leadership among the Yaruro. 433 592 621 [435] [556] [554] [622]

Similarly, no purely social differentiations based on status ranking occur in Yaruro society, except by casual deference to those of age and experience like shamans and village spokesmen, called 'capitans'. The status of women is coordinate with that of men. The complementary and coordinate units, a man and a woman, combine into a series of coordinate but semi-autonomous units, the households. A group of these constitute the Yaruro social unit, the neither endogamous nor exogamous (Murdock's "agamous") village. All these units are tied together by links of bilaterally traced kinship, with coordinate relations on both sides, the ultimate tie being the reciprocal marriage of cross-cousins. Marriage is ideally matrilocal, and occurs most frequently within the village. As a consequence, the most immediate kinship ties in the village are matrilateral, whereas kinship among the men is more diffuse. The villages themselves are tied together by kinship ties, real or imputed, as well as by marriage and visiting, but by no other ties of an all-tribal nature. People who are known to any particular village —to 'us'— are considered part of our village's family, since their kinship ties to our members can be discovered or invented freely. Persons recognized as being of our linguistic and cultural stock will be included under the general term *pumé*, but may not be considered 'of our family' unless the kinship ties are recognized. Thus there is a Yaruro people, but no Yaruro tribal unit. Even the persons included in 'our family' do not constitute a unit, since there are no cross village unifying institutions other than real or imputed bilateral kinship ties. Even these vary from 554 621 [562] [592] 621 [612] [602] [619] [612]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

512 rejoice, for they know that Kuma, the goddess creator of all things,
519 is content with them and is sending them a greeting in token thereof.
796 On the wings of the wind comes the roar of the araguatos.

But life starts in the east and ends in the west. The day is done and the night comes on. The Yaruros turn to face the east to watch
821 the beginning of star travel and also the fiery appearance of the
796 moon and its transformation to a chaste white. The sands glisten and above flash "falling stars", but the Yaruros say that these are messengers of Kuma doing their errands.

512 Then the women roll cigars, light them, and pass them to their men.
296 Everyone smokes and there is great contentment. There is reluctance
462 to stand up, so if a woman has to fetch some object, say a firebrand,
[576] she will crawl on all fours, looking not unlike some large but indescribably graceful ape.

When several stars of the big dipper have appeared the women
512 rise in a body and walk into the darkness west of the camp. They
462 disappear from sight and hearing. What mysteries they perform they only know. The men are left alone and they talk about heaven. The children play merrily.

The women return and quietly take their places, ready to prepare more cigars. It is good to lie naked on the sand looking at the sky,
1000 listening to nature's symphony. With the same persistent effortless rhythm of the pulse beat the world outside of the individual is felt. There is the merry laughter of the children and the soft, deep, contented gurgle of the women; the soft voice of the shaman painting religious pictures, explaining existence; the murmur of the wind as a background to the calls of night birds, and the blowing of toninos, the splash of frolicsome fishes, the intermittent howl of the monkeys, the bark of the wolf, the roar of the jaguar; and the warmth of a full stomach.

512 A figure may detach itself from the camp shadows and disappear
796 in the darkness of the west. Several young men may afterwards take the same path—to join the shaman in his preparations for communion with the gods. They leave behind them a feeling of expectation but nothing is said. Someone has put up a bare pole where the sand is hard packed.

796 The shaman returns and goes to sit in front of the pole facing the
791 east. He sits quietly and alone in deep reverie. Later he may ask for a cigar. His wife will supply him with one.

After a period of contemplation he may begin to sing and dance. His people will join him. The music will become more and more animated, the singing and dancing will be done with increasing abandon. The stars and the moon will go their ways to rest in the west.
512 It is only when the sun peeps over the eastern horizon that they will

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

772 considered to be their ancestorial relatives; that once upon a time
[173] the Yaruros were very many and now very few; that the Yaruros had been visited with great calamities the preceding year, and many of their people had died through sickness and other destructive forces.

123 Also, I learned that, though I could gather inklings of a rich spiritual culture and a good cross section of the material phases from this band, I had to go farther down river to meet the spiritual leaders of the remnants of this race if I wanted to reach the heart of the Yaruros' religion, cosmology, mythology, and ethics.

791 In all of the primitive groups with which I have come in contact,
123 certain individuals are recognized as the leaders and authorities, especially on such matters as religion and social organization. The younger people hesitate and often refuse to discuss such matters altogether, but age alone is not enough to qualify an individual as the mouthpiece of the group. The Yaruros were no exception. As soon as they grasped that I wanted to know a great deal about their history and culture they urged me to talk to "Landaeta", their leader and great "musico" or shaman. He, with his family, was hunting on the lower Capanaparo. They offered to guide me to him. Accordingly, we journeyed downstream by moonlight to avoid the heat of the day, and as I subsequently discovered, to avoid meeting with crocodile hunters.

361 About noon the next day we sighted several empty canoes drawn up
482 on the bank, and knew that there must be more Yaruros nearby. We
462 landed on the sandy beach and awaited their return. They came early in the afternoon, the men carrying turtles and crocodiles slung on poles, the women with baskets filled with changuango, leaning forward as they walked, looking not unlike grotesque apes under their heavy loads; and also, little children carrying their share of food,
[152] straggling behind. Upon seeing me they were frightened, but did not run away.

123 My Yaruro paddlers acted the part of mediators perfectly, for soon afterwards we were all embarked and moving downstream to join the main body of Landaeta's band which, I was told, was encamped
[152] several miles downstream. Their good humor almost amounted to
462 gaiety. The three canoes moved steadily down the river, the men paddling hard, and the women sitting quietly and casting shy inquisitive glances in my direction.

361 We found Landaeta and his people on a large exposed wind-swept beach. There was the white sand, the strong wind blowing from the east raising it into dust clouds, and the intense glare from river and sand; a few water jars, a few baskets, several refuse heaps with buzzards feeding at them, canoes drawn up on the beach, and some

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

The sense of strict inviolability of personal rights carries over to personal services. Never did a husband order his wife to do anything outside of her proper domain. While I lived with them, in spite of the excellent care they gave me, even to the point of anticipating my wishes in a great many cases, never did a husband request his wife to prepare food for me. He asked her if she would, acting merely as my messenger. No closer relationship can exist than between maternal uncle and nephew, yet even he does not feel free to ask any service of his nephew, nor to take the latter's personal property.

DIVISION OF LABOR

Sexual dichotomy in economic activities is clearly defined. In a general way, it may be said that the rougher, harder, and more dangerous work belongs in the province of male activity and that there is no task which calls for strength or danger that properly belongs in the realm of woman's activity. Should any woman be engaged in a hard or dangerous piece of work and a man happens to be present there is a tacit assumption of the task by the latter. Hunting and fishing and presumably the act of fighting in war are man's tasks. The gathering of roots, fruits, seed, and their preparation belongs to the women. It is interesting to note that the gathering of honey, which entails some risk, is done by the men. The making of canoes, the making of implements, of hammocks, the activities in making camp are all in man's domain. The preparation of food and the making of pottery and basketry are woman's tasks.

HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting and fishing are male occupations exclusively. As soon as the young boy is able to toddle about he is made to play with bow and arrow and learns to make these indispensable tools. It is a common sight to see little boys who are too young to be taken along by the men on hunting expeditions playing at the game of hunting; and when a man is in camp busily preparing his hunting equipment his young son is by his side working industriously on miniature bows and arrows.

The equipment of the hunter is simple. Bow, arrow, and canoe are indispensable. A Yaruro does not like to roam on land, but there is no need for him to do so since he can get his game in the watercourses or along their banks. So he sets off in the early morning, generally accompanied by his hunting companion, to look for crocodile (*Crocodilus babu*). He will hunt for other forms of life only reluctantly, having a special liking for crocodile meat.

Because of the shyness of crocodile the hunter is most often forced to shoot at it from a distance. Since an arrow will seldom kill one

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

iron hoe, which is also made by the Yaruro out of any heavy scrap of iron that they may gather. Sometimes they will work for the ranchers and with their earnings purchase this type of hoe from a trader. However, such a digging tool is quite a luxury and sharpened sticks are more common.

MORTARS AND PESTLES.—During the rainy season, the Yaruros gather chigua, a seed, which they dry and pound into flour. Mortars of wood shaped as shown in figure 20, *a*, *b*, are used and the pestle is any ordinary hard stick.

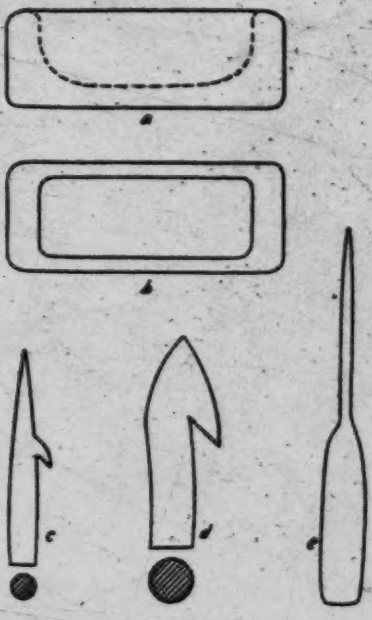

FIGURE 20.—*a*, *b*, Wooden mortar. *c*, Bone or iron point used for hunting chiguire. *d*, Hook used for manatee. *e*, Cooking paddle.

COOKING LADLES.—These are small wooden paddles used in cooking, especially when meat is boiling in a pot (fig. 20, *e*).

HAMMOCKS.—The Yaruros prefer to sleep on the sands, especially during the dry season. The men make hammocks, however, small ones generally used by children as cradles, and by the women shamans when they sing, during the day. During the rainy season they may employ them for sleeping.

The fiber employed to make the hammock string comes from the moriche leaf. The string may be very fine, of course, depending on the interest of the maker. It is made by the men. To weave the hammock a loom is made of two poles thrust into the sand to which are fastened two crosspieces at both the top and bottom. The string is then wound around these crosspieces. The weaver employs a knotter's netting technique. When the entire hammock has been woven the weaving is held in place by another string thrust through one of the woven rows.

ROPE.—The fiber mostly employed by the Yaruros is taken from the leaf of the moriche and the macanilla. The inner cortex of the leaf is stripped off and dried and then is taken apart strand by strand. These long fibers are then moistened and twisted together in two's and th..e's into a string by rolling them on the thigh with the palm of the hand. A stronger string is made in the same way and used for making hammocks. The bow strings are made from the fiber of the macanilla.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

291 177 after I had been among the Yaruros for a time the women often discarded their camisoles, even though I were present.

291 286 462 The men would normally wear a breechclout which originally was woven by the women from the fibers of the moriche palm leaf, but now it consists of a piece of cloth. Formerly the women wove wide belts of the same fiber for the men, but this is no longer done. The breechclout is held in place by a string tied around the waist.

291 287 The women, underneath their camisoles, still wear the old-fashioned Yaruro girdle, which is made from the fibers of the moriche palm. The fibers, which are about 2 feet long, are fastened together at one end. This end is slipped through a hair rope tied around the waist, and the whole mass of fibers passes between their legs and under the waist string. Plate 25, 4, shows a Yaruro woman wearing one of these girdles. It is fastened in such a way that an enormous knot is formed in the rear, and when wearing their camisole the women have the appearance of sporting large tails.

562 291 301 The women on the whole seem to be more conservative than the men in their clothing and body decorations. Below the knees and around the ankles they wear a thin string, and often they have necklaces of carved asabache figures, which are shown in plate 21.

DELOUSING TOOL

412 515 An implement that is in great vogue is the delousing tool shown in plate 20, 2. The serrated end is used as a comb to expose the lice, which are seized between the fingers and crushed between the teeth. The pointed end is employed to crush blisters raised on the body by 462 302 mosquito bites. These tools, also fashioned by the men, are used exclusively by the women to groom their menfolk and each other.

CARRYING NETS

482 286 854 Carrying nets, of the knotless variety, are woven and used to carry children and food. When carrying children the net is slung across the chest from one shoulder; when carrying food it is supported by the hea

COOKING

252 462 The culinary art among the Yaruro is poorly developed. Much of the fruit and the eggs are eaten raw. Fish is eaten half raw and the meat of the crocodiles and turtles is merely warmed over the fire. Sometimes the meat is boiled. In the afternoon the women who have gathered firewood are to be found in camp waiting patiently for the men. On the hot coals they will have eggs and changuango. If the hunt is successful, and no hunt is considered

1 [see category 116, and plate 15, — Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

successful if the men do not come back with a number of crocodiles, the men build larger fires, upon which the crocodiles are laid. As the hide cracks the animals are split open, the meat is stuck on spits and upon reaching a stage of being warm it is eaten. Contrary to popular ideas that crocodile eaters only consume the tail, the Yaruro eat the entire animal but stop short at the entrails, which are thrown to the dogs. However, they accuse the neighboring Guahibos of eating the entrails as a special delicacy. Turtle meat and eggs are often boiled.

Salt is known to these people but it is by no means considered an indispensable condiment in their food. In the only historical reference we have to the Yaruros they are referred to as clay eaters. Today, even though they are in occasional touch with civilized communities, the salty clay banks are still their only source of supply for salt. The food is generally eaten saltless, since they have no means of purchasing salt from the Racionales and they do not know how to make salt from the clay. As a result, they obtain the amount of salt necessary to life by chewing clay which they pick up in their wanderings over the plains. Food which I prepared with salt was always left untouched by them as being unsavory. In this respect, therefore, they act like the cattle and the deer which can be seen over the plains licking salt clay banks.

STORING OF FOOD

The only foods that can be kept for any length of time in the lowland tropics are the roots and seeds. In the rainy season even this is impossible. The Yaruros during the dry season leave caches of changuango on various sandbars. They dig pits into which they place the roots. The hole then is filled and soon the wind will leave no mark indicating that the sand has been disturbed. In some cases where the landmarks are plain, and the Yaruros expect to return in a day or two, no markers are placed anywhere. But if they expect to be delayed, or the sandbar is so large that they might forget the exact spot of the cache, they will thrust a stick into the ground at some distance away. Apparently by sighting with this stick and some other chosen point, they are able to locate the food store. However, on a number of occasions I saw the Yaruros march to a place on the sands with certitude and excavate changuango. In such cases I saw no markers.

In similar fashion they may store turtle eggs, provided they expect to return within a few hours. Baskets and other objects may also be left in the sand, to be retrieved when they are needed. Asabache, which is found in certain localities, may be gathered in quantities and stored until it is to be used.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

pole in a circle but merely move forward and backward. During the performance it is prohibited for anyone to pass by the head of the sick person. The shaman will sing all night and if by morning the sick person has not shown any marked improvement the woman shaman will lie in a hammock with her head pointing to the east and will continue the singing. Other women will sit in the hammock with her and sing all day long. I myself underwent such attention. If the wife shows little interest in the welfare of her husband it is concrete proof that she does not love him and it is believed he will die. In this there are two factors to be considered from my observation of these people. The first is that a lack of wifely interest is the equivalent of bad medicine and that the husband himself will feel so disconsolate that all desire to live will be lost.

If the sick person dies during the night nothing is done except to stop the singing and dancing. At daybreak his people will drink vast quantities of chica and prepare for the funeral rites. If the sick person happens to be a woman in her menstrual period it is important to note that she is in the care of the woman shaman. The man shaman does not dare to sing to her.

In the morning the dead person is washed by the women and the body is wrapped in a hammock and taken to the burial place. The brothers and the uncles carry the body. The father and mother do not accompany the body to the grave, but in the case of a married man the widow does. The body is interred in the hammock with the head pointing to the east. The bow and arrows, whatever clothing he may have possessed, and any equipment are buried with him, but neither food nor water is necessary. The night after the burial there is a feast in the camp, but the taboo on fish is observed by everyone. The shaman and the people will sing the equivalent of:

The dead one died here, now he has arrived in the Land of Kuma, and there he has been made young again (if a child dies, it becomes a young man or woman, according to the sex). He will know nothing but joy now and will have everything he may desire.

The widow goes on a strict diet for four days. All fires which were burning at the time of the death of the individual are put out and fresh ones are built. On the fourth day the two men, who have put the dead body into the pit, and the widow, bathe; they fast on the fifth. On the fifth night the shaman sings in order to find out if the dead person has reached Kuma, if he has been given a new name, if he has been made young, strong, and rich. For a month after this the widow keeps a strict diet and she is not married for a long time. It is believed that if a man marries a widow soon after her husband has died he will die soon of the same sickness.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

LIFE AFTER DEATH

761 775 To the modern Yaruro death is a desirable event. It holds great promise rather than terror for him. He believes that the dead will continue to live in the Land of Kuma. That is, in the land of the Mother Goddess, where he will be restored to a life of pristine happiness in the world which is identical with that which existed before the coming of the white man. In that world, in the Land of Kuma, he will have freedom to hunt if he pleases, he will have an abundance of food, he will have horses, cattle, and tobacco. He will lead a life of eternal bliss, watching over the affairs of his relatives and descendants on this earth, visiting them occasionally through the shaman and conversing with them. Apparently his only wish is that his people will die and join him in the Land of Kuma at the earliest possible time. A better idea of this life after death can be obtained by turning to the chapters on the shamanistic performances and legends.

PLAY

522 152 The spirit of play is known to the Yaruros. In fact, they laugh so much and so often that one might get the impression that they take life very lightly. For instance, their response to any accident is laughter. A man may fall out of his canoe or hurt himself in some way, or a woman may break a pot; any such accident is taken as a fine joke by everyone else.

616 606 There is inner-moiety and joking relationship, but members of one moiety do not play pranks on members of the other moiety. In fact, even in camp the mother-in-law will keep aloof from any levity engaged in by the son-in-law, and vice versa.

533 535 524 In the dancing and singing there is gaiety, especially when Puaná visits his people. Then is a time for much laughter and joking. However, there is no formalized play among the Yaruros. Anciently it is reported that the Otomacos had a ball game. Gilii has given us a description of it.[8]

857 462 861 The most common form of play among the children is an imitation of the activities of the grown-ups. The little boys will pretend that they are hunting and fishing or canoeing; the little girls will pretend that they are making pottery, basketry, or painting their bodies. The toys which the children use are miniature implements of hunting and food gathering. The only objects made differently for children to play with which are not an imitation of anything used by the adults are small clay figures representing human beings. These are arranged by the child in imitation of human beings dancing around

524 323 532

[8] If the Yaruros knew this ball game they have forgotten it since then.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 linked, kept up rhythmic motion by bending the knees slightly and leaning forward. The men bent at the waist until the torso was horizontal, arms hanging down like apes, and made the same motion by bending at the knees. The motion was so very apelike that I wondered if the monkeys didn't enter in some way into the scheme of things. I was told that formerly they were people and when the flood came they climbed to the tops of trees, and have continued to live there ever since, gradually changing shape. When the circuiting around the pole began the men followed one another after the shaman, and the women made the outer circuit with the right hand on the shoulder of the woman in front. The right foot was stamped on the off beat.

ART

184 517 Of the arts, dancing, music, carving, painting, modeling, and perhaps drama, are present among the Yaruros. Every individual in the group participates in some form of artistic expression, even in connection with objects whose function is practical rather than aesthetic; each individual attempts to make them "tsaimui", that is "pretty", "good." Great care is taken in making baskets, pottery, arrows, and bows. Singing and dancing are universally practiced also. No individual feels that his voice is too poor to participate in 531 the singing and no individual is shy about dancing. However, social 462 custom limits the activities of the men and women in the plastic arts. 323 Pottery making is the prerogative of the women. The carving of stamps and realistic figures from the asabache is done by the men. The low relief carvings on gourd rattles are the special products of the shamans. Of all these activities it is this last that comes closest to being inspired.

531 285 The making of baskets is woman's work. They take great pride in their workmanship, and make a conscious effort to reproduce various designs by employing several weaves. The patterns are rather limited, but then this may be due to the limited number of baskets which they make (fig. 21).

531 323 Pots are frequently broken in transport, but there is also very little use for them. One or two pots per family are all that is required. The porousness of the material is desired in order to keep the water cool. These pots are generally decorated with crude broad bands of red paint. The pottery decoration is reproduced in figure 22.

531 322 The women like to paint their faces. For this purpose the men make wooden stamps (pl. 22, *1*), which are dipped in red-ocher paste or a blue dye and the design is impressed upon the face. The designs are entirely geometric and rectilinear.

301 317 The asabache figures are of special interest because of their remarkable realism. The asabache is a black igneous material found

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

534 177 ter the harp is very popular. Flutes and whistles are also made by the Llaneros, but the gourd rattle, which consists of a small gourd containing coarse grains of sand, or seeds, is the instrument employed by the Yaruro shaman. Music, therefore, is produced by singing to the accompaniment of the rattle if the singer happens to be the [512] shaman. Since the men are prohibited from singing and whistling during the daytime there is no freedom of expression in this way. During the entire time that I stayed with these people I never heard anyone begin a song except the shaman. Whenever, for purposes of recording, I asked some of the men to hum some of the tunes they refused to do so.

533 Although there are a variety of tunes, the music apparently consists of one phrase repeated four times for each stanza of the song. Each stanza is begun in a high falsetto. The second phrase is sung an octave lower, and the last phrase, therefore, is four octaves lower [462] than the first. The woman shaman, however, has a song slightly different than the male shaman's song and their pattern seems to begin at the lower end of the scale for each phrase and repeating each phrase in the same range as the first. In both cases, each phrase covers the entire scale of six notes. The tempo is 1–2 time, with the accent on the off-beat, but at the height of the ceremonies the songs are syncopated. The intensity of the songs, the melodious quality of the phrases, and the oral repetition produces an effect similar to the negro spirituals.

It is difficult, if not impossible, for one to sing in tune with the Yaruros. Their scale is different from ours and they seem to have quarter tones. In addition to this peculiarity, they never seem to sing in a full voice, not in a falsetto, but in a style of their own, difficult for one trained in European music to master quickly. Of course the theory is that it is the gods and the ancestral spirits who composed both the music and the words and the people singing behind the shaman merely imitate these inspired songs.

533 535 The Yaruros have only one word to signify dancing and singing: "tohiwahimerekidi". The shaman, who is the leader in both these arts, is called "dancer" or "singer." In actual practice dancing is subordinate to singing, much as gesturing is subordinate to speaking among ourselves. Perhaps the correct translation of this word would be closer if rendered as "singing."

Dancing as an independent art does not exist. When it is practiced it is almost an outflow of singing. Singing may be done without dancing but dancing without singing is impossible. Every dancer sings, though every singer does not necessarily dance.

50% of the diet or a little less. The ideal figures would again be reduced, on the other hand, by allowing for the predations on gardens of animals, especially the pigs, which eat manioc and corn, the Guahibo Indians who allegedly steal sugar cane, and insect losses. Our figures, then, will be modified only a few units by the additional sources of foods. We may thus revise our population figure to between 100 and 105 (or, if a 10-year fallow period is assumed, the figure would be 75-80), figures which correspond to the Yaruro's own ideal of what a proper population for this area should be. If the population increased beyond this number of people, the Yaruro would have to exploit their gardens at a rate greater than the rate of land reconstitution, and also expand hunting, fishing, and gathering beyond the average long-term carrying capacity of the savanas and the rivers, thus reducing their potential productivity. Adding together the maximum populations supportable by these food resources, as well as by the recently introduced pigs, a figure approximating 125-150 persons might be reasonable for this particular territory. This gives a density of 2 persons per sq. mile, a characteristic figure for tropical forest tribes.[15]

If the population rose beyond this maximum capacity of the land-technology relationship, groups would either have to fission off, go on the warpath, regulate population by any of a number of internal institutions such as infanticide, or die either from extreme famines or from steady nutritional deficiency. Under present population conditions none of these is necessary, yet both fissioning and population regulation by contraception occur. Fissioning appears to be fostered by the search for settlement locations requiring minimum labor for maximum return and also to establish community authority under the person leading the fissioning group independent of that excercised by the community from which fissioning took place. Contraception appears to be a matter of choice revolving about maintaining a certain freedom from the cares of motherhood until such time as the marriage partners are reasonably convinced that the marriage is permanent. Indirectly, this contributes to the distribution of more effective female producers among the more effective male producers in the most productive areas, since a second marriage often involves shifting to a generally more effective husband whereas a shift to a less effective husband is scarcely to be found. Both fissioning and contraception, however, give evidence of techniques which were developed to handle man-food balance in happier days.

A number of formal characteristics of any ecology may permit us to deduce the form of society which would be expected on the basis of such characteristics. In so far as the ecological forms were to remain essentially unchanged over great periods of time, no changes in the forms of the social order attached to the ecological conditions would be expected. An internal equilibrium is maintained until such time as a dynamic imbalance occurs because of changes from internal or external sources. It is essential to examine to what extent the internal equilibrium prevents or fosters the occurence of dynamic imbalances in any particular ecological setting. We shall return to this question after the following itemization of Yaruro ecological forms.

[15] [for footnote see p. 43, category 116 -- Analyst]

182 241 361 First, through time, the gardens tend to radiate further and further from any given residence point since, given the 13-year planting-fallow cycle, plots near the village will be exhausted. Since the major garden resource areas lie in a crudely east-to-west direction, there will be a slow westward migration of the geographic center of garden activities, enough so that at some point, the village is suspended, as it were, among distant resource points (see Maps), and enhanced by the dispersed nature of the hunting and fishing, and to some extent the gathering, areas. If the "suspension" is weighted more in one direction than another, there will be some tendency either to move the village or to send out temporary or permanent branches of it, respectively in the form of work cottages in the swiddens or in larger long-term house groups which are intermittently occupied. This process is, in fact, easily observed among the Yaruro in existent and abandoned house and subsidiary village sites scattered over the whole territory. Similarly, the locus of gathering, so important in [221] summer, moves further and further from the village. This, together with the considerable shift to fishing and river-hunting in summer, as well as the need for water, causes an extensive seasonal transhumance to occur within the territory. These factors contribute to fissioning as well as to inhibiting the development of permanently located villages, let alone larger aggregations. Thus, with a radiating ecology, a degree of group dispersion and geographical mobility within the territory is to be expected and is indeed characteristic of the Yaruro.

512 Second, if one examines the location of all resources it will be seen that, taken together, they constantly enjoin a dispersal of the labor force in all directions, regardless of season, so that more or less equivalent quantities of labor are being used at the same time in many varying kinds of productive activity independently of each other — at the peripheries of the territory, in the areas between, or in the village centers themselves, [462] where the women are constantly doing the significantly important work of [252] converting otherwise unusable food resources, like raw, bitter manioc or uncooked corn, into edibles.

476 Third, it will be noted that none of the Yaruro technological processes require cooperative work, even when they may permit it, if it were so desired. On the whole, the productive activities might be described as dispersive of labor, whether it is individuals or small groups of twos or threes who go out to keep each other company. Even the work of preparing [241] the swiddens is carried out individually, though two or three men may [463] work as neighbors in what appears as a single plot. Further, the technology is such as to require no highly specific and difficult or esoteric skills. The [242] most difficult skill to acquire is the knowledge of the soil types and appropriate planting procedures attached to each. Thus, each adult is in 462 a position to learn the inventory of technological knowledge appropriate 463 to his or her sex, and somewhat of that belonging to the other sex too, and to apply it by himself whenever he wants or must. A man, well-instructed in Yaruro technology, could probably subsist alone successfully for long periods of time. One divorced adult man, although he was largely fed by his

mother's and sister's households, nevertheless hunted and harvested for himself, and often cooked for himself meals of the type ordinarily cooked only by women. 462 463

The forms and characteristics of surpluses, as defined by Harris, [16] shed further light on the structure of the ecology. The technological surplus, defined as the difference between total calories annually produced by any definable group and the calories used to produce them, or as the ratio between these two figures, may be estimated at about 8 or 9 to 1 as compared with Harris's estimated figures of 2:1 for the Siriono or 33:1 for the Pencuyut Maya. [17] Since as Harris remarks, the degree of social stratification in a large number of cases correlates with the size of the technological surplus, we would scarcely expect to find social stratification among the Yaruro, nor even any significant ranking. Where the technological surplus is low, the producer's surplus, defined as the difference between total calories produced by any given group and the total calories used by the producers for all purposes must also be low. Therefore the number of persons other than producers who can be supported by the producers is also limited. The producers' surplus may provide an index of the degrees of specialization which might be expected. In the case of the Yaruro one would expect no, or very low, specialization. Again, with a low producers' surplus, one would expect to find a greater proportion of the group involved in production than where such surpluses are high, for otherwise there would be insufficient calories to support more than a few people other than the producers. With a low producers' surplus, one would expect, in general, to find a greater proportion of both sexes engaged in the food quest. This is, of course, born out in the case of the Yaruro. Finally, Harris's harvest surplus is defined as the difference between the amount produced at any given moment, especially at seasonal maxima, and the amount consumed at that time. The actual amount consumable is governed by the seasonal *minima*, since the population cannot rise higher than the food supply at minimum periods permits unless special technological features such as storage, are present. Where the harvest surpluses are of non-storable goods, the population level is in equilibrium with the absolute minima of the harvests. The greater the degree of storability through a nonproductive season, or the less marked a crop is by seasonality, the higher the level to which the minimum population can be raised as compared with the number of people supportable at levels of production comparable to those at the time of harvest. Storability, however, is only one dimension of the harvest surplus. Absolute size of the peak surpluses, their regularity over the years, their distribution in space and time in the annual cycle, their utility in raw form, and the proportion of labor needed to harvest them relative to the time allotted for the harvest are all important dimensions of the harvest surplus. Thus, manioc, the Yauro's chief food resource has no clear peak, is regular over the years (the Yaruro disclaim any famines), is storable both in raw form and in prepared forms, is, in the case of the Yaruro, so located as not to permit of a concentration of labor at any one time and needs no massive labor for harvesting because of short harvest periods. Thus, in general, the very nature of manioc as a crop, and the labor requisites for

121 433 182 [56] [463] [462] [262] [251] [241]

A16, 17 [For footnotes see p. 43, category 116--Analyst]

121 182 433 [241] [22] harvesting it, require no centralized authority and render it possible and even probable that the management of production or distribution be carried on without it. The same may be said, on the whole, for all the hunting, fishing, and gathering harvests, a notable and probably permanent feature of Yaruro ecology. Perhaps the only crop which has a marked seasonality is corn, but its absolute size in the total production, its geographical distribution in production, and its position relative to all other harvests renders it insignificant as an effective promoter of managerial functions and [56] formal arrangements of social stratification. It is unlikely, given Yaruro ecology that the forms of surplus would change; consequently their concomitants in social structure would remain constant.

On the basis of the formal characteristics of the ecology and of the surpluses one may deduce an essentially egalitarian social organization, with minimal ranking and leadership and with dispersion of the acts of [56] economic distribution among a number of adult males or females any one of [462] whom may produce a small harvest surplus at any time. With a relatively steady and reasonably comfortable total subsistence base, and with eco- 182 logical arrangements which are spatially repeated in identical form up [582] and down river, no necessity exists for stringent rules of local exogamy as an institution to regulate the labor force by redistributing its members. One would expect frequent marrying in the village according to the convenience of the contractants, and out-marriages to occur either as ecoomic [562] opportunity offered elsewhere or lack of women at home urged one out. The combined biological and productive role of women, with their particularly important technical roles in gathering and in food preparation, suggest sedentary communities and a matrifocal emphasis in the rules of residence. However, the importance and location of the men's economic contribution [591] might be expected to balance this to a degree so that one might deduce male uxorimatrilocal residence but with other, subsidiary patterns. This in fact occurs, occasional male matrilocality or patrilocality [18] comprising the subsidiary residence rules. Political authority would be vested [623] in the community, mainly among its elders, since little or no ranking or stratification is to be expected. In fact, Yaruro socio-political forms, in general, conform to all of these deduced conditions. They represent a model for any society based on the kinds of ecological conditions or form of ecology we have described. Where the ecology is even more restricted the deduced characteristics should be matched even more closely by the observed data. In this respect, the Sirionó for example, tend to confirm the hypo- [171] thesis, in that their partial sedentariness which revolves about horticulture is associated with matrifocal social organization: matrilocality and matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. They also possess autonomous local communities. [19] The Apinayé also tend to confirm the hypothesis. [20]

Where our analysis permits us to predict about the course of the ecological conditions, we should also be able to extend this prediction to the social structure. Since, under the given ecology, we can establish a maximum population for each Yaruro socio-cultural unit, and under the given technology we would expect no significant change in the ecology, no significant

[18,19,20 [for footnotes see pp.43-44 category 116 --Analyst]

TABLE II

FOODS: THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL PROVENIENCES, TECHNIQUES AND SEASONS OF PRODUCTION; THE DIVISION OF LABOR IN PRODUCTION AND FOOD PREPARATION

Symbols: S,F W,S — summer, fall, winter, spring
M,F. — male, female
Q — evaluation of the quantitative importance of the food or raw material in Yaruro subsistence and productive activity: 5 — major staple or resource; 4 — major crop, but not a staple; 3 — important food (or other) resource, but a secondary crop; 2 — minor crop (or other resource) serving as a more or less regular but seasonal delicacy; 1 — mostly a delicacy for occasional enjoyment (very secondary resource)
≠ — indicates both presence, and by doubling or tripling importance of crop or resource; three ≠≠≠'s do not necessarily mean "3 times as important as 1 ≠", merely 'of outstanding importance".
/ — sporadically or slightly present
d-m — December to March; a — April; m-s — May-September; o-m — October to November.

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food Prep. M	Food Prep. F	Q
CROPS PLANTED:												
ṇae-ka'ra (x)	yuca amarga	bitter manioc	swiddens, cuttings, dibble	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠	/	≠	5
1. p. tao-ka'ra	cachicamo	" (variety?)	as above									
2. p. a'punda''ki be'reberi''a	ceibita (?) (blanca)	" (light)	as above									
3. p. a'pund''ki-k'a'Ra	ceibita (?) (obscura)	" (dark)	as above									
'hurari''â-'pae	yuca dulce	sweet manioc	as above	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠		≠≠	4
1. p. agoâ'kwe	yema de huevo	" (variety?)	as above									
2. p. ici'kwe	pata de zamuro	" (variety?)	as above									
3. p. valenciana	valenciana	" (", introd)	as above									

(x) Phonetics: *â*, etc. = nasalized vowel, *e* = mid central unrounded vowel, *ch* = palatal. c., *y* = palatalized fricative; *R* = flapped r, *ng* = palatalized nasal continuant, as in English sing, *j* = palatalized affricate, as in English job.

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S e-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
pwɛ	maiz	corn, maize	swiddens, hills, dibble			≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠	≠	≠≠≠	4
1. pume'pwɛ	maiz yaruro	Yaruro corn	as above (3 mo., 1 ear/stalk)									
2. 'hamburu"apwɛ	maiz guahibo	Guahibo corn	as above (4 mo., 2 ears/ ")									
3. p. kwɛ"kwɛia	maiz amarillo	yellow corn	as above (5 mo., 1 ear/stalk)									
'parata"nâ	plátano, topocho, banana	plantains, bananas	swiddens, machetes to cut on specially prepared mounds, slips	≠?	≠?	≠≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	4
1. p. 'nâ	plátano	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
2. p. wo'ko	topocho	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
3. p. to'kwi	dos millitos	banana	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
4. p. ks'ru	?	plantain	as above (?)								?	
5. ececha'mɛ p.	guineo (?)	plantain	as above (raw or cooked)								≠	
6. ks'mure	cambur	banana	as above (raw)									
hu'ra	ñame	yams	dry swiddens, dibble	≠?	≠?	≠	≠≠	/			≠≠	2
e'de	patilla	melons, pumpkins, squashes	swiddens dibble	≠≠	≠?	≠	≠≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	3
1. kwɛ"bohurariâede	"	water-melon	as above									
2. chumaniâe.	"	pumpkins	as above									
3. 'yako"da	"?	bottle gourd	as above									
cheni'â	caña	sugar cane	wet swiddens, dibble, machete	≠?	≠?	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	≠	/		3
1. ch. mo'ra	caña ?	" (variety ?)	as above									
2. ch. bɛ'rebɛrei"a	caña blanca	white cane	as above									
	caña criolla	introd var.	as above									

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
'cɛrame''kwɛ	ñame	yams	swiddens, dibble	≠?	≠?	≠	≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	2
ôa''ri	batata	sweet potato	as above	≠?		≠?	≠	≠≠	/		≠≠	2
ô	ananá	pineapple	swiddens, dibble				≠	≠			/	1
iu	capacho	?	swiddens, ?				≠?	≠			1	?
cɛ'da (=cɛda''dakwɛ	ocumo (yauta)	xanthosoma	swiddens, dibble	≠?		≠	≠	≠			≠	2
(ñô'rɛa''nâ	aji	chili pepper	doubtful if raised on Cinaruco)									
FISHES CAUGHT:												
yagu'pe	agua dulce	?	rivers, caños, hooks, arrows	≠				≠		/	≠	2-
e (='chamachi''ro)	cachama	?	rivers, hooks, arrows	≠				≠		/	≠	1
gui'te	sardina	?	rivers, fish arrows, small hook	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2
dap'we	guavina	?	caño fishhooks	≠			≠	≠		/	≠	?
ho'nô	palambre	?	rivers, caños, arrows, hooks	≠?		≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2
ip:'â	pinte tigre	?	rivers, caños, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2-
pa'chowén''ti	bagre	catfish	rivers, caños, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2-
'meô''dakwɛ	viejita	?	as above	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
'chôânda-''yii	"	?	as above	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
ninda'ô	"	?	caños, hooks, sardine bait	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
toji'ri-ka''Râ	" negra	?	caños, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
u'ru-u'ru	de tierra	?	rivers, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
da're	pavón	?	rivers, hooks, sardine bait	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
chu'me	"	?	rivers, caños, hooks, sardine bait, from platform	≠				≠		/	≠	?
'yaka'ra	"	?	as above, also arrows	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	2?
'Yopok'e''ne	" colorado	?	rivers, caños, hooks	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		/	≠	?
ñô	caribe blanco	white piranha	rivers, arrows, hooks with especially heavy cord	≠				≠		/	≠	1
(bôde'cis	caribe	piranha	doubtful if caught on Cinaruco)									
(pu'pu	cajarro	catfish	doubtful if caught on Cinaruco)									
FRUITS, ROOTS, AND SEEDS GATHERED:												
t'o'cho	?	?	in mata from big tree, at foot	≠				≠				1?
gu're (cho'nô)	guayaba	guava	bushes and low trees, distant			≠		≠				1
t'u	fruta de moriche	miriti palm fruit	near caños in wet savana, from foot of trees			≠≠		≠			≠	2
'tutam''be	?	?	?, from big tree (monte?)			≠		≠			1	?
tam'be	?	?	?, ?			≠						1
ton₂to'ui	cardón	teasel (?)	?, from tall trees (prob monte)			≠		≠				1?
tokai'cho	cacaito	?	?, ?			≠						1?
nori''to	?	?	?, ?			≠						1?
ya'kod₂	totumo	calabash	monte (?), picked				≠	≠?			≠?	3
ni'pe	changuango	?	wet savanas, digging stick	≠					≠≠		≠	3
cho'kai	guapo	?	monte, savana, digging stick	≠	≠	≠	≠		≠≠		≠	2

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S o-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
'gaorn"ae	picure	? (aguti?)	monte, caño, fish arrow	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	?
'iku"ri	tortuga	tortoise	rivers, fishhooks; on Capanaparo, use detachable arrow	≠≠			≠	≠		?	?	2
poda'me	terecai	terrapin?	rivers, fishhooks " "	≠≠			≠	≠		?	?	2
poda'me	morrocoy	boxturtle	mata, by hand - doesn't run	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		?	?	1
ci'rida"me	galápago	river turtle	rivers, detachable arrow	≠≠			≠	≠≠		?	?	2
('hôi-obwei"a	chácharo	pecc[illegible]	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
(be'ri	manatí	manatee	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
BIRDS HUNTED:												
he'we	cotua negro	duck species	rivers, caño, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
hà'na	caretero	?	rivers, lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
andu'ra	garza morena	grey heron	rivers, lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
o'kara	garza blanca	white heron	lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
'huidiga'ra	garza paleta	painted heron?	lakes, arrows	≠				≠		?	≠	1
hue	gaviota (?)	?	lakes, arrows, bird arrow	≠				≠		?	≠	1
'kwinchi"ni	perdiz	partridge?	savana, bird arrow (?)	≠				≠		≠	?	1-
hu'ru-yu'ru	pavo	curassow	rivers, monte, arrows	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		≠	?	2
ta'ra	jivaro (?)	jivaro stork?	lakes, arrows, shotgun	≠				≠		≠	?	2?
noraha'ae	pato real	duck species	lakes, arrows	≠≠				≠		?	?	?

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Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-e	S e-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	Prod. F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
pi'he	cutua	duck species	rivers, caños, arrows	✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		?	?	27
pou'ni	pato	duck species	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
MISCELLANEOUS MATERIALS COLLECTED FOR USE IN PRODUCTION:												
ya'ro	espuruna	leaf to wrap and store corn sticks	savana, picking			✓ ?			✓		✓	1
karam'ba	?	cigar wrapping	savana, picking	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ ?		✓	✓	1
ngam'bi	tabaco	tobacco	savana, picking	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	1
u'de	curagua, macanilla	macanilla palm	near caños (?) a) for bows, b) for string, fibres for objects	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓✓ ✓		✓✓ ✓✓	✓✓	2 3
chara'i'o	salau (salado?)	canoe wood (?)	montes, for making canoes	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		✓✓		4
cinó't'o	caña brava	cane for arrows	near caños for foreshafts	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		✓✓		4
tu	moriche	moriche	near or in caños, used for making house roofs, baskets, cords, fibres, hammocks	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	5
ago	moriche frond	ditto	as above, often picked up from ground, or tree cut and fronds collected, last for years, may be reused.		as above							
biri't'o-i	guasca	bark strips	montes, caños, for lashing	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		✓✓		3
é-im'bu	cera de abeja	beeswax	near caños, from large trees	✓	✓			✓		✓		1
é-'ke	miel	honey	as above	✓	✓			✓				-
e'ra	peramán	tree wax	as above? for arrows	✓ ?	✓ ?			✓		✓		2

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2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SSI9 Yaruro SSI9

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Food M	Prep F
COOKED DISHES AND THE DIVISION OF LABOR — CONVERSION OF FOODSTUFFS IN VILLAGE					
cham'pe	arepa	corn cakes	kernels crushed after shelling, fried in deep fat or boiled; grater often used	/	♂♂♂
ui'ta	?	corn purée	crushed corn (after frying raw kernels in deep fat, or simply boiling) mixed with water; grater may be used for mashing	/	♂♂♂
pwɛ-u'ni	?	corn powder	dry hard kernels grated on metal grater (men make holes with nails) and then eaten dry	/	♂♂♂
iu	?	corn on cob?	boiled		♂
po'nõ	?	corn kernels	dry, relatively hard kernels are shelled from cob, then roasted in deep fat, salted, and eaten	♂	♂♂
ca'dɛ	capuruna	corn sticks	shelled kernels grated into mush, carefully wrapped in capuruna leaves, boiled; stored or eaten directly	/	♂♂♂
'pwɛ-e"ro	guarapo de maiz	corn juice	kernels are mashed to express juice, thick liquid	♂	♂♂
umbɛ	cazabe	bitter manioc	manioc flower prepared by cutting, grating, squeezing in tipiti, etc.		♂♂♂
1. um'bɛ	cazabe	manioc cakes	flour prepared in flat cakes and roasted		♂♂♂
2. um'bɛ-e'ro	guarapo de cazabe	boiled m. juice	juice is boiled to break down prussic acid	/	♂♂
3. um'bɛ ?	cazato	fermented "	flour and juice added to corn juice, ferments ca. 12 hr.	♂♂	♂
'oka"raru-"o/	huevos	chicken eggs	usually fried		♂
'hurari"à-'pae	yuca dulce	sweet manioc			
1. ?	?	fried slices	fried in relatively shallow fat	/	♂♂
2. ?	?	deep fried	fried in deep fat		♂♂
3. ?	?	boiled	boiled whole after peeling (as above)		♂♂

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Food M	Prep F
'parasenâ	plátanos, topochos, bananas	plantains and bananas	many types often eaten raw; below are considered only those which are cooked		
1. ?	?	boiled	peeled and put in water to boil till soft	/	≠
2. ?	?	fried slices	peeled, sliced, put in deep fat till hard		≠≠
o'bweis	marrano	pork	most of the work of killing and preparing is done, as with most meats, by the men; only boiling is usually done by women who own pots		
1. ?	?	boiled	small chunks boiled till almost mushy	/	≠≠
2. ?	?	roasted	put on sticks over fire, facing it	≠≠	
3. ?	chicharrones	cracklings	hide with thick layer of fat fried in its own fat till fat (and hide) are hard; stored for some time	≠≠	
4. ?	?	deep fried	meat parts are deep fried till almost crisp		≠≠
5. ngwei ke"pâske"to	?	blood sausages	blood carefully caught on slaughtering and saved in vessell till coagulated then stuffed into unwashed (?) intestines and cooked	≠≠≠	
cheni"â-e'ro	guarapo de caña	cane juice	squeezed out on "chaqui-chaqui", a wooden hand press	≠	/

NB—Preparation of foods produced only in the dry summer months, such as changuango root and changuanito savanero root were not observed and are not included here. These roots are both boiled by the women. Most meats, unless boiled, are prepared by the men by roasting. Fish, in general are prepared by women. Most fruits and seeds which are not eaten directly upon collecting are cooked by women.

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4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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along the west-to-east flowing rivers in ribbons some kilometers wide. Most significant fauna and flora of economic use occur in these ribbons. This ecological distribution of resources governs subsistence activities whether they be mainly hunting, fishing, collecting, or horticulture.

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Yaruro subsistence comprises all these activities. (2). Horticulture in the rainy season appears considerably to outweigh all other sources of food together, but in the dry season, hunting, fishing, and collecting perhaps equal or outstrip horticulture. In any case, slash and burn gardening of manioc, corn, plantains, and a number of lesser crops is by far the single most important economic activity. The technology is exceedingly simple in all aspects of
[442]
production, the main tools being the machete and digging stick. The most elaborate technology occurs in the conversion of food into edibles and in the manufacture of hammocks, pottery, objects of wood such as canoes, and woven containers of all types.

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The economic organization displays a sharp division of labor between men's and women's work. Men do all hunting and fishing, make all objects of wood, haul lumber and householding materials, make hammocks, and carry out the heavy labor of gardening. Women do most of the collecting of roots, seeds, and fruits. Since collecting contributes a substantial portion of the food
[222]
supply in summer, woman's contribution, here, is of considerable communal importance. Women's work, a continuous activity from dawn to dusk, is, first, the conversion of raw foodstuffs into edibles. Second, women make all pottery, mats and baskets, the manioc squeezers, and much of the cord used to make hammocks. Another important contribution of women is their help in harvesting in the gardens. Men sometimes help the women with the cookery.

[476]
Men may work alone, in groups of 2 or 3, or in larger groups on rare occasions. No occasion exists for all men to work at a single task since there is no technological need for it. Women's work groups for collecting or householding are of similar size. Work group alignments are often based on choice or
[592]
accident but in other instances coresidence and kinship are determinants. The household, however, constitutes the only really necessary cooperative group for production. The man is a funnel for produce which the woman converts to

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(2) The present description applies to the Cinaruco River Yaruro where the major part of the writer's field work, supported by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, was done. The Capanaparo River Yaruro were reported by Petrullo (1939) and Le Besnerais (1948) as being hunters and gatherers, although Le Besnerais observed small horticultural patches which he claimed were diffusions from Venezuelan farmers which had occurred recently. Le Besnerais in 1954 states directly that they were horticulturalists, omitting any mention of possible diffusions from Venezuelans. The passing mention of horticulture by Fiasson (1947) confirms the present writer in his opinion that, although horticulture may be more restricted on the Capanaparo than on the Cinaruco and Cunaviche-Arauca (where the writer also spent several weeks) which are not discussed at all by Petrullo or Le Besnerais, nevertheless, the absence of horticulture is probably not aboriginal with the Yaruro as has been suggested by Kirchhoff (1948, p. 456). Rather the restricted gardening is a result of ecological conditions on the Capanaparo which are less favorable to horticulture than on the neighboring rivers, combined with extremely violent acculturation, including large-scale massacres of natives. The only other possibility, in my opinion,
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is that horticulture was introduced by the missionaries in the early part of the Eighteenth Century, which is certainly the period when the Yaruro first became acquainted with iron tools (cf Lodares, 1922).

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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make it usable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses. [461]

Objects used by men are men's property and are inherited by the men; objects used by women are women's property and are inherited in the women's line. Immovable property such as gardens and houses are said to be inherited by the decedent's children of both sexes. Male animals such as boars and dogs, are owned by men, the females by women. Thus the division of property is as sharp as the division of labor, a fact reflected throughout the ideology. 428 [422] [231]

No two producers produce the same quantity or inventory of goods, especially as each has great freedom to concentrate in the productive activities he prefers to the exclusion of others. Yet each producer contributes to household and community in what is felt to be equivalent value since most foods are considered good and of equal worth. Each household producing unit distributes supplies of raw or cooked foods to other households along the lines of coresidence and kinship. In this way, all villagers, as consumers, receive the same total amount of food and no one goes without. Thus all persons and households in the community are equivalent as producers, distributers, and consumers. All are tied together in a loosely formalized network of coordinate reciprocal exchanges and obligations in which scales of value are not necessary, since each person contributes approximately equally of all values. In this situation, accumulation of wealth by individuals is out of the question and management of production or of wealth distribution is unnecessary. Consequently, there are no economic status differentiations and no effective leadership among the Yaruro. 433 592 621 [435] [556] [554] [622]

Similarly, no purely social differentiations based on status ranking occur in Yaruro society, except by casual deference to those of age and experience like shamans and village spokesmen, called 'capitans'. The status of women is coordinate with that of men. The complementary and coordinate units, a man and a woman, combine into a series of coordinate but semi-autonomous units, the households. A group of these constitute the Yaruro social unit, the neither endogamous nor exogamous (Murdock's "agamous") village. All these units are tied together by links of bilaterally traced kinship, with coordinate relations on both sides, the ultimate tie being the reciprocal marriage of cross-cousins. Marriage is ideally matrilocal, and occurs most frequently within the village. As a consequence, the most immediate kinship ties in the village are matrilateral, whereas kinship among the men is more diffuse. The villages themselves are tied together by kinship ties, real or imputed, as well as by marriage and visiting, but by no other ties of an all-tribal nature. People who are known to any particular village —to 'us'— are considered part of our village's family, since their kinship ties to our members can be discovered or invented freely. Persons recognized as being of our linguistic and cultural stock will be included under the general term *pumé*, but may not be considered 'of our family' unless the kinship ties are recognized. Thus there is a Yaruro people, but no Yaruro tribal unit. Even the persons included in 'our family' do not constitute a unit, since there are no cross village unifying institutions other than real or imputed bilateral kinship ties. Even these vary from 554 621 [562] [592] 621 [612] [602] [619] [612]

182 First, through time, the gardens tend to radiate further and further
241 from any given residence point since, given the 13-year planting-fallow
361 cycle, plots near the village will be exhausted. Since the major garden resource areas lie in a crudely east-to-west direction, there will be a slow westward migration of the geographic center of garden activities, enough so that at some point, the village is suspended, as it were, among distant resource points (see Maps), and enhanced by the dispersed nature of the hunting and fishing, and to some extent the gathering, areas. If the "suspension" is weighted more in one direction than another, there will be some tendency either to move the village or to send out temporary or permanent branches of it, respectively in the form of work cottages in the swiddens or in larger long-term house groups which are intermittently occupied. This process is, in fact, easily observed among the Yaruro in existent and abandoned house and subsidiary village sites scattered over the whole territory. Similarly, the locus of gathering, so important in
[221] summer, moves further and further from the village. This, together with the considerable shift to fishing and river-hunting in summer, as well as the need for water, causes an extensive seasonal transhumance to occur within the territory. These factors contribute to fissioning as well as to inhibiting the development of permanently located villages, let alone larger aggregations. Thus, with a radiating ecology, a degree of group dispersion and geographical mobility within the territory is to be expected and is indeed characteristic of the Yaruro.

512 Second, if one examines the location of all resources it will be seen that, taken together, they constantly enjoin a dispersal of the labor force in all directions, regardless of season, so that more or less equivalent quantities of labor are being used at the same time in many varying kinds of productive activity independently of each other — at the peripheries of the territory, in the areas between, or in the village centers themselves,
[462] where the women are constantly doing the significantly important work of
[252] converting otherwise unusable food resources, like raw, bitter manioc or uncooked corn, into edibles.

476 Third, it will be noted that none of the Yaruro technological processes require cooperative work, even when they may permit it, if it were so desired. On the whole, the productive activities might be described as dispersive of labor, whether it is individuals or small groups of twos or threes who go out to keep each other company. Even the work of preparing
[241] the swiddens is carried out individually, though two or three men may
[463] work as neighbors in what appears as a single plot. Further, the technology is such as to require no highly specific and difficult or esoteric skills. The
[242] most difficult skill to acquire is the knowledge of the soil types and appropriate planting procedures attached to each. Thus, each adult is in a position to learn the inventory of technological knowledge appropriate
462 to his or her sex, and somewhat of that belonging to the other sex too, and
463 to apply it by himself whenever he wants or must. A man, well-instructed in Yaruro technology, could probably subsist alone successfully for long periods of time. One divorced adult man, although he was largely fed by his

mother's and sister's households, nevertheless hunted and harvested for himself, and often cooked for himself meals of the type ordinarily cooked only by women. 462 463

The forms and characteristics of surpluses, as defined by Harris,[16] shed further light on the structure of the ecology. The technological surplus, defined as the difference between total calories annually produced by any definable group and the calories used to produce them, or as the ratio between these two figures, may be estimated at about 8 or 9 to 1 as compared with Harris's estimated figures of 2:1 for the Sirionó or 33:1 for the Pencuyut Maya.[17] Since as Harris remarks, the degree of social stratification in a large number of cases correlates with the size of the technological surplus, we would scarcely expect to find social stratification among the Yaruro, nor even any significant ranking. Where the technological surplus is low, the producer's surplus, defined as the difference between total calories produced by any given group and the total calories used by the producers for all purposes must also be low. Therefore the number of persons other than producers who can be supported by the producers is also limited. The producers' surplus may provide an index of the degrees of specialization which might be expected. In the case of the Yaruro one would expect no, or very low, specialization. Again with a low producers' surplus, one would expect to find a greater proportion of the group involved in production than where such surpluses are high, for otherwise there would be insufficient calories to support more than a few people other than the producers. With a low producers' surplus, one would expect, in general, to find a greater proportion of both sexes engaged in the food quest. This is, of course, born out in the case of the Yaruro. Finally, Harris's harvest surplus is defined as the difference between the amount produced at any given moment, especially at seasonal maxima, and the amount consumed at that time. The actual amount consumable is governed by the seasonal *minima*, since the population cannot rise higher than the food supply at minimum periods permits unless special technological features such as storage, are present. Where the harvest surpluses are of non-storable goods, the population level is in equilibrium with the absolute minima of the harvests. The greater the degree of storability through a nonproductive season, or the less marked a crop is by seasonality, the higher the level to which the minimum population can be raised as compared with the number of people supportable at levels of production comparable to those at the time of harvest. Storability, however, is only one dimension of the harvest surplus. Absolute size of the peak surpluses, their regularity over the years, their distribution in space and time in the annual cycle, their utility in raw form, and the proportion of labor needed to harvest them relative to the time allotted for the harvest are all important dimensions of the harvest surplus. Thus, manioc, the Yauro's chief food resource has no clear peak, is regular over the years (the Yaruro disclaim any famines), is storable both in raw form and in prepared forms, is, in the case of the Yaruro, so located as not to permit of a concentration of labor at any one time and needs no massive labor for harvesting because of short harvest periods. Thus, in general, the very nature of manioc as a crop, and the labor requisites for

121 433 182 [56] [463] [462] [262] [251] [241]

16, 17 [For footnotes see p. 43, category 116--Analyst]

and then shooting into the still side pools of a stream into which he has driven a post with bait attached. He may also stand in a canoe to shoot. It is reported, though I have not myself seen it, that barbasco (*Jacquinia revoluta* or *macronulata*) poison is used by some Yaruro.[13] No nets, weirs, traps, sweeps, or artificial fish pools are used.

Given the techniques and tools of the Yaruro, all the subsistence activities described can conveniently be done by one person. Some *must* be done by one person only, since the tools and techniques themselves do not permit two or more persons to operate jointly. As it were, the logic of the tools and techniques concerned demands utilization by single persons.[14] Some of the tools and techniques might conveniently involve two or more persons, e. g. lashing tree trunks together to make a fence or cornering a capybara, but do not definitively *require* more than one person. Activities of all sorts may be done by aggregates of persons, each utilizing his own tools and techniques individually but neither the activity, the tools nor the techniques entail the aggregation of individuals. Thus, from the point of view of human organization, the technology, by itself, entails no managerial functions, no coordination of tasks which must be overseen by someone occupying an appropriately defined status.[14] That is, there are no technologically determined positions of leadership in Yaruro society. Further, the technology as such entails no significant cooperation in work organization, even when this is convenient, and correspondingly, no standard work groups or management functions, as represented in some defined status, for facilitating cooperation are to be expected or to be found. In fact, Yaruro technology and resource distribution are such as to elicit considerable dispersion of activities and actors at any given time of work, and to inhibit the development of rank and the personal acquisition of superordinating prestige.

IV

We may now examine the habitat aspect of the ecological relationship. A clearly marked annual cycle occurs in the Yaruro habitat.[15] However, despite a sharp seasonal change from heavy rains up to 60 inches in one half of the year to almost

[13] Personal communication from Mr. Thomas Rootes who has studied Yaruro linguistics for a number of months, having visited several groups.

[14] Different kinds of tools require different kinds of organization. A simple hand saw can be used by only one person at a time. A logging saw, though it can awkwardly be used by one person, is surely best used by two persons. Certain other saws, e. g. jig saws, make up one of a series of machine processes on a single part of a product, the entire series being the unit of operation which requires a still more complex level of organization. Cf. Leeds, 1960 b.

[14] For the structure of argument which is involved here, see Leeds, 1960 b.

[15] 'Habitat' here refers to all physical objects and conditions of the environment which are relevant to the existence or production of resources as defined by the culture. For the most part, then, 'habitat' refers to those environmental conditions such as humidity, temperature, insolation, rainfall, etc., which affect the food supply, as well as the food and water available for animals and plants and other culturally relevant physical objects. By extension, it refers to daily, seasonal, annual, and long-term variations and cycles in the various relevant factors of the environment, whether climatic, geologic, or biotic, which affect any of these supplies.

221 262 Finally, the Yaruro deny any considerable long-term oscillations in the environment and consequently in the resources. The extremes, particularly the minima, of habitat factors which regulate food and population balances, according to Liebig's Law, fall within narrow limits and again elicit no special institutions of management or of equilibrium maintenance to compensate for them, as in the case of the potlatches of the Northwest Coast of America, the buffalo hunts in the Great Plains of the United States, or the use of pigs in Melanesia.[23]

VI

868 One more point may be made regarding the ecology as limiter of chieftainship among the Yaruro. The tools, techniques, and resources require no very extensive, highly specialized or esoteric knowledge. In fact any man or woman, and any child as well, has access to such knowledge, and it is easily acquired by all members of the society who thus have, at least potentially, equal access to control over the means of life. There is no specialized knowledge, at least with respect to technology and habitat, which requires a specialized repository in the form of a chief or learned person. Yaruro knowledge, itself dependent upon the inventory of tools, techniques, and resources, inhibits any tendency towards the development of any [463] sort of specialists in technical or managerial knowledge. As one might expect, there are no true specialists in Yaruro society. Here and there women make pots and certain women seem to have a special bent for making woven sacks but these [756] are not properly specialities. Nor, from a technological or ecological point of view, is male or female shamanism in any way a speciality. They do not appear to be specialists even in esoteric knowledge. Knowledge of the general type described here might be called 'dispersive' or 'egalitarian' since it tends to become more or less uniformly distributed among the members of the society. A consequence of the existence of this type of knowledge, associated with the kind of technology described, is that there will be no specialised training of any specialists and, of course, no specialised personnel to do such training. This is the situation which obtains among the Yaruro both with respect to technical and managerial activities. Thus, in Yaruro knowledge, there is no source for the support of an institutionalized and strong chieftainship.

VII

221 241 361 622 In one respect, the ecology encourages chiefly functions. A balance is struck between the cultural resources, the possibilities that the habitat affords for their production, and the length of time that areas of land can be exploited. This is particularly true of the horticultural lands since they can no longer be used after three years of cropping, and it becomes necessary to move on. The result is that there is a slow migration of resource areas, chiefly of horticultural areas across the tribal territory. The lands in cultivation move further and further from any given village until a point of suspension is reached at which the walking and working

[23] Cf. Suttles, 1960 a, 1960 b; Llewelly and Hoebel, 1941; Vayda, 1961; Vayda, Leeds, and Smith, 1961.

Gathered resources are found near the streams in marshy places where the moriche palm grows, and to a lesser extent in the savannas.[17] The dry season resources are also distributively located though the pattern is somewhat different. Quanta of production from these resources at any one time are rarely great. The larder, as it were, must be filled from a number of sources at once, even though one crop, particularly bitter manioc, and occasionally sweet manioc and corn, may rise briefly to as much as 50 or 60% of the food supply. Thus the available quanta of resources and their distribution at given moments in time are such as to demand a distributive form of labor organization: workers, as individuals or in very small groups, must go off in different directions at the same time. The obverse of this, of course, is that no sizable or permanent working groups are to be expected and none in fact occur. Further, because a dispersion of the labor force and a constant flux in the constitution of work groups is entailed by the relationships between the technology and the habitat, organized and permanent managerial functions can scarcely occur, and no fixed status with significant managerial powers would be expected. The observed data of leadership among the Yaruro and many other tribes in South America and other parts of the world, such as Melanesia, having fundamentally similar ecologies, corresponds precisely with what one is led to expect logically from the form of the ecology.

The absolute size of work groups achievable in the Yaruro habitat is limited not only by the dispersed locations and temporal harvest patterns of resources, but also by the absolute productivity of the ecology. If one calculates the distribution per land area of those calories potentially convertible to human energy, the rate of calories per unit of land surface is so low that even at maximum utilization only a very low population density of about 2 persons per square mile would be possible. If concentrated in the center of an effective walking distance for exploiting resources of, say, six miles radius from a village, with a resultant total area of about 110 square miles, there would be about 220 souls. Of these, perhaps 70% (all persons over age 10), at maximum, might constitute the labor force, i. e. 154 adults and older children. The actual conditions are, of course, much more limiting, since the efficiency of the technology is such that it cannot exploit the totality of calories potentially available for conversion to human energy at any one time.[19] The actually harvested calories are considerably less, though I have no estimates as to how much less. Let us estimate half, or enough to support one person per square mile, that is, 110 persons. With a somewhat smaller per cent of the population available for the labor force, say 60% of the 110, the force would have only about 67 persons at most. This appears to be a reasonable number for the Cinaruco Yaruro groups, although due to depopulation from disease and mas-

[17] *Ibid.*, Map I.

[18] *Ibid.*, Map II.

[19] For example, all the fish available in the streams at a given time cannot be caught. More could be caught with an improved technology, such as the use of fish traps, weirs, or fish poisons, which, as we have said, are absent from the technology of the Cinaruco Yaruro. Density of fish, or any other biotic population, can be estimated (cf. Dice, 1952, Ch. IV), and then compared with rates of harvesting. Furthermore, it should be noted that often the totality of an actually harvested resource may not be available. For example, in

46 433 sacre, the labor force actually observed in "my" group was a little more than 25% of that number, or 18, and neighboring groups were generally still smaller. These 154, 67, and especially the actual 18 workers, even if, at any given moment, *all* were working at subsistence activities, would be distributed over various parts of the 110 square miles of territory under the kind of dispersive habitat and technological conditions described. They are in fact so thinly scattered as to preclude any sort of continuing managerial functions.

V

241 433 A consideration of the forms of the harvest surplus[49] is relevant to our discussion. Harvest surpluses must be considered with respect both to individual subsistence resources and to all subsistence resources taken together. In the annual cycle, there is considerable variation in the amount produced of any given crop, except for sweet and bitter manioc which together constitute perhaps 40% of the annual food supply of the Yaruro. Manioc produces throughout the year. Given that the manioc-growing areas are widely dispersed and that considerable labor is drawn from manioc areas by still more dispersed resources, it follows that most work units for manioc gardens will consist of only one or two men, each having their own swidden or sharing it with one or two others to supply themselves and their immediate families throughout the year. As might be expected, land tenure and land usage patterns are in accord with this inference. Occasionally small oscillations in the manioc crops may produce small harvest surpluses. These, at least nominally, belong to the man in whose swidden they grow and are his for disposal. The quantities, however, are exceedingly small, and present no problems of storage or disposal necessitating more centralized supervision and allocation. Most other resources display a similar pattern though to an even smaller degree. 262 Fish are obtainable, for the Cinaruco Yaruro, all year round with almost equal ease, though the Palmariteños have a more difficult time because of the grassy and muddy waters in the rainy season. Hunting windfalls and large pigs are the only animal sources which present harvest surpluses of any size. However, these are small enough so that they last at most two or three days, and they are so irregular both as to occurrence and as to personnel involved that no regular centralized [251] institutional mode of handling them is entailed. The virtual absence of meat storage

For example, in [171] the Trobriand Islands, in a good year, all the yams harvested cannot be eaten at once, nor can they be stored. Some portion of the crop is then lost by spoilage. We may construct, in terms of calories or other significant food values, two ratios:

[146 464] $\frac{C_h}{C_p}$ $\frac{C_c}{C_h}$

C — Calories
c — consumed
p — potential
h — harvested (= available for use)

The first may be used as a measure of the efficiency of the productive capacity of the technology; the second as a measure of the efficiency of the distributive capacity of the technology.

[49] The technological, producers, and harvest surpluses are defined in Harris, 1956, [114] and implied in Harris, 1959. They are dealt with in detail with respect to the Yaruro in Leeds, 1961. Other relevant discussions of surplus are found Sahlins, 1958; Jacobs and Stern, 1952, Ch VI.

also inhibits any such development because it forces the immediate distribution of most of the meat of the slaughtered pig or captured game. There is no constantly or repeatedly stored supply to be supervised or allocated. In fact swine and windfall game, properly considered, correspond to the small oscillations of the manioc supply and are totally different from the regularly occurring massive incidence of food sources like buffalo herds, salmon runs, and wheat harvests of temperate climates or crab runs in the tropical Orinoco delta of Venezuela.[21]. Of all the food resources, the only one with a marked harvest surplus is corn. The significance of even this harvest surplus is reduced by a) the smallness of the quanta involved relative to the total food supply, and b) the fact that there are two corn seasons, one beginning in June, one about the beginning of February. Temporary harvest surpluses of corn may, however, contribute slightly to the enhanced prestige of those individuals who by their own will and work have been most productive.[22] They say with appreciation, "He is a hard worker", but the prestige is relevant only to the sphere in which it is gained. It does not necessarily give him prestige in some other spheres of cultural life, such as, for example, the ceremonial or decision-making activities.

In taking an overall view of the food resources, it will be noted that there are no clear harvest surpluses, and that the oscillations in supply, which are in truth minute and momentary harvest surpluses, are so small and irregular and varied in location as to be insignificant determiners of managerial functions. At most one might expect the harvest surplus of corn to elicit some small allocative function, generally none. Storage, too, in this case, is not a technique requiring administration as with wheat in grain elevators. It would in fact be better to consider this kind of storage as a steady presence of food rather than as storage at all, even though it functions as such.

The extra labor requirements of these small upward oscillations of the harvest surplus are likewise, in general, indistinguishable from regular labor requirements and are easily absorbed by individual workers. Or a worker may take along a child, who goes as much for the fun of being with his father or grandfather, but nevertheless carries back some produce. This type of situation is in sharp contrast with, say, the labor requirements of a large harvest surplus like the wheat crop in the United States which demands a large amount of labor quickly and temporarily. Such a harvest surplus entails a number of organizational problems foreign to the harvest oscillations.

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[21] Personal communication from Johannes Wilbert who has done extensive fieldwork with the Warrau in the Amacuro Delta of the Orinoco River.

[22] Yaruro individuals differ in productivity not only because of inborn qualities such as strength and native abilities, but also by choice based on tastes. Some do not like to grow corn, others do not like to grow pigs, others still prefer to hunt or trade. The food quanta produced by these several activities vary greatly. The individual may exercise these choices in a cultural setting where any such choice benefits the community. All produce eventually finds its way into the community at large through the distribution mechanism. The person is not acting as an individualist regardless of the interest of others, but at his own optimum, given his unique person, in the community as a whole. Cf Fn 5 *supra*.

/117 cont./

342 may also be used, but rarely, throughout the year (communities
361 25, 26, and 28).

The type I house is a house that lasts for several years, whereas the small huts (II) and the shelters of boughs (III), either dismantled by the wind or carried off by the rising water in each new rainy season, must almost always be reconstructed the following year.

The winter habitations of a community are always grouped (the dispersion of those of communities 4 and 10 is provisional), whereas the huts and camping shelters of the seasonal changes and of the dry season are sometimes dispersed (one, two, or three huts) on shores located around the winter village.

[396
464] In addition, if the Yaruro spend the entire rainy season in the same place and lead a sedentary life at this time, during the dry season and even during the transition period between the two seasons, they move their encampments from one place to another on the same shore or from one shore to another, with the intention of either drawing nearer to water or of reinstalling themselves on sand which is clean and not encumbered with refuse, or in order to be closer to a hunting, fishing, or work place (construction of a monosylic canoe or employment on a Venezuelan farm at dry season jobs).

Let us add in conclusion that on the Capanaparo, between the Orinoco and the Riecito, all the permanent winter habitations with one or two exceptions are located, or were, in the case of the lower Capanaparo, on the southern bank. The cause of this situation seems to be the configuration of the terrain: the southern bank at this place is in general more elevated than the northern bank and hence better shielded from floods.

/9 cont./

productive and the Yaruro are living mainly on sandy shores, leading the life of fishers and nomadic gatherers--and limited them to the lower Capanaparo. There these Indians do not work the land, or at least very little; apparently for reasons linked with the proximity of Venezuelan peasants, such as: interdiction on the part of the latter who, with or without title, are masters of the land, the risk of being overrun by the free-roaming livestock, or simply work as peons on the farms, which would hardly allow them time to cultivate the land.

In fact, agriculture is only practiced on certain portions of their territory and particularly on those where they do not have contact with the Venezuelan peasants. This statement excludes at first sight the recent acquisition of it from the latter. Such a deduction is moreover corroborated by the accounts of the Jesuits (7) who lived for a while in the region in the eigh-

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

teenth century and who already described them as agriculturists--without specifying whether they had been before their arrival--and by the present Yaruro themselves, who affirm that they all formerly had conucos (8). But these points still do not

8. Kitchen gardens, in Venezuelan.

allow us to assert that they were in possession of the technique in the pre-Hispanic period.

2) The region, on the other hand, is rich in archaeological sites containing objects (pottery remains, figurines of baked clay and lignite, polished stone axes, funeral urns) which are of a completely different make from those made by the present-day Yaruro, who, moreover, do not recognize them as being of their making. Is it a question of remains of objects of forerunners or remains of objects of the Otomaco, who at the time of the Jesuits apparently lived in the present-day territory

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

606 daughter, but he should have married the daughter of one Juan
604 Bario, who was a parallel cousin of Landaeta, therefore, he actually married not his immediate cross cousin, but his cross cousin once removed. He kept strictly within the cross moiety marriage rule. However, this marriage brought complications in his life, because for all practical purposes he had two fathers-in-law to take care of rather than one. He solved this problem by living with Landaeta, his wife's father, half of the week, and the other half he spent with his uncle,

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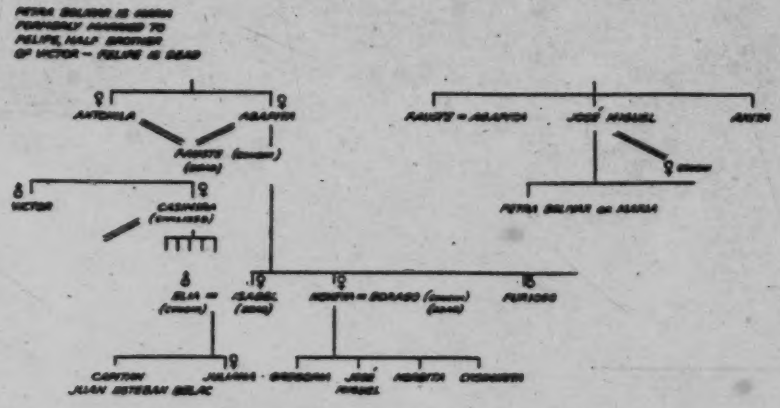

FIGURE 23.—Yaruro family hunting group at El Burro.

606 Juan Bario, whose daughter he would have married if she had lived.
604 The sense of service which he owed to his true uncle, his mother's brother, was strong enough to persist, even though it visited a hardship on him.

616 Within the tribal organization the individual looks to his moiety
476 for guidance, protection, and social intercourse. In return for this he is obligated to members of his moiety in a variety of ways. He acknowledges their affinity to him by seeking their company, by hunting together with them, and by sharing his food with them.

622 In the family hunting group its head is socially a stranger to most
593 of the people around him. Indeed, if he has no sisters or has sis-
626 ters who do not have any sons and has no brothers living with him, then socially he is almost out of place in the family hunting group. His wife, of course, belongs to the opposite moiety, and the children trace their descent through the mother. His wife's mother, sisters, brothers and their children belong to the same moiety
604 as herself. When his own children are old enough to take part in
593 hunting they look to their mother and to her brother, or brothers, for
476 guidance and it is toward the latter that they have all sorts of social obligations. To their father they show respect, but to the mother's

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

604 593 476 brothers they must make offerings of labor and food. In fact as soon as they are old enough to do so, the boys will spend a good portion of their time in the family group of their uncles on their mother's side. They hunt with him, they help him build his canoes, work for him, and take part in the feasts and ceremonies with him.

593 604 However, the father is interested in his children, especially when they are young, and treats them with the utmost kindness and they reciprocate by acknowledging filial respect. Perhaps it was this difference in the attitude between the uncle and the father that led [114] the missionaries to comment that the Yaruros and the Otomacos showed no respect for their fathers and often killed them.

601 A Yaruro makes no mistake between those individuals in his group who are related to him biologically and those who are merely related to him socially. For instance, he calls his father "aia" or "aiamái," and he calls his father's brothers by the same word. In fact he distinguishes between the older and the younger brothers of his father, so that he may call his father's elder brother "aiamái otéh," which is translatable into "elder father". He will refer to the younger brother of his father as "aiamái durimé," meaning "younger father." Not only does he call the brothers of his father by the same term as he addresses his own father, but the parallel cousins also are addressed by the same term. Since his own father must show respect to his older brothers, the son assumes the same attitude as his father toward the older members of the family. In the female line, he refers to his mother as "aí" and his mother's sisters as "aí" also, suffixing the term for older and younger as the case may be. The female parallel cousins of his mother are called by the same term.

On the other hand the sisters of the father are addressed as "haí" and the brothers of his mother are addressed as "hademái". It is these classes of individuals whom we can refer to as aunt and uncle.

His brothers he calls "ajimái" or "anyimai" and his sisters "aní". These terms are extended to his parallel cousins both on his father's and mother's side. The children of his father's brothers, and his mother's sisters, he calls "anyiná," if male, and "ani," if female. His cross-cousins he addresses as follows: "keramái", the sons of his mother's brother, which is equivalent to brother-in-law; "nyohé" the daughters of his mother's brother; "avimái", the sons of his father's sister; and "haí haó", the daughters of his father's sister.

There is a striking resemblance between the terms which he employs to indicate his grandchildren and his grandparents. The children of his daughter, if boys, he will refer to as "hiamai," if girls, "hiatokwi." The children of his son, on the other hand, if boys, he will call "hadamai," and if girls "hadatokwi." His grandfather on his father's side he calls "hadaoteh." His grandmother

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

601 marriage she called also "nyowuh", are referred to as "keramai". The father-in-law calls his son-in-law "haiméma'", which means "the one my daughter married", and the son-in-law calls his father-in-law "huíteh". His mother-in-law, whom he never addresses directly, he [606] refers to as "kaikamúe". The girl refers to her father-in-law as "kuinté". Before marriage the boy would have called his uncle, the brother of his mother, "húidemái".

616 There do not seem to be any rites or ceremonies from which members of the opposite moiety are excluded. According to my informants, the Puaná clan moiety is preeminent over the Itciai moiety, therefore the person recognized as its head is considered to be the [578] chief of the Yaruros. There is no resentment, as far as I was able to learn, to this arrangement. Primarily, I suppose, because the biological descendants of an individual pass from one moiety to another and therefore share in its prerogatives. The Yaruros' social concepts in respect to moiety membership is best expressed by reciprocal duties, obligations, and prerogatives. Under the elementary local system the son-in-law is almost a guest among his wife's people with whom he goes to live. During the rainy season when more permanent shelters are built, according to my informants, they have more ceremonies, during one of which the unmarried boys of one moiety then sit in the house of the other moiety.

616 Although there is no exclusion of the members of the opposite
796 moiety in the ceremonies, if the shaman is of the Puaná moiety,
791 those that sit closest to him are members of his own moiety. But even in this case the other moiety is represented, and in fact indirectly serves him. His own wife sits at his right and it is she who assists him when her help is needed by handing to him the various pieces of his paraphernalia and tobacco. It is she, likewise, who prepares the various drinks. The rest of the members of her moiety, if they happen to be present, take their places following the members of the shaman's moiety.

604 When a man is undertaking a hunt or wishes to build a canoe he
476 calls on his nephews, that is, his sister's sons, for help, and they are obligated to be at his service. This obligation and service, which begins as soon as the boy begins to understand his position in the society, lasts a lifetime. When the uncle or uncles become too feeble to hunt for themselves it is these nephews who supply them with food and everything else they may need. This service may be interpreted as compensation to the uncles for their daughters who become the wives of these youths. But there was no indication that it was so considered by the Yaruro.

593 h. A man, therefore, does not have the services nor the social life of
604 his children, but has to look to his sister's womb for individuals to educate and to assist him.

182 241 361 First, through time, the gardens tend to radiate further and further from any given residence point since, given the 13-year planting-fallow cycle, plots near the village will be exhausted. Since the major garden resource areas lie in a crudely east-to-west direction, there will be a slow westward migration of the geographic center of garden activities, enough so that at some point, the village is suspended, as it were, among distant resource points (see Maps), and enhanced by the dispersed nature of the hunting and fishing, and to some extent the gathering, areas. If the "suspension" is weighted more in one direction than another, there will be some tendency either to move the village or to send out temporary or permanent branches of it, respectively in the form of work cottages in the swiddens or in larger long-term house groups which are intermittently occupied. This process is, in fact, easily observed among the Yaruro in existent and abandoned house and subsidiary village sites scattered over the whole territory. Similarly, the locus of gathering, so important in [221] summer, moves further and further from the village. This, together with the considerable shift to fishing and river-hunting in summer, as well as the need for water, causes an extensive seasonal transhumance to occur within the territory. These factors contribute to fissioning as well as to inhibiting the development of permanently located villages, let alone larger aggregations. Thus, with a radiating ecology, a degree of group dispersion and geographical mobility within the territory is to be expected and is indeed characteristic of the Yaruro.

512 Second, if one examines the location of all resources it will be seen that, taken together, they constantly enjoin a dispersal of the labor force in all directions, regardless of season, so that more or less equivalent quantities of labor are being used at the same time in many varying kinds of productive activity independently of each other — at the peripheries of the territory, in the areas between, or in the village centers themselves, [462] where the women are constantly doing the significantly important work of [252] converting otherwise unusable food resources, like raw, bitter manioc or uncooked corn, into edibles.

● 476 Third, it will be noted that none of the Yaruro technological processes require cooperative work, even when they may permit it, if it were so desired. On the whole, the productive activities might be described as dispersive of labor, whether it is individuals or small groups of twos or threes who go out to keep each other company. Even the work of preparing [241] the swiddens is carried out individually, though two or three men may [463] work as neighbors in what appears as a single plot. Further, the technology [242] is such as to require no highly specific and difficult or esoteric skills. The most difficult skill to acquire is the knowledge of the soil types and appropriate planting procedures attached to each. Thus, each adult is in 462 a position to learn the inventory of technological knowledge appropriate 463 to his or her sex, and somewhat of that belonging to the other sex too, and to apply it by himself whenever he wants or must. A man, well-instructed in Yaruro technology, could probably subsist alone successfully for long periods of time. One divorced adult man, although he was largely fed by his

and then shooting into the still side pools of a stream into which he has driven a post with bait attached. He may also stand in a canoe to shoot. It is reported, though I have not myself seen it, that barbasco (*Jacquinia revoluta* or *mucronulata*) poison is used by some Yaruro.[12] No nets, weirs, traps, sweeps, or artificial fish pools are used.

Given the techniques and tools of the Yaruro, all the subsistence activities described can conveniently be done by one person. Some *must* be done by one person only, since the tools and techniques themselves do not permit two or more persons to operate jointly. As it were, the logic of the tools and techniques concerned demands utilization by single persons.[13] Some of the tools and techniques might conveniently involve two or more persons, e. g. lashing tree trunks together to make a fence or cornering a capybara, but do not definitively *require* more than one person. Activities of all sorts may be done by aggregates of persons, each utilizing his own tools and techniques individually but neither the activity, the tools nor the techniques entail the aggregation of individuals. Thus, from the point of view of human organization, the technology, by itself, entails no managerial functions, no coordination of tasks which must be overseen by someone occupying an appropriately defined status.[14] That is, there are no technologically determined positions of leadership in Yaruro society. Further, the technology as such entails no significant cooperation in work organization, even when this is convenient, and correspondingly, no standard work groups or management functions, as represented in some defined status, for facilitating cooperation are to be expected or to be found. In fact, Yaruro technology and resource distribution are such as to elicit considerable dispersion of activities and actors at any given time of work, and to inhibit the development of rank and the personal acquisition of superordinating prestige.

IV

We may now examine the habitat aspect of the ecological relationship. A clearly marked annual cycle occurs in the Yaruro habitat.[15] However, despite a sharp seasonal change from heavy rains up to 60 inches in one half of the year to almost

[12] Personal communication from Mr. Thomas Rootes who has studied Yaruro linguistics for a number of months, having visited several groups.

[13] Different kinds of tools require different kinds of organization. A simple hand saw can be used by only one person at a time. A logging saw, though it can awkwardly be used by one person, is surely best used by two persons. Certain other saws, e. g. jig saws, make up one of a series of machine processes on a single part of a product, the entire series being the unit of operation which requires a still more complex level of organization. Cf. Leeds, 1960 b.

[14] For the structure of argument which is involved here, see Leeds, 1960 b.

[15] 'Habitat' here refers to all physical objects and conditions of the environment which are relevant to the existence or production of resources as defined by the culture. For the most part, then, 'habitat' refers to those environmental conditions such as humidity, temperature, insolation, rainfall, etc., which affect the food supply, as well as the food and water available for animals and plants and other culturally relevant physical objects. By extension, it refers to daily, seasonal, annual, and long-term variations and cycles in the various relevant factors of the environment, whether climatic, geologic, or biotic, which affect any of these supplies.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

along the west-to-east flowing rivers in ribbons some kilometers wide. Most significant fauna and flora of economic use occur in these ribbons. This ecological distribution of resources governs subsistence activities whether they be mainly hunting, fishing, collecting, or horticulture.

Yaruro subsistence comprises all these activities. (2). Horticulture in the rainy season appears considerably to outweigh all other sources of food together, but in the dry season, hunting, fishing, and collecting perhaps equal or outstrip horticulture. In any case, slash and burn gardening of manioc, corn, plantains, and a number of lesser crops is by far the single most important economic activity. The technology is exceedingly simple in all aspects of production, the main tools being the machete and digging stick. The most elaborate technology occurs in the conversion of food into edibles and in the manufacture of hammocks, pottery, objects of wood such as canoes, and woven containers of all types.

The economic organization displays a sharp division of labor between men's and women's work. Men do all hunting and fishing, make all objects of wood, haul lumber and householding materials, make hammocks, and carry out the heavy labor of gardening. Women do most of the collecting of roots, seeds, and fruits. Since collecting contributes a substantial portion of the food supply in summer, woman's contribution, here, is of considerable communal importance. Women's work, a continuous activity from dawn to dusk, is, first, the conversion of raw foodstuffs into edibles. Second, women make all pottery, mats and baskets, the manioc squeezers, and much of the cord used to make hammocks. Another important contribution of women is their help in harvesting in the gardens. Men sometimes help the women with the cookery.

Men may work alone, in groups of 2 or 3, or in larger groups on rare occasions. No occasion exists for all men to work at a single task since there is no technological need for it. Women's work groups for collecting or householding are of similar size. Work group alignments are often based on choice or accident but in other instances coresidence and kinship are determinants. The household, however, constitutes the only really necessary cooperative group for production. The man is a funnel for produce which the woman converts to

(2) The present description applies to the Cinaruco River Yaruro where the major part of the writer's field work, supported by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, was done. The Capanaparo River Yaruro were reported by Petrullo (1939) and Le Besnerais (1948) as being hunters and gatherers, although Le Besnerais observed small horticultural patches which he claimed were diffusions from Venezuelan farmers which had occurred recently. Le Besnerais in 1954 states directly that they were horticulturalists, omitting any mention of possible diffusions from Venezuelans. The passing mention of horticulture by Fiasson (1947) confirms the present writer in his opinion that, although horticulture may be more restricted on the Capanaparo than on the Cinaruco and Cunaviche-Arauca (where the writer also spent several weeks) which are not discussed at all by Petrullo or Le Besnerais, nevertheless, the absence of horticulture is probably not aboriginal with the Yaruro as has been suggested by Kirchhoff (1948, p. 456). Rather the restricted gardening is a result of ecological conditions on the Capanaparo which are less favorable to horticulture than on the neighboring rivers, combined with extremely violent acculturation, including large-scale massacres of natives. The only other possibility, in my opinion, is that horticulture was introduced by the missionaries in the early part of the Eighteenth Century, which is certainly the period when the Yaruro first became acquainted with iron tools (cf Lodares, 1922).

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

CANOES

[481] 501 502 868 The Yaruros dislike to travel any distance afoot. The canoe, therefore, is practically his only means of transportation. As a result, they are extraordinarily good canoemen, learning both how to build and to manage one from childhood. It is not an uncommon sight to see little children of 5 or 6 years of age paddling furiously in midstream. Their expertness can best be illustrated by the following incident: The llanos are exposed to the trade winds in the dry season, which at times blow very hard. On our return from La Urbana we found the crossing of the Orinoco to the mouth of the Capanaparo a dangerous undertaking.

The Yaruro dugouts are clumsy affairs at best, but in addition to that, ours had a gaping hole about 10 inches in diameter in the stern and it was with some qualms that I stepped into it to negotiate the rather rough waters with the help of a 12-year-old boy. Since the Yaruro steers from the bow, that place of honor was allotted to the youngster, I furnishing the power. During the passage across I despaired several times of being able to hold the canoe in the right direction, but whenever we found ourselves caught in some especially difficult whirlpool this lad would turn and laugh, not in derision but in encouragement, which was calculated, I suppose, to bolster my spirit, but helped not at all in easing the strain on my arms. His knowledge of the currents and his proper timing in signaling to me to paddle one way or the other, as well as deft steering, finally got us across safely. When this incident was over and I looked back over the rough waters, my respect for Yaruro canoemanship increased manifold.

502 177 Sails are used on the Orinoco and its tributaries, both by the occasional traders and crocodile hunters. The Yaruros have had ample opportunities over several centuries to learn how to make use of them. In fact, some of the younger men who worked occasionally for the ranchers, or traders, do know how. However, in their daily plying up and down the rivers, hunting and fishing, they never employ the sail.

[181] Their conservatism is further illustrated by another fact. The Racionales will always pole their canoes when traveling upstream. The Yaruros know how to do this also, but only when they are working for someone else. In their everyday life they depend entirely on the paddle.

502 The steersman generally sits in the bow, especially when moving downstream and the paddler is alone, pulling the canoe after him. The paddler in the stern, if one is present, really furnishes the motive power. The Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

high and the hips carried well forward. As they walk along the soft sands they do not lean forward as a white man would to push against the yielding sands. The torso is held erect on the pelvis and the weight is shifted from hip to hip with the legs making a gliding motion beneath. In this way the walk is really a shifting of weight from one foot to another, the foot being planted almost flat on the ground. I noticed that on a hard trail the ball of the foot strikes the ground before the heel. They make a graceful picture as they walk about.

When sitting they double their legs under them, a position difficult to assume unless one has practiced it from childhood. The favorite sleeping posture is on the side with the knees drawn up close to the mouth. When sitting on the sands, if forced to pick up an object lying some distance away, the women especially would walk on all fours to it and bring it back without rising to a standing posture. In this manner I have seen women pick up firewood lying 50 yards away from the fire.

Loads are carried by men and women in nets suspended by a band from the forehead. Young children, who generally accompany their mothers on their food-gathering expeditions, are carried astride the hip, feeding at the breast as the mother goes about her work.

The physical endurance of the Yaruros is rather low. A day of hard paddling at a speed greater than their ordinary style, and they are exhausted. It is difficult to say whether this is due to their poor diet or simply to low racial vitality. It is certain that the American primitive is not as acclimated to the tropics as the Negro who, living on the same food as the Indian, will nevertheless outwork the latter.

The Yaruros today have been pushed to the Capanaparo and the Sinaruco Rivers. Rarely do they dare to wander far away from the banks of these two rivers. Since the days of the missions the indigenous tribes have been the victims of exploitation, even to the extent of enslavement. They are free booty for anyone who can catch them. The ranchers have sought to enslave the Yaruros, but an even more general sport has been the taking of the Yaruro women. Bandits and revolutionary groups sweeping along the llanos have not eased the Yaruro problem. Crocodile hunters, upon meeting with a band of Yaruros, will demand their women, and if the Yaruros should be reluctant to turn them over, death may be the price. I was told both by the Racionales, that is the peons, and the Yaruros, that about one month before I arrived in their midst about 150 Yaruros had been rounded up and killed by the local "Jefes Civiles." The Yaruros are a hunted people, and they know that their extermination is imminent.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

considered to be their ancestorial relatives; that once upon a time the Yaruros were very many and now very few; that the Yaruros had been visited with great calamities the preceding year, and many of their people had died through sickness and other destructive forces.

Also, I learned that, though I could gather inklings of a rich spiritual culture and a good cross section of the material phases from this band, I had to go farther down river to meet the spiritual leaders of the remnants of this race if I wanted to reach the heart of the Yaruros' religion, cosmology, mythology, and ethics.

In all of the primitive groups with which I have come in contact, certain individuals are recognized as the leaders and authorities, especially on such matters as religion and social organization. The younger people hesitate and often refuse to discuss such matters altogether, but age alone is not enough to qualify an individual as the mouthpiece of the group. The Yaruros were no exception. As soon as they grasped that I wanted to know a great deal about their history and culture they urged me to talk to "Landaeta", their leader and great "musico" or shaman. He, with his family, was hunting on the lower Capanaparo. They offered to guide me to him. Accordingly, we journeyed downstream by moonlight to avoid the heat of the day, and as I subsequently discovered, to avoid meeting with crocodile hunters.

About noon the next day we sighted several empty canoes drawn up on the bank, and knew that there must be more Yaruros nearby. We landed on the sandy beach and awaited their return. They came early in the afternoon, the men carrying turtles and crocodiles slung on poles, the women with baskets filled with changuango, leaning forward as they walked, looking not unlike grotesque apes under their heavy loads; and also, little children carrying their share of food, straggling behind. Upon seeing me they were frightened, but did not run away.

My Yaruro paddlers acted the part of mediators perfectly, for soon afterwards we were all embarked and moving downstream to join the main body of Landaeta's band which, I was told, was encamped several miles downstream. Their good humor almost amounted to gaiety. The three canoes moved steadily down the river, the men paddling hard, and the women sitting quietly and casting shy inquisitive glances in my direction.

We found Landaeta and his people on a large exposed wind-swept beach. There was the white sand, the strong wind blowing from the east raising it into dust clouds, and the intense glare from river and sand; a few water jars, a few baskets, several refuse heaps with buzzards feeding at them, canoes drawn up on the beach, and some

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

291 177 after I had been among the Yaruros for a time the women often discarded their camisoles, even though I were present.

291 286 462 The men would normally wear a breechclout which originally was woven by the women from the fibers of the moriche palm leaf, but now it consists of a piece of cloth. Formerly the women wove wide belts of the same fiber for the men, but this is no longer done. The breechclout is held in place by a string tied around the waist.

291 287 The women, underneath their camisoles, still wear the old-fashioned Yaruro girdle, which is made from the fibers of the moriche palm. The fibers, which are about 2 feet long, are fastened together at one end. This end is slipped through a hair rope tied around the waist, and the whole mass of fibers passes between their legs and under the waist string. Plate 25, 4, shows a Yaruro woman wearing one of these girdles. It is fastened in such a way that an enormous knot is formed in the rear, and when wearing their camisole the women have the appearance of sporting large tails.

562 291 301 The women on the whole seem to be more conservative than the men in their clothing and body decorations. Below the knees and around the ankles they wear a thin string, and often they have necklaces of carved asabache figures, which are shown in plate 21.

DELOUSING TOOL

412 515 An implement that is in great vogue is the delousing tool shown in plate 20, 2. The serrated end is used as a comb to expose the lice, which are seized between the fingers and crushed between the teeth. The pointed end is employed to crush blisters raised on the body by 462 mosquito bites. These tools, also fashioned by the men, are used 302 exclusively by the women to groom their menfolk and each other.

CARRYING NETS

482 286 854 Carrying nets, of the knotless variety, are woven and used to carry children and food. When carrying children the net is slung across the chest from one shoulder; when carrying food it is supported by the head.

COOKING

252 462 The culinary art among the Yaruro is poorly developed. Much of the fruit and the eggs are eaten raw. Fish is eaten half raw and the meat of the crocodiles and turtles is merely warmed over the fire. Sometimes the meat is boiled. In the afternoon the women who have gathered firewood are to be found in camp waiting patiently for the men. On the hot coals they will have eggs and changuango. If the hunt is successful, and no hunt is considered

1 [see category 116, and plate 15, - - - Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. Yaruro bowman. The arrow is held to the string between the forefinger and thumb. The middle and fourth finger help pull the string back. 2. Crocodile meat is a staple food. The legs and tail have been cut off to make carrying easier. 3. Yaruros of Lagunote wearing parts of author's towels for breechcloots.

[End Plate 2]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1, 2, 3. As soon as the night chill is dispelled the men leave to hunt and the women to gather roots and seeds. The equipment of the women consists of basket carried with a tump band across the forehead, and digging stick. Children are carried astride across the hip or in a carrying net. The aboriginal clothing of the Yaruro women is the girdle shown in these photographs, now worn even if the individual possesses a camisole.

(End Plate 8)

La Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. Woman weaving a mat. Note the use of the foot.

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2. Women foraging for food. Note: braided hair, method of carrying basket, women's girdles, bands below the knee and on the ankles, method of carrying child, and digging stick.

(End Plate 13)

represent his people to the outside world without consultation and to make arbitrary decisions for them inside the community — mainly in his own interest — was, with the consent of the community, assassinated by one of the members, now in excellent standing in that community as a respected shaman. The chief in question had stepped beyond the bounds designated for his status. In sum, the position of chief, even though formally recognized by Yaruro society and reinforced by formal recognition and appointment by Venezuelan authorities, is feeble as an institution and as a status.[6] It is our hypothesis that ecological conditions of Yaruro life determine the form of the chieftainship in such a way that its stronger institutionalization would be impossible, and we turn to this question now.

III

Yaruro subsistence activities[7] comprise swiddening, gathering, pig herding, hunting and fishing, mentioned in the order of their importance as contributors to the total food supply as measured in calories.[8] Horticulture probably provides 60—70% of the total annual food supply. The horticulture practiced is characteristic of tropical forest slash-and-burn gardens, with a slow rotation of plots in order to permit soil renewal and weed control. Trees are cut, at present with steel axes and formerly, apparently, with axes of bone or shell, and then burnt. Occasional fences are roughly made of the logs to keep out pigs. Bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*),[9] in several varieties, is the main crop, though sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*), also in several varieties, is planted too, as are corn, bananas, sugar cane — each in several varieties — and a number of lesser crops such as melons, squashes, pumpkins, pineapples, sweet potatoes, and yautia or ocumo (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*). Crops are planted with a digging stick which may also be used in harvesting. Gardens are weeded, once only, early in the growth of the crops. Other than clearing, the only soil preparation is the construction of hills for planting bananas. This is done by burning hills made by a certain species of ants (*huachaquero*). The hills, which are quite wide and low, are filled with organic matter enriching the soil.[10] Harvesting is aided with baskets for carrying the crops. Baskets contain about half a bushel or less. No fertilization, no terracing, no drainage, no irrigation, no extensive turning of the soil is done.

The gathered resources include a number of roots, particularly changuango, changuanito, and guapo (*Maranta arundinacea*);[11] varied fruits, especially that of

[6] Professor Benjamin N. Nelson informs me that in medieval Spain, village communities had an official, also called *capitan*, whose function was to treat with state functionaries representing the world beyond the village community's frontier. It is possible that the Yaruro capitan, and many others in Venezuela, are an acculturative transfer of this office to tribal groups. In the case of the Yaruro, this would have happened some 250—300 years ago.

[7] The use, here, of the terms 'activity', 'tasks', 'techniques', 'tools', 'resources', and 'habitat' corresponds to the definitions given in Leeds, 1960 b.

[8] Cf. Leeds, 1961, which gives this data in detail and describes the habitat and horticulture *in extenso*.

[9] Native terms for these crops are given *ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, note 9, contains data on soil values.

[11] Identifications are from Pittier, 1926.

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Between the Capanaparo and Cinaruco Rivers:			
P	?	?	One day downstream from R
Q	Joseito Menor	La Vigía	2 km. downstream from R
R	Olivet	El Gomal	One league (5 km.) from the Cinaruco and one day in summer or 1 1/2 days in winter--because the Casanarito, which is deep, must be crossed with a raft--from community no. 7, the spot on the Capanaparo which is closest to it.
S	?	?	Near R
T	?	?	

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Y	Padrón (reputed a thief)	?	At the sources of the Caño Perro de Agua.
Z	?	Moriche	Near a lagoon and not far from community no. 28.
Between the Riecito and Cinaruco Rivers:			
AA	Pablo and José Losa Cardona (other name cited: Leyi)	Reicero	On a dune located at the sources of the Cinarucquito, the Cinaruco, or the Riecito, or near the Cinaruquito and 1/2 day's travel on foot from the right bank of the Riecito or one day by canoe (up to the Paso Reicero) from the Boca del Riecito.
AB	Nicolás	?	

6:Le Besnerais--13 E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

/14 cont./

O 115 361 In 1949 Catalina still had three brothers, Ramón, Pablo, and Nicolas, and a sister, Guadalupe. The first brother was living on the island of Fraile in the Orinoco--his existence had been confirmed for us by a trader of the Orinoco--and the two others in San Fernando in Apure, where they were employed in the firm, Casa Hermanos Vivas. The sister was also living in San Fernando. All four had been born in Los Caballos, whereas Catalina, older than they, had first seen the light of day on the Orinoco at a time when, no doubt, the Otomaco were still living along the river. According to our informant, Pedro Ramón Camacho, in addition to these five survivors, an old Otomaco woman, also Racional like the others, was living at Lucero, a farm situated on the right bank of the Capanaparo, at the time of our investigations. Finally, according to another source, some Otomaco still existed at this same time in Colombia on the banks of the Meta.

Y 128 III. Complementary observations on the habitat of the Yaruro (28)

28. See "infra" IV List...36.

The observations made are reproduced on the two tables which follow. They are summarized for certain communities in the notes below:

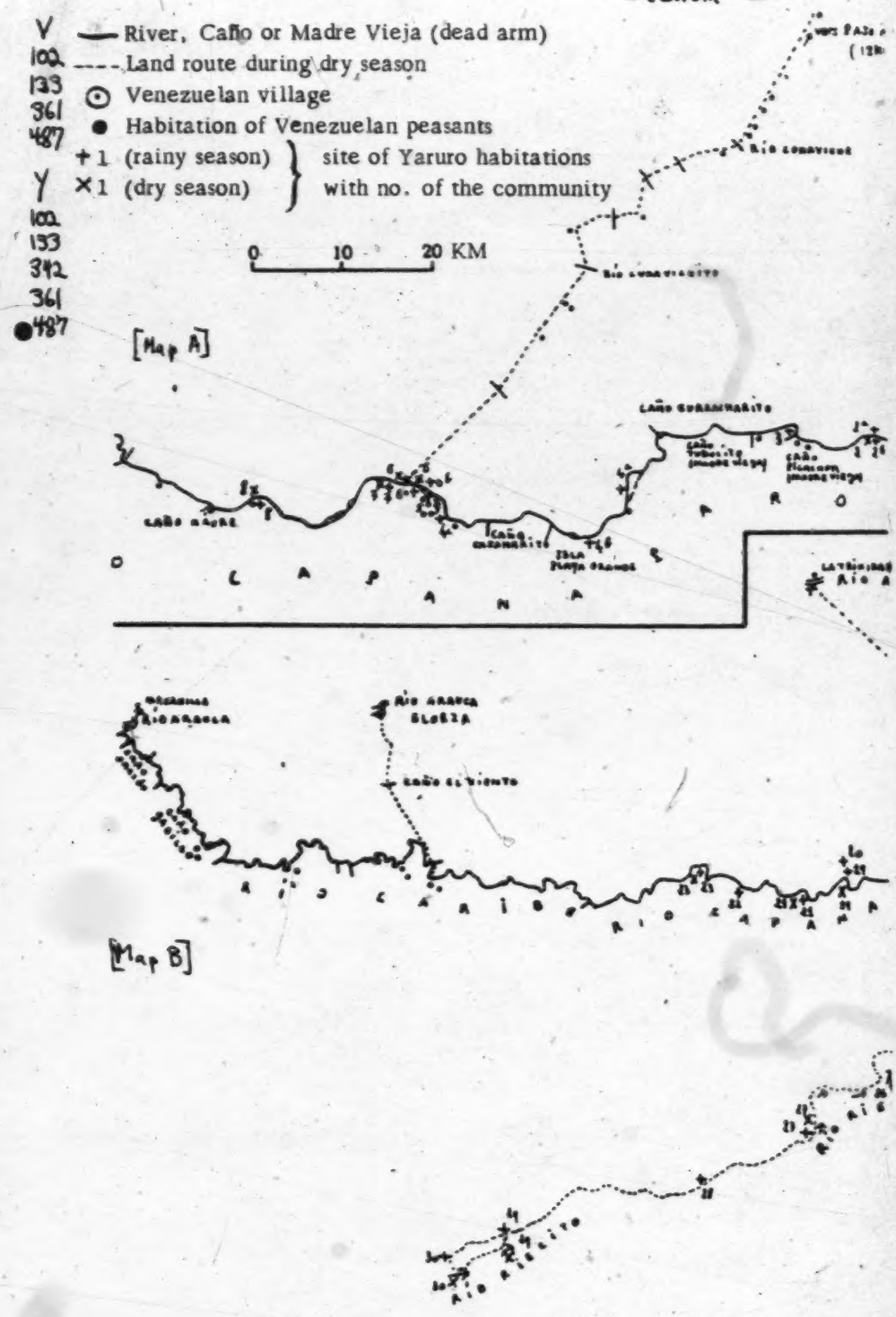
Y No. of the community

342 361 2a This community No. 2 is initially located (No. 2a) on a dune of sand and earth swept by wind and relatively little assailed by mosquitoes. It has five habitations of type II 1a. The chief's habitation is to the west; the others are spread out along the same line toward the southeast. The shaman's habitation is the one in the middle. The fourth from that of the chief of the community appears to be reserved, according to the latter, for children and for passing guests.

Y [485]

5:Le Besnerais--19 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yarúro SS19

Venezuela SS1



Map 2. Yaruro Territory

5:Le Besnerais--20 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Venezuela SS1

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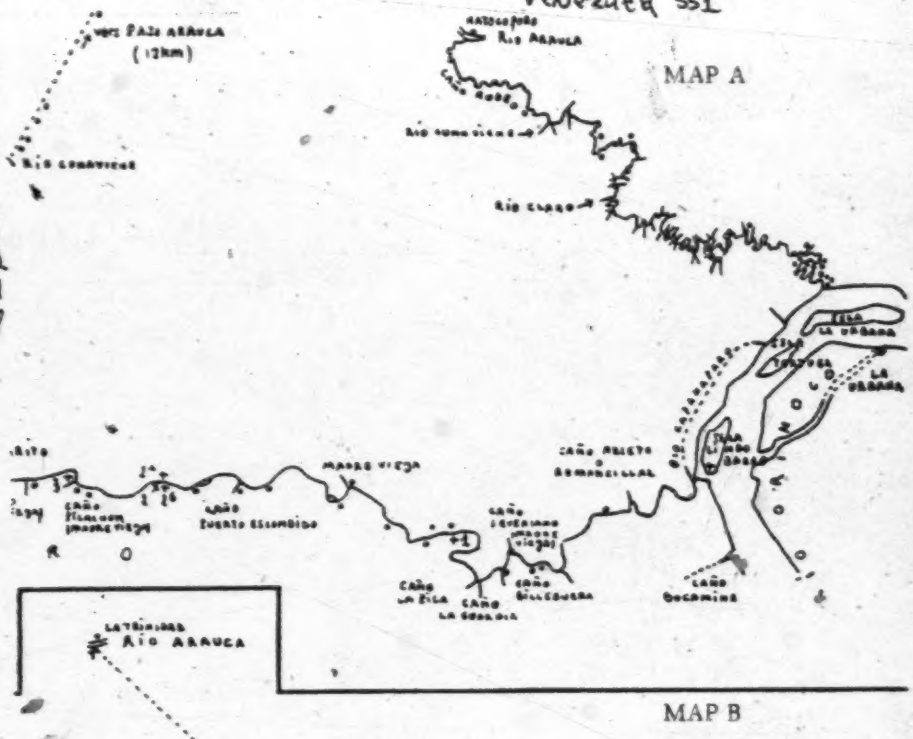

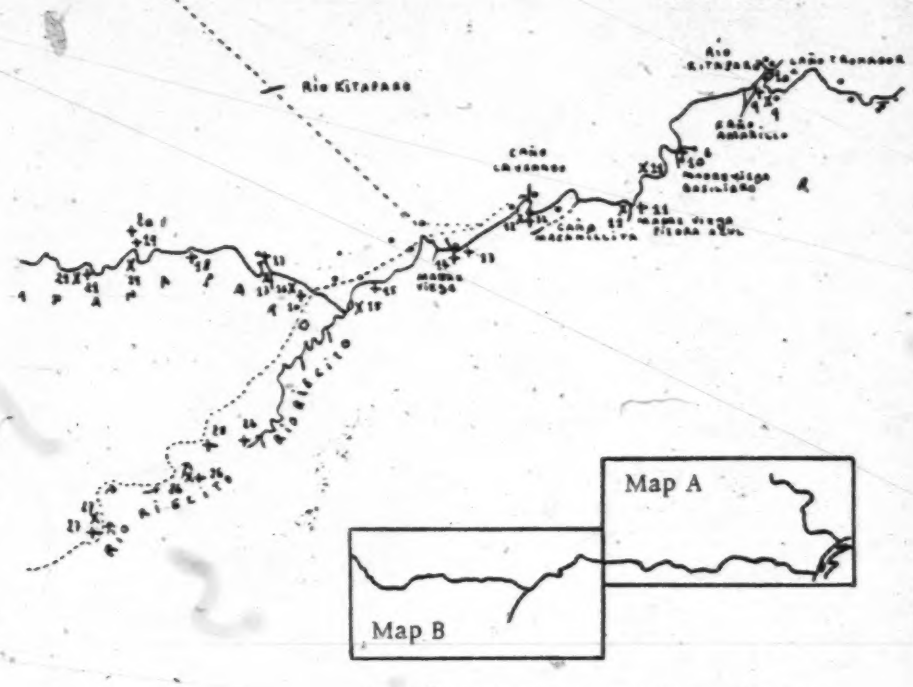

Author's correction: In MAP B, the first Yaruro community on the Capanaparo after the mouth of the Riecito should be 16 instead of 10.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

593 The sense of strict inviolability of personal rights carries over to personal services. Never did a husband order his wife to do anything outside of her proper domain. While I lived with them, in spite of the excellent care they gave me, even to the point of anticipating my wishes in a great many cases, never did a husband request his wife to prepare food for me. He asked her if she would, acting merely as my messenger. 604 No closer relationship can exist than between maternal uncle and nephew, yet even he does not feel free to ask any service of his nephew, nor to take the latter's personal property.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 562 Sexual dichotomy in economic activities is clearly defined. In a general way, it may be said that the rougher, harder, and more dangerous work belongs in the province of male activity and that there is no task which calls for strength or danger that properly belongs in the realm of woman's activity. Should any woman be engaged in a hard or dangerous piece of work and a man happens to be present there is a tacit assumption of the task by the latter. Hunting and fishing and presumably the act of fighting in war are man's tasks. The gathering of roots, fruits, seed, and their preparation belongs to [222] the women. It is interesting to note that the gathering of honey, which entails some risk, is done by the men. The making of canoes, the making of implements, of hammocks, the activities in making camp are all in man's domain. The preparation of food and the making of pottery and basketry are woman's tasks.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 868 857 Hunting and fishing are male occupations exclusively. As soon as the young boy is able to toddle about he is made to play with bow and arrow and learns to make these indispensable tools. It is a common sight to see little boys who are too young to be taken along by the men on hunting expeditions playing at the game of hunting; and when a man is in camp busily preparing his hunting equipment his young son is by his side working industriously on miniature bows and arrows.

225 411 501 The equipment of the hunter is simple. Bow, arrow, and canoe are indispensable. A Yaruro does not like to roam on land, but there is no need for him to do so since he can get his game in the watercourses or along their banks. So he sets off in the early morning, generally accompanied by his hunting companion, to look for crocodile (*Crocodilus babu*). He will hunt for other forms of life only reluctantly, having a special liking for crocodile meat.

Because of the shyness of crocodile the hunter is most often forced to shoot at it from a distance. Since an arrow will seldom kill one

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

of the beasts it is necessary to shoot it with a barbed arrow whose head becomes detached from the shaft but remains attached to the latter by a string. The babu will make for deep water and submerge, but the shaft will float on top, and the beast is drawn to the surface by its means, to be dispatched by another arrow or by a knife blow.

The technique for hunting turtles is similar but its execution is more difficult, due to the smaller size of the turtle. These generally can be seen floating on the water with their heads held erect above the surface.

Fishing is done mostly with bow and arrow. The hunter stands up on the prow of the canoe which is guided into the proper position by his companion paddling in the stern. When the hunter is almost over the fish he shoots his arrow some inches in front so as to allow for the deflection caused by the water.

Deer is seldom hunted since the Yaruro shun the land for fear that they may be accused of killing cattle. Unless the deer is caught on the river bank in the early morning or in the evening it is stalked. The hunter fixes his gaze on the deer and moves forward a few feet at a time, stopping stock still at the slightest sign of alarm on the part of the deer. In this way he can approach to within arrow range. This technique takes great patience and time. The hunter may camouflage himself by painting his torso white and pasting feathers on it. He wears a mask in imitation of the jivaro stork, which consists of a black head and beak and a red collar around the neck. He may use the beak of the jivaro or substitute his bow for it. Mimicking the motions of the jivaro, he approaches the deer. When he is close enough he waits for the deer to look up, when he transfixes it with an arrow. The arrow used is so heavy that it cannot be launched from afar.

In addition to these, the armadillo, the tortoise, and the chiguire are hunted. The hunter does not fail to gather turtle eggs, crocodile eggs, and honey as he roams along the river banks.

FOOD GATHERING

It is the task of the women to gather supplementary food. They organize their own expeditions. Armed with digging stick and baskets and accompanied by the children, they roam the plains, digging up the changuango, the barbaco, and the chigua.

MATERIAL CULTURE

In material culture the Yaruros are poverty stricken. Their nomadic existence limits their possessions to what they can carry with them in their canoes, which is very little. The whole range of objects made or possessed by the Yaruros consists of canoe, paddles,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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bow and arrows, digging sticks, baskets, small hammocks, a water jar or two, a mortar and pestle, several fishhooks, fire sticks, and scraps of clothing. As a rule, each family will possess the minimum of these objects.

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CANOES.—A typical Yaruro canoe measured about 18 feet long. Its longitudinal cross section was as shown in plate 16, *3*. It was made of the "salao" wood.

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FIGURE 16.—Paddles. *a*, Type usually used by stern paddler. *b*, Generally used in the bow.

The only tools that the Yaruros have to fashion such a canoe are crude machetes, perhaps an ax, and fire. The canoes are never regular in outline and on the whole are rather crude. Both bow and stern end in a point and the bottom is round. These canoes are unstable, difficult to maneuver, and will split easily. No crosspieces are used to reinforce the canoe.

PADDLES.—Paddles are of two types, as shown in figure 16. The large paddles measure about 4 feet in length; the smaller paddles slightly over 3 feet. They are as crudely fashioned as the canoes and increase the difficulties of paddling.

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BOWS.—The bows are fashioned from macanilla or the mahaguillo wood. A large bow will measure about 6 feet, but most of them are closer to 5 feet. The inner surface of the bow is generally flat and the outer is curved. The greatest width on one such bow was about 1½ inches and its thickness less than 1 inch. When the string is relaxed these bows are perfectly straight. They are not reinforced unless they show signs of splitting. On the whole, these bows are inferior to those made by many other tribes in South America. The bow string is tied as shown in figure 17, *e*, *f*, *g*,[1] with three clove-hitch knots.

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ARROWS.—The Yaruros, like most other South American primitives, have a variety of arrows, each type being designed for a specific purpose. A fish arrow consists of a reed shaft to which is attached a bone point with resin and string. Often the upper end of the bone point will protrude away from the shaft to form a small barb. Three feathers are used and fastened as shown in figure 18, *f*, *j*, *k*.[2] At the feathers' end of the arrow a notched piece of Brazil-wood is inserted.

A somewhat similar arrow with an iron point is made. In this case the point is inserted into a worked piece of wood which, in turn,

1 [See category 116, p. 205. --- Analyst]
2 [See category 116, p. 206. --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

CANOES

[481] 501 502 868

The Yaruros dislike to travel any distance afoot. The canoe, therefore, is practically his only means of transportation. As a result, they are extraordinarily good canoemen, learning both how to build and to manage one from childhood. It is not an uncommon sight to see little children of 5 or 6 years of age paddling furiously in midstream. Their expertness can best be illustrated by the following incident: The llanos are exposed to the trade winds in the dry season, which at times blow very hard. On our return from La Urbana we found the crossing of the Orinoco to the mouth of the Capanaparo a dangerous undertaking.

The Yaruro dugouts are clumsy affairs at best, but in addition to that, ours had a gaping hole about 10 inches in diameter in the stern and it was with some qualms that I stepped into it to negotiate the rather rough waters with the help of a 12-year-old boy. Since the Yaruro steers from the bow, that place of honor was allotted to the youngster, I furnishing the power. During the passage across I despaired several times of being able to hold the canoe in the right direction, but whenever we found ourselves caught in some especially difficult whirlpool this lad would turn and laugh, not in derision but in encouragement, which was calculated, I suppose, to bolster my spirit, but helped not at all in easing the strain on my arms. His knowledge of the currents and his proper timing in signaling to me to paddle one way or the other, as well as deft steering, finally got us across safely. When this incident was over and I looked back over the rough waters, my respect for Yaruro canoemanship increased manifold.

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Sails are used on the Orinoco and its tributaries, both by the occasional traders and crocodile hunters. The Yaruros have had ample opportunities over several centuries to learn how to make use of them. In fact, some of the younger men who worked occasionally for the ranchers, or traders, do know how. However, in their daily plying up and down the rivers, hunting and fishing, they never employ the sail.

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Their conservatism is further illustrated by another fact. The Racionales will always pole their canoes when traveling upstream. The Yaruros know how to do this also, but only when they are working for someone else. In their everyday life they depend entirely on the paddle.

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The steersman generally sits in the bow, especially when moving downstream and the paddler is alone, pulling the canoe after him. The paddler in the stern, if one is present, really furnishes the motive power. The Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. Basket weaving is woman's work. Carrying and storage baskets are crude affairs, often woven out of one palm leaf. Pouches are made with greater care and take a considerably longer time. *2.* Yaruro camp at El Buron. Note the lack of shelter. *3.* Yaruro dugout canoes.

(End Plate 6)

U: Petrullo E-8 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Without the aid of the Yaruros the crossing of the Orinoco would have been impossible. They are expert canoeists and safely ferried our baggage to the other side. Believing that I could handle a canoe, for by this time according to the Yaruros there wasn't anything that I could not do, since their gods had told them that I was one of them, I was asked to cross in an empty canoe, with the help of a 12-year-old boy. The canoe had several gaping holes in stern and bow about 10 inches in diameter. With serious misgivings, I embarked with the youngster paddling in the bow. Cross-currents, winds, and whirlpools made the half hour a very exciting one. Several times I gave up hope of crossing safely or of returning to our starting point, only to be encouraged by the laughter of my young companion who, when we were in extreme danger, would turn and grin happily at me. However, we crossed safely and soon afterwards we hoisted sail, which consisted of my mosquito net tied to an improvised mast, and with the east wind behind us and with gunwales even with the water, we went flying up the Capanaparo. Our sailing was far from being monotonous, for every few minutes it was necessary to use strength and skill to keep the canoe upright. Three days later we reached Landaeta's camp.

The trip to Urbana had been exciting and interesting, but I brought back with me ulcers on my feet which incapacitated me for the rest of my stay with the Yaruros. My feet, swollen to immense proportions and with open sores, refused to support my body, and I was forced to forego any further trips, short or long. My life consisted from now on, for about six weeks, of lying on the sand or in a hammock, surrounded by my affectionate friends, talking about the universe, the Yaruros, and their ideas.

In order to make it possible for Landaeta and his people to stay with me on this particular beach rather than move about in search of food, I turned over all of my food stock to them, which was consumed in two days, and thereafter they shared equally with me the products of the hunt. From that day on, I was completely in their care and Landaeta never left me. The burden of hunting fell on the younger men who went out every morning in search of crocodiles and turtles, of honey, palm nuts, roots, and fish. My illness was of great concern to the Yaruros. They did what they could to make me comfortable and they went to special trouble to bring titbits, such as honey and nuts. Landaeta and a woman shaman sang over me often. This illness was a fortunate event in a way, for it permitted an uninterrupted intimacy between us.

There is a sharp contrast between the simple primitive material culture of the Yaruros and the wealth and poetic intensity of the spiritual. The casual visitor would see merely a naked people plying

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

CANOES

[481] 501 502 868

The Yaruros dislike to travel any distance afoot. The canoe, therefore, is practically his only means of transportation. As a result, they are extraordinarily good canoemen, learning both how to build and to manage one from childhood. It is not an uncommon sight to see little children of 5 or 6 years of age paddling furiously in midstream. Their expertness can best be illustrated by the following incident: The llanos are exposed to the trade winds in the dry season, which at times blow very hard. On our return from La Urbana we found the crossing of the Orinoco to the mouth of the Capanaparo a dangerous undertaking.

The Yaruro dugouts are clumsy affairs at best, but in addition to that, ours had a gaping hole about 10 inches in diameter in the stern and it was with some qualms that I stepped into it to negotiate the rather rough waters with the help of a 12-year-old boy. Since the Yaruro steers from the bow, that place of honor was allotted to the youngster, I furnishing the power. During the passage across I despaired several times of being able to hold the canoe in the right direction, but whenever we found ourselves caught in some especially difficult whirlpool this lad would turn and laugh, not in derision but in encouragement, which was calculated, I suppose, to bolster my spirit, but helped not at all in easing the strain on my arms. His knowledge of the currents and his proper timing in signaling to me to paddle one way or the other, as well as deft steering, finally got us across safely. When this incident was over and I looked back over the rough waters, my respect for Yaruro canoemanship increased manifold.

502 177

Sails are used on the Orinoco and its tributaries, both by the occasional traders and crocodile hunters. The Yaruros have had ample opportunities over several centuries to learn how to make use of them. In fact, some of the younger men who worked occasionally for the ranchers, or traders, do know how. However, in their daily plying up and down the rivers, hunting and fishing, they never employ the sail.

[181]

Their conservatism is further illustrated by another fact. The Racionales will always pole their canoes when traveling upstream. The Yaruros know how to do this also, but only when they are working for someone else. In their everyday life they depend entirely on the paddle.

502 000

The steersman generally sits in the bow, especially when moving downstream and the paddler is alone, pulling the canoe after him. The paddler in the stern, if one is present, really furnishes the motive power. The Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

516 the Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-
502 tom of the canoe on several cross sticks without any back rest or any foot rest on which to brace himself. To one not accustomed to such a position it is clumsy and painful, and easily fatiguing. The paddler's stroke is short, quick, and choppy, like that of many South American tribes in Brazil.

SHELTER

362 Yaruro shelter is the simplest thing in the world. Nothing simpler could be devised. Shunning the forest and camping only on the open beaches by the river, the shelter is devised for two purposes—to protect the family from the winds, the insects, the sun,
342 and in the rainy season from the rain. They make, therefore, a variety of shelters. The camp shelter for daytime in the dry season consists of branches thrust vertically into the sands. If there are any persons about camp during the day, which there are generally, they will sit in the shade of these branches, moving around them as the sun changes its position in the sky. At night they dig holes in the sand and lie in them, protecting themselves from the winds by a shelter of branches or basketry at the head. These shelters, however, must allow a certain amount of wind to come through in order to prevent the gathering of large swarms of insects. Sleeping in holes in the sand, they keep warm, since the dry winds make it quite
361 chilly at night. All of the Yaruro in the Capanaparo are too no-
364 madic to build better shelter than the types described, since they stay in one camp only a few days, generally two or three. They move about so much, both for the lack of game in the area and the refuse that accumulates around camp, even though the vultures can always be seen feasting upon the remains of crocodile and turtle. The Yaruro are aware that if they stay too close to such piles of refuse they may become infected.

101 However, the Yaruro living on Linda Bara, the islands at the
361 mouth of the Capanaparo, have such an abundance of food that they
342 make somewhat more permanent structures. This consists generally of a low hemispherical structure covered with palm leaves which reach to about 2 feet from the ground, leaving the interior open to the winds, but even these structures are abandoned in a few weeks because of the insect life. This is the type of structure that is employed during the rainy season when life becomes more sedentary.

POTTERY

317 At certain places along the banks of the Capanaparo the proper
323 clay is found for pottery. The type preferred is whitish in color. Generally a small quantity of yellowish red clay is mixed with it.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

THE YARUROS OF THE CAPANAPARO RIVER, VENEZUELA

By Vincenzo Petrullo

Introduction

121 The American primitive aborigines are rapidly becoming extinct. Some groups are dying out, and others are being assimilated in the lowest laboring classes of the various nations. In any case, the American aborigines, as first found by the sixteenth century explorers, are rarely met today. Only in a few spots, difficult of access or geographically undesirable to the Euro-American, can one find a few primitive peoples still eking out an existence as did their ancestors of four centuries ago. Some of these groups have had intermittent contact with European culture; others do not even know of it at first hand. It is these tribes which can furnish the key to many problems of American anthropology and to some extent to world anthropology, but there is need for haste in studying them, for they may not survive this generation.

● 511 A simple hunting and fishing culture is the most primitive economic existence. When such a culture has not been able to lift itself above the wood, shell, and bone stage, it should be ranked among the primary. The presence of the bow and pottery may lift a culture slightly above the Australian, but not very much so. The Yaruro culture described in the following pages can be classified as being on that level. Certainly it is as primitive as the Fuegian. The Yaruros, like most tribes of the South American tropical lowlands, have been handicapped by lack of stone in the country. Wood, shell, and bone were [177] substituted until they came in contact with iron. Today they obtain scraps of iron, which they have learned to fashion into arrow points, from the cattle ranchers, but they would have done just as well without this new material.

511 361 A people like the Yaruros are forced to economize in every aspect of their material culture. Literally they may have only that which they are able to transport with them. All the worldly possessions of each family must be crowded into one small dugout canoe. The

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

511 superfluous needs to be dispensed with every time camp is moved,
361 which occurs every few days. Only in thoughts and feelings can they be as rich as any other people; but this requires a particular kind of temperament possessed by only a few individuals in the tribe.

182 Their economic life, social organization, mythology, and religion form a well-knit pattern of existence. There are no loose ends, but a knot here and there appears in the form of vagueness or contradiction. But I think that the fault lies with us who would introduce our type of organization into their knowledge. We expect more from a primitive group than we ourselves could offer. Besides, it is doubtful whether we ever present the picture of their culture as they see it; if we did we might not understand or we might even be surprised at its orderliness.

177 Although the Yaruros have been in touch with Euro-American cul-
121 ture for several centuries they have borrowed remarkably little. What culture they possessed several centuries ago we do not know. There is practically no information about them in the literature. There is justification, therefore, in publishing this record, in spite of many apparent deficiencies. Since plans for another visit to fill in the gaps in my field notes have not materialized and the Yaruros may be gone before another ethnologist can live with them it seems advisable to make this material available.

121 Anthropology, among other things, is concerned with the interrelationships of groups of men and with the functions of social structures as developed by man and his environment. I have tried to keep in mind that in presenting a first account of an unknown people it may not be at all out of place to draw a general but intimate picture of the daily life of the Yaruros, their emotional, cognitive and conative responses to the world about them, and even their attitude toward the ethnologist who appeared among them with only the objective of hold-
123 ing friendly conversations about themselves. At first they were suspicious, but they soon caught the point and enjoyed the experience as much as I did. An attempt has been made to give these pictures, and to explain the series of events which made possible with these nomads the intimate association that followed the first few days of unfriendliness.

124 No attempt has been made to reconcile differences in the information
128 obtained from various informants, not even if there is a contradiction. It was the first time that the Yaruros had been asked to organize their knowledge of their own culture; contradictions and vagueness were to be expected. My informants were exclusively men, even for those
123 phases of culture which admittedly belong to the female world. A cultural obstacle which I respected prevented any direct social intercourse with the women. The women's domain is respected by the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

paddle up the five rivers: the Apure, Arauca, Capanaparo, Sinaruco, and the Meta. In the dry season it is possible to make one's way southward from Caracas by way of Ortiz, Calabozo, San Fernando de Apure, to San Juan de Payara by automobile, and then on horseback to Cunaviche and beyond. Beginning our journey from Caracas at the end of January, we followed the latter route.

San Juan de Payara and Cunaviche are ancient colonial mission villages and the farthest outposts of civilization in the llanos. There are no missions there now. Their populations are typically llanero; that is, civilized mixed bloods. We rode southward across the dry and sandy plains, over which roam herds of wild cattle and horses. Mirages, which amazed the widely traveled Humboldt, were frequent. In the treeless plains forests were suspended in the sky, horses ran through the air, and great clear lakes stretched out before us. But water was scarce, and had we not been guided by men who knew every square inch of the ground we should have suffered for lack of it. We picked up our guides in relays on the way, a merry, capable lot, with much Indian blood in their veins, conscious of being free men of the llanos whom no dictator nor army has been able to tame. At night, if we stopped at a ranch, we listened to cowboy songs accompanied by the harp and rattle, music which reflected Indian, Spanish, and Negro influences. Our meager baggage was carried by an unwilling bull. Using a common cowboy expedient, we tied its nose to the guide's horse's tail and the bull was literally dragged all the way to El Buron.[2]

We made our first contact with the Yaruros at El Buron, a ranch owned by Don Manuel Hurtado. Don Manuel, like most of the native llaneros, is sympathetic to the Yaruros, and keeps on friendly terms with them. With his help and that of his household, particularly a young woman called Maria, we attempted to establish friendly relations with the Yaruros. In the llanos human beings are not plentiful, and consequently, it doesn't occur to them to erect social barriers that would tend to keep various groups apart.

There was not much about the camp of the Yaruros to interest the casual glance. There were present about a dozen women, eight men, and some children. The extreme poverty and simplicity of the camp were its outstanding features. There were no houses, nor shelters of any sort; only a few old baskets, a few sticks, a few rags, calabashes and water jars, and a few seminaked human beings lying half buried in the sand under the shade of thinly leafed branches thrust into the ground. Several fires were burning, and over them there were pots

[2] In working cattle the llanero ties one end of his lariat to his horse's tail instead of to the saddle, which often he may be lacking. The horses are trained to keep the rope taut after the animal is roped.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19 sia RC

performances would be given which would last until sunrise. Therefore there was an intense exchange of ideas for relatively long times with no rest.

The time came when Landaeta became a little restless. He was not accustomed to camping on one spot for more than two or three days at a time and he himself had done no hunting since I had joined them. Besides, the men and women had to forage farther and farther away for food. If my physical condition had permitted, it would have been well to continue living with them, moving from place to place, as is normal.

However, I knew I had to return to civilization quickly. The effect of my announcement on my hosts was interesting, and touching. It will be recalled that I had appeared in their midst as a stranger and a potential enemy and it was through a fortuitous event that I was accepted by them, not only as a friend but as a relative who worshipped the same gods. Since then I had actually been given an affectionate place in their emotional lives and they were sorry to see me go. They understood the reasons that were making it urgent for me to leave, especially understandable was the fact that my "wife and child" who had not seen me for many months were waiting for me to return. Nevertheless, they expressed sorrow, a certain amount of listlessness began to appear and they would come to me and sit by my side, telling me that they would be a rather lonesome people after I had gone; that they liked to talk about religious matters, and that when I would no longer be there with them they would have no one to talk things over with. This attitude affected the men and women in a very curious way. We had very little food in the camp, but still they would not go out and gather fresh quantities. And when I urged them to do so they answered that the knowledge of my coming departure made them very sad, and consequently they did not have the proper spirit to gather food, or even to eat.

These people have very little in the way of excess goods. Each family has a few baskets, perhaps a water jar, a mat or two, scraps of clothing and their tools, nothing more. And these generally were in very poor condition from long use. Knowing that I wanted to take back with me some of these things, they became busy weaving hammocks, making basketry and even pottery, so that I would take back to my "wife and child" objects new and well-made. This reaction on their part was spontaneous and they all expressed the idea that I should take back with me only new, well-made articles to remember them by; so for about a week before my departure there was intense activity around camp.

The day of my departure finally arrived and I said good-bye. There was no ceremonial wailing as had attended my departure from the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

of the beasts it is necessary to shoot it with a barbed arrow whose head becomes detached from the shaft but remains attached to the latter by a string. The babu will make for deep water and submerge, but the shaft will float on top, and the beast is drawn to the surface by its means, to be dispatched by another arrow or by a knife blow.

The technique for hunting turtles is similar but its execution is more difficult, due to the smaller size of the turtle. These generally can be seen floating on the water with their heads held erect above the surface.

Fishing is done mostly with bow and arrow. The hunter stands up on the prow of the canoe which is guided into the proper position by his companion paddling in the stern. When the hunter is almost over the fish he shoots his arrow some inches in front so as to allow for the deflection caused by the water.

Deer is seldom hunted since the Yaruro shun the land for fear that they may be accused of killing cattle. Unless the deer is caught on the river bank in the early morning or in the evening it is stalked. The hunter fixes his gaze on the deer and moves forward a few feet at a time, stopping stock still at the slightest sign of alarm on the part of the deer. In this way he can approach to within arrow range. This technique takes great patience and time. The hunter may camouflage himself by painting his torso white and pasting feathers on it. He wears a mask in imitation of the jivaro stork, which consists of a black head and beak and a red collar around the neck. He may use the beak of the jivaro or substitute his bow for it. Mimicking the motions of the jivaro, he approaches the deer. When he is close enough he waits for the deer to look up, when he transfixes it with an arrow. The arrow used is so heavy that it cannot be launched from afar.

In addition to these, the armadillo, the tortoise, and the chiguire are hunted. The hunter does not fail to gather turtle eggs, crocodile eggs, and honey as he roams along the river banks.

FOOD GATHERING

It is the task of the women to gather supplementary food. They organize their own expeditions. Armed with digging stick and baskets and accompanied by the children, they roam the plains, digging up the changuango, the barbaco, and the chigua.

MATERIAL CULTURE

In material culture the Yaruros are poverty stricken. Their nomadic existence limits their possessions to what they can carry with them in their canoes, which is very little. The whole range of objects made or possessed by the Yaruros consists of canoe, paddles,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

bow and arrows, digging sticks, baskets, small hammocks, a water jar or two, a mortar and pestle, several fishhooks, fire sticks, and scraps of clothing. As a rule, each family will possess the minimum of these objects.

CANOES.—A typical Yaruro canoe measured about 18 feet long. Its longitudinal cross section was as shown in plate 16, *3*. It was made of the "salao" wood.

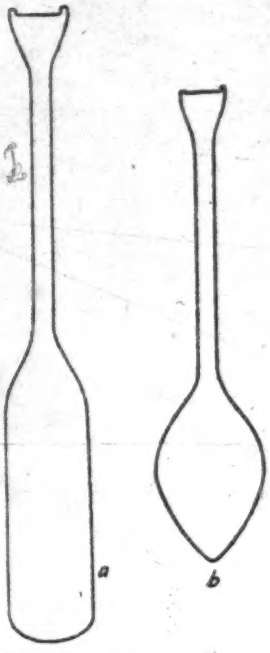

FIGURE 16.—Paddles. *a*, Type usually used by stern paddler. *b*, Generally used in the bow.

The only tools that the Yaruros have to fashion such a canoe are crude machetes, perhaps an ax, and fire. The canoes are never regular in outline and on the whole are rather crude. Both bow and stern end in a point and the bottom is round. These canoes are unstable, difficult to maneuver, and will split easily. No crosspieces are used to reinforce the canoe.

PADDLES.—Paddles are of two types, as shown in figure 16. The large paddles measure about 4 feet in length; the smaller paddles slightly over 3 feet. They are as crudely fashioned as the canoes and increase the difficulties of paddling.

BOWS.—The bows are fashioned from macanilla or the mahaguillo wood. A large bow will measure about 6 feet, but most of them are closer to 5 feet. The inner surface of the bow is generally flat and the outer is curved. The greatest width on one such bow was about 1½ inches and its thickness less than 1 inch. When the string is relaxed these bows are perfectly straight. They are not reinforced unless they show signs of splitting. On the whole, these bows are inferior to those made by many other tribes in South America. The bow string is tied as shown in figure 17, *e*, *f*, *g*,[1] with three clove-hitch knots.

ARROWS.—The Yaruros, like most other South American primitives, have a variety of arrows, each type being designed for a specific purpose. A fish arrow consists of a reed shaft to which is attached a bone point with resin and string. Often the upper end of the bone point will protrude away from the shaft to form a small barb. Three feathers are used and fastened as shown in figure 18, *f*, *j*, *k*.[2] At the feathers' end of the arrow a notched piece of Brazil-wood is inserted.

A somewhat similar arrow with an iron point is made. In this case the point is inserted into a worked piece of wood which, in turn,

1 [See category 116, p. 205. --- Analyst]
2 [See category 116, p. 206. --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

cheesecloth contraptions no more than 2 feet high under which human beings are sleeping half buried in the sand.

Approaching the river, we see canoes pulled up on the sands and discover that there is more debris close by, but its owners are not in sight. In the water close to the canoes are turtles with their hind legs tied to the front ones. Some of these are also fastened to the canoes, by means of strings which pass through holes drilled in their carapaces. They make fruitless efforts to move away whenever anyone comes near to them.

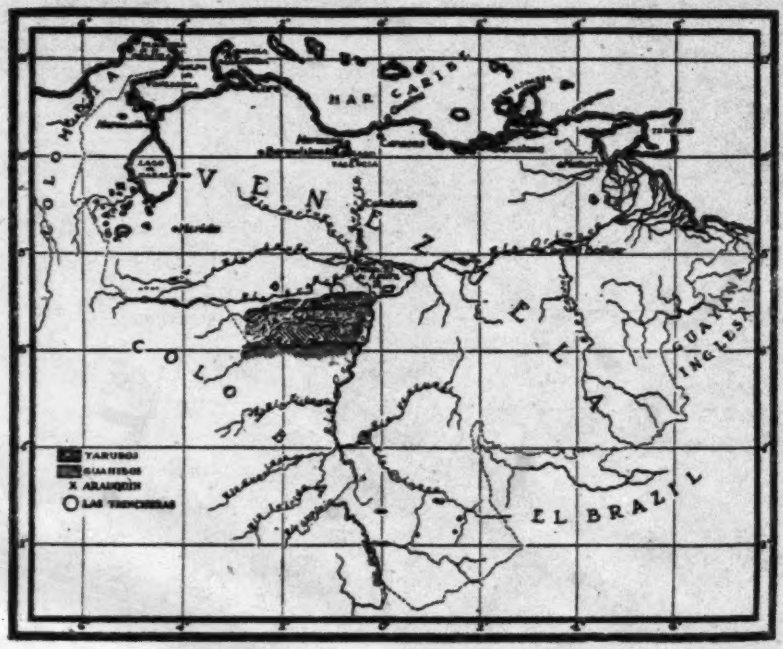

FIGURE 15.—Map of Venezuela.

It is not a large camp, and the sleepers do not number many. As we look around us they appear to be insignificant and lost in immense space, so distant and even is the horizon. Only to the east do we see a wall of shadow rising a little above the horizon. It is all that can be seen of the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco not far away. In the early morning light they look like mountains, though they are only a few hundred feet high.

The awakening of a Yaruro camp is quiet, almost surreptitious. As the grayness of the landscape gives place to bright orange-gold, some of the sleepers are up, squatting with their legs doubled under them. They face the west; they do not move, merely sit still watching

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

512 the horizon. There is no chanting as in the villages of the Xingu, no whistling, no marching to the river for an early bath. There is no conversation, no motion. After a while a dog may sit up and watch the world as silently as his master. More and more of the recumbent figures sit up; some old man becomes busily engaged in making string; a woman gives suck to a baby; others rise, and, walking with heads [372] high, chests thrust forward, go toward the bushes, to reappear soon with armfuls of wood and quickly start fires with their laurelwood fire drills. Soon everyone is sitting up, and the cheesecloth tents disappear. A few women huddle around the fires.

It is only when the wind resumes its violent blowing that the camp is stirred into activity. The chilliness of the night is forgotten, reverential thoughts are discarded. The vulgar stomach, however, is remembered. Preparations are made to take care of its daily needs. 512 225 462 Bows and arrows are examined. A harpoon arrow for turtles and crocodiles, a fish arrow, a gourd, and if the hunter possesses one, a knife, comprise the equipment. Then the men go to their canoes two by two, though a young boy may be taken along to make three. He too must learn to satisfy the daily craving of his inner machinery. The hunters paddle away upstream and disappear around the bend of the river.

512 222 462 The women prepare for their own voyages. Sometimes they accompany the men, sometimes they go alone in a canoe or go inland. They carry baskets on their backs suspended from the forehead by a strap. Each woman carries a digging stick. Little girls accompany them, with their little baskets and their own digging sticks, in imitation of the grown-ups. Some women carry babies astride the hip, 291 feeding at the large full breasts. Naked but for a loin covering, with hair falling down their backs, they seem to fit the wild landscape. Some may wear a camisole, but that is only a thin veil, and their bodies are seen underneath. The loin covering is tied at the back, and, as they walk with chests thrown forward and high, resembles a huge tail rolled under the camisole. Their smooth-skinned ape appearance is graceful but amusing; the naked ones fit the picture better.

512 461 At camp are left only the old people and some young ones who are too lazy to go out or have been hunting hard and need a rest. They are soon busy fixing bows and arrows, making string, carving ornaments, weaving basketry, taking care of very young children. There is very little talking and no fussing. They almost ignore each other. Those who stay at home will wait patiently for their dinner. They will watch the sun climb the heavens, and they will move from one side of the branches to the other to keep in the shade. Beaten by the wind which by noon blows a gale, bombarded by

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

512 grains of [illegible], they wait patiently and quietly, though hungry.
461 They seek no shelter from the wind, preferring it to the myriads of insects lurking in any sheltered spot. And then, too, it is cool in the wind, terrifically hot away from it.

512 About midafternoon the hunters and food gatherers straggle in.
224 They bring small crocodiles and turtles, crocodile eggs, turtle eggs,
222 perhaps some honey; and the women return with full baskets containing changuango, a wild root that they have dug up in the savanna. They, too, may bring turtle eggs. Not always, of course. The men and the women may return with empty hands and empty baskets. In any event there is no boisterous reception, but the same silence, the same quiet acceptance of the day and what it brings as they have shown at its beginning. Fires are built larger, the women roast the
512 roots, the men help with the turtles and the crocodiles. These are
252 placed whole on the fire until the shells are toasted and then they
515 are cracked open. Wives become busy delousing their husbands, using a carved stick to help in the search. Sometimes the lice are picked and eaten. But the bodies of the men are covered with numerous black blisters, showing that they have suffered the daily torment from the insects. The wife crushes all of these blisters with the same delousing tool.

512 Dinner is a gala time. Calabash dishes containing the various
264 courses are placed in the center of the ring formed by each family.
262 The food is picked up and carried to the mouth with the fingers. There are crocodile eggs. These are opened and the contents are sucked up raw. The same is done with the turtle eggs. There is the course of roasted changuango, and the pieces of turtle meat. But the real delicacy is crocodile, the best meat of all. The crocodile is eaten in its entirety, except for the entrails, and when the dinner is over some of it is left by the fire, an open invitation to anyone to fill any empty portion of his stomach. The stomachs become distended as tremendous quantities of food are swallowed. This is the only real meal of the day, and the fear of a dinnerless tomorrow drives the eaters to exceptional feats of gourmandizing until their bodies can hold no more. The lean dogs fight among themselves over the refuse heaps. The vultures glide overhead or are busy at crocodile entrails.

512 There is no after dinner work—no kitchen or table ware to wash,
517 nothing to spoil the proper enjoyment of a full stomach. They eat
776 until they have had enough, and then they move to the east of the fires to lie on the clean sands and watch the sun hide beneath the western horizon. For about half an hour they watch the ever-changing colorful western sky and when rays of light emanate from below the horizon to streak the heavens with blue and gold and white, they

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

512 rejoice, for they know that Kuma, the goddess creator of all things,
517 is content with them and is sending them a greeting in token thereof.
796 On the wings of the wind comes the roar of the araguatos.

But life starts in the east and ends in the west. The day is done and the night comes on. The Yaruros turn to face the east to watch
821 the beginning of star travel and also the fiery appearance of the
776 moon and its transformation to a chaste white. The sands glisten and above flash "falling stars", but the Yaruros say that these are messengers of Kuma doing their errands.

512 Then the women roll cigars, light them, and pass them to their men.
296 Everyone smokes and there is great contentment. There is reluctance
462 to stand up, so if a woman has to fetch some object, say a firebrand,
[576] she will crawl on all fours, looking not unlike some large but indescribably graceful ape.

When several stars of the big dipper have appeared the women
512 rise in a body and walk into the darkness west of the camp. They
462 disappear from sight and hearing. What mysteries they perform they only know. The men are left alone and they talk about heaven. The children play merrily.

The women return and quietly take their places, ready to prepare more cigars. It is good to lie naked on the sand looking at the sky,
000 listening to nature's symphony. With the same persistent effortless rhythm of the pulse beat the world outside of the individual is felt. There is the merry laughter of the children and the soft, deep, contented gurgle of the women; the soft voice of the shaman painting religious pictures, explaining existence; the murmur of the wind as a background to the calls of night birds, and the blowing of toninos, the splash of frolicsome fishes, the intermittent howl of the monkeys, the bark of the wolf, the roar of the jaguar; and the warmth of a full stomach.

512 A figure may detach itself from the camp shadows and disappear
796 in the darkness of the west. Several young men may afterwards take the same path—to join the shaman in his preparations for communion with the gods. They leave behind them a feeling of expectation but nothing is said. Someone has put up a bare pole where the sand is hard packed.

796 The shaman returns and goes to sit in front of the pole facing the
791 east. He sits quietly and alone in deep reverie. Later he may ask for a cigar. His wife will supply him with one.

After a period of contemplation he may begin to sing and dance. His people will join him. The music will become more and more animated, the singing and dancing will be done with increasing abandon. The stars and the moon will go their ways to rest in the west.
512 It is only when the sun peeps over the eastern horizon that they will

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

stop to talk, rest, and later sleep. Twenty-four hours of Yaruro life have gone by. The stomach must be considered again.

THE LLANOS

The country of the Yaruros is a low plain lying south and east of the Venezuelan Andean mountain spur between the fifth and sixth degree of North Parallel. On the east it is flanked by the Orinoco, with the hills of Guiana beyond the river, and on the south the plain rolls away to Colombia. This vast inland plain is burned by a tropical sun the year round and nowhere is there a degree of elevation to relieve one from the intense heat. Fortunately there is no barrier to the trade winds which often blow too hard for human comfort but which, nevertheless, make life bearable by cooling the body and blowing away insect life. During the dry season this plain is a veritable desert with scant vegetation except along the river banks and by water holes. In the rainy season it becomes a vast inland sea rich in animal and plant life. The temperatures during the day are always high. In the plains of Apure 130° F. have been recorded a few feet from the ground. In the middle of the day animal life is practically at a standstill. Cattle and horses which roam the plains half wild or completely so rest quietly. The cowboy withdraws to the shelter of a grass roof; the traveler retires to the shade of a bush, provided he can find one; but the Yaruro seeks the river banks where the winds are freshest and there is always the branch thrust in the sand to give him some shade. In midafternoon the winds abate somewhat, but rise again as the sun sets. There is another lull just before midnight, but in the early morning the wind blows a gale, driving the well-equipped traveler under his blankets and the Yaruros to the warmth of sand pits. Shelter from the wind means intolerable insect life. One must remain exposed to the ever-blowing wind to find any comfort.

It is said that a geologist prospecting unsuccessfully for oil ended his report with the statement, "The plains of Venezuela, or as they are known, the llanos, are rich—in water." He would have been more accurate had he said that the llanos are rich in winds, in dust and sand, insects, and, in the rainy season, flora and fauna.

The llanos would form a desert were it not for the rivers which, fed by the Andes, flow into the Orinoco. The largest of these are the Apure and the Meta. Between them flow the Capanaparo and the Sinaruco. Fishes are plentiful in these rivers. Along the banks are found an abundance of birds, among which ducks, cranes, and storks predominate. Smaller birds give color and song to the country. Near the Orinoco species of sandpipers crowd the sand bars. Hawks and vultures are a common sight.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19 sia RC1

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They were glad to see me, and the women shamans soon began their chants while the men surrounded me and told me in their own language and in broken Spanish what had occurred the previous night. Men are prohibited from singing during the day, but the women sit in swinging hammocks and chant their songs. I learned, too, that Landaeta's daughter had not died, for there she was, grateful and shyly looking at me, completely well. They attributed her cure to me, though I was not at all responsible for it. During the night, they told me, the gods had come among us, and told them that I, too, was one of Kuma's children, and again they insisted that I was related to them.

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We sat, smoked, and talked all day. In the afternoon we feasted on crocodile, turtle eggs, wild roots, palm nuts, and honey. Finishing our dinner, we sat quietly facing the west, watching the skies. As the sun set low again, rays of gold, blue, and white shot into the sky from the horizon, and my friends rejoiced at this certain greeting of Kuma to us.

Darkness came upon us, and in anticipation of a long night of singing and dancing—I could sing but could not dance, since I could not stand up—I lay on the sands to rest before the beginning of the ceremonies. but the skies interested the Yaruros and they came to tell me what they read there. The brightness of the stars and the changing

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

INHERITANCE OF WIVES

583 Monogamy is the usual rule, but occasionally both polygyny and polyandry exist. If no women are available, a man may share his young wife with his brother or parallel cousin whom he calls brother also. I saw two such cases. In a tribe whose total membership may not exceed 150 such situations may easily arise.

587 589 The more common situation is the inheritance of wives. If a man dies, his wife may be taken care of by her father, but more often by her former husband's brother. She takes her place as wife number two, especially if he is a good hunter. Other women whom a man may inherit as wives are his aunts on his father's side and even his paternal grandmother. I saw one case in which a man had inherited his daughter's child. Whether these cases represent the results of [616] deculturation of the Yaruros in recent years, or pure necessity, it is impossible to say. It is worth noting that the taboo on marrying a member of one's moiety is strictly observed.

● 512 605 Another relationship common among South American Indians which is present among the Yaruros is the hunting friendship between two men. Seldom does one meet a young Yaruro who does not have a hunting companion. Upon marriage this relationship may be weakened, though often the companionship persists. Generally the men are two parallel cousins. They show much affection toward each other, even in camp. For instance, such a pair standing with arms around each other's necks is a common sight. I have no reason to suspect any abnormal sexual relations between such couples.

124 582 [165] An attempt was made to collect genealogies, but no satisfactory results were obtained, due to the confusion that exists among the Yaruros. So many have suffered premature death, especially men, that the genealogies show a tremendous complexity. This complexity exists, of course, only for us. The Yaruro has his system, which is to guard against incest as he defines it. So long as members of the same moiety do not marry, everything else is permissible. One's cross cousin of the same, or nearly the same, age is the preferential choice, but the Yaruros cannot control birth and death, so that the preference is purely theoretical. I saw young boys married to old women and young girls married to old men. The answer was that there weren't any others to marry.

However, enough was gathered from the genealogies to verify the system as described: Members of the same moiety do not marry. Every one else can, except father and daughter, and, of course, father's brothers and daughter, whom she addresses as father anyway.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

534 177 ter the harp is very popular. Flutes and whistles are also made by the Llaneros, but the gourd rattle, which consists of a small gourd containing coarse grains of sand, or seeds, is the instrument employed by the Yaruro shaman. Music, therefore, is produced by singing to the accompaniment of the rattle if the singer happens to be the [512] shaman. Since the men are prohibited from singing and whistling during the daytime there is no freedom of expression in this way. During the entire time that I stayed with these people I never heard anyone begin a song except the shaman. Whenever, for purposes of recording, I asked some of the men to hum some of the tunes they refused to do so.

533 Although there are a variety of tunes, the music apparently consists of one phrase repeated four times for each stanza of the song. Each stanza is begun in a high falsetto. The second phrase is sung an octave lower, and the last phrase, therefore, is four octaves lower [462] than the first. The woman shaman, however, has a song slightly different than the male shaman's song and their pattern seems to begin at the lower end of the scale for each phrase and repeating each phrase in the same range as the first. In both cases, each phrase covers the entire scale of six notes. The tempo is 1–2 time, with the accent on the off-beat, but at the height of the ceremonies the songs are syncopated. The intensity of the songs, the melodious quality of the phrases, and the oral repetition produces an effect similar to the negro spirituals.

It is difficult, if not impossible, for one to sing in tune with the Yaruros. Their scale is different from ours and they seem to have quarter tones. In addition to this peculiarity, they never seem to sing in a full voice, not in a falsetto, but in a style of their own, difficult for one trained in European music to master quickly. Of course the theory is that it is the gods and the ancestral spirits who composed both the music and the words and the people singing behind the shaman merely imitate these inspired songs.

533 535 The Yaruros have only one word to signify dancing and singing: "tohiwahimerekidi". The shaman, who is the leader in both these arts, is called "dancer" or "singer." In actual practice dancing is subordinate to singing, much as gesturing is subordinate to speaking among ourselves. Perhaps the correct translation of this word would be closer if rendered as "singing."

Dancing as an independent art does not exist. When it is practiced it is almost an outflow of singing. Singing may be done without dancing but dancing without singing is impossible. Every dancer sings, though every singer does not necessarily dance.

182 241 361 First, through time, the gardens tend to radiate further and further from any given residence point since, given the 13-year planting-fallow cycle, plots near the village will be exhausted. Since the major garden resource areas lie in a crudely east-to-west direction, there will be a slow westward migration of the geographic center of garden activities, enough so that at some point, the village is suspended, as it were, among distant resource points (see Maps), and enhanced by the dispersed nature of the hunting and fishing, and to some extent the gathering, areas. If the "suspension" is weighted more in one direction than another, there will be some tendency either to move the village or to send out temporary or permanent branches of it, respectively in the form of work cottages in the swiddens or in larger long-term house groups which are intermittently occupied. This process is, in fact, easily observed among the Yaruro in existent and abandoned house and subsidiary village sites scattered over the whole territory. Similarly, the locus of gathering, so important in [221] summer, moves further and further from the village. This, together with the considerable shift to fishing and river-hunting in summer, as well as the need for water, causes an extensive seasonal transhumance to occur within the territory. These factors contribute to fissioning as well as to inhibiting the development of permanently located villages, let alone larger aggregations. Thus, with a radiating ecology, a degree of group dispersion and geographical mobility within the territory is to be expected and is indeed characteristic of the Yaruro.

● 512 Second, if one examines the location of all resources it will be seen that, taken together, they constantly enjoin a dispersal of the labor force in all directions, regardless of season, so that more or less equivalent quantities of labor are being used at the same time in many varying kinds of productive activity independently of each other — at the peripheries of the territory, in the areas between, or in the village centers themselves, [462] where the women are constantly doing the significantly important work of [252] converting otherwise unusable food resources, like raw, bitter manioc or uncooked corn, into edibles.

476 Third, it will be noted that none of the Yaruro technological processes require cooperative work, even when they may permit it, if it were so desired. On the whole, the productive activities might be described as dispersive of labor, whether it is individuals or small groups of twos or threes who go out to keep each other company. Even the work of preparing [241] the swiddens is carried out individually, though two or three men may [463] work as neighbors in what appears as a single plot. Further, the technology [242] is such as to require no highly specific and difficult or esoteric skills. The most difficult skill to acquire is the knowledge of the soil types and appropriate planting procedures attached to each. Thus, each adult is in a position to learn the inventory of technological knowledge appropriate 462 463 to his or her sex, and somewhat of that belonging to the other sex too, and to apply it by himself whenever he wants or must. A man, well-instructed in Yaruro technology, could probably subsist alone successfully for long periods of time. One divorced adult man, although he was largely fed by his

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

123 [513] hammock for me. They preferred to lie half buried in the sand, both for warmth and for protection from the mosquitoes.

Some of the bolder young men asked for rum. I had none with me. All along the road I had been told that rum was the only means of inducing the Indians to dance, but an ethnologist's work cannot be based on such an approach.

Through the diplomatic efforts of Maria, the Yaruros consented to sing and dance a little. I was able to arouse their interest in my flashlight, and to arouse their modesty and bewilderment when I flashed it upon them. My compass also drew an excited jabbering circle about me. But I was not able to engage them in conversation, and finally left them about midnight with the satisfaction that at least there had been no friction.

On the following day I sent them a pig, and later in the day again visited them. They were still shy and suspicious of me, but permitted me to go about the camp examining their artifacts.

731 There was not much to be done in this camp. The group was in a wretched state, still in mourning for their dead, living in fear of some fresh calamity, and although they were suffering hunger, too miserable to try to go back to the river where, at least, they would find food. Tribal customs prevented my engaging the old women in conversation and the men were too young and much too affected by llanero culture to tell me about their own people. Their advice, which I took, was to go farther south where we would find other Yaruro bands among whom I could find old men who could answer any questions.

123 I prevailed upon the leader of the band, Estaban, to accompany me. He was reluctant to go, not wanting to be separated from his young wife, and perhaps was afraid to trust himself alone with me. However, his desire for cloth and a mosquito netting was stronger than his fear. Estaban proved a loyal and faithful companion.

[177] We found the next band encamped on a beach by the Capanaparo River. Here they were temporarily in the employ of a llanero engaged in building a house. For several days I had no more success with them than I had had with the other band, so during that time we studied whatever was on the surface. However, I was not doing all the studying. The Yaruros were watching me closely and weighing my statements carefully. During this time Estaban was busy building up my reputation. What impressed them most was that I did not ask for their women, and that all I wanted to do was to talk with them about themselves.

One night their attitude suddenly changed. I had been sitting for hours on the sands in the midst of these people, waiting for them to give me a sign of friendliness, but they were silent and apparently

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

songs. His nephew went to stand behind him; his son went forward to stand at the left shoulder of his cousin. These two boys joined in the singing, repeating Landaeta's song stanza after stanza. A few women, led by Landaeta's wife and daughter, went to stand at his right side, and joined the boys in answering the songs of the shaman. They stood there in front of the pole singing until the Southern Cross hung high in the sky. Then Landaeta's wife took a gourd rattle from the basket and gave it to her husband, who immediately began to shake it, its liquid tone blending harmoniously with the voices. The singers became more animated when they heard the rattle, and soon they began to dance, jerking the body forward and backward, rhythmically and in unison. At times Landaeta would shake his rattle violently and his voice would betray his deep excitement. His wife from time to time would give a lighted cigarette to him, holding it to his mouth until it was consumed. At midnight the shaking of the rattle became more frequent and more violent, and finally, in the middle of one song, everyone began to move around the pole. The women put their right hands on the shoulder of the one ahead, and soon were running and stamping the right foot as they did so. The men formed an inner circle, dancing one behind the other. At the end of each song they paused for a moment lined up in their original positions. As the night wore on, both singing and dancing became more and more animated until the shaman appeared to be in a frenzy. His voice rose in pitch, his rhythm was faster, and more strongly accentuated, and all sang with greater feeling. The shaman danced in jerky movements, bending and twisting his body, half spinning about, first one way then the other, until he seemed to be quivering all over. The dance around the pole became almost a mad run, made more difficult by the soft sands and the complex movements of the body. The men would leap high and as the right foot was stamped in unison, a resonant beat was produced that seemed to blend with the pulsating roar of the howlers brought to us by the wind, and marked off by the rich rattling of the gourd and the choral singing. In the morning hours the wind rose again, blew more violently, and the roar of the monkeys became stronger, and the Yaruros sang passionately. It was then, when the morning star was already high, and dawn lighted the eastern horizon. that they stopped.

The sun awoke me, and though I had slept barely two hours I felt quite refreshed. I sat up to look about me. There was the vast stretch of sand, the fringe of jungle, and the sparkling river. My Yaruros were sleeping half buried in the sand, behind basketry to shelter themselves from the wind. The vultures were already at the piles of refuse, feasting on crocodiles and turtles. Soon the sun awoke my friends, and they too sat up to gaze quietly at the western sky where they believe their gods live.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19 sia RC1

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

iron hoe, which is also made by the Yaruro out of any heavy scrap of iron that they may gather. Sometimes they will work for the ranchers and with their earnings purchase this type of hoe from a trader. However, such a digging tool is quite a luxury and sharpened sticks are more common.

MORTARS AND PESTLES.—During the rainy season, the Yaruros gather chigua, a seed, which they dry and pound into flour. Mortars of wood shaped as shown in figure 20, *a*, *b*, are used and the pestle is any ordinary hard stick.

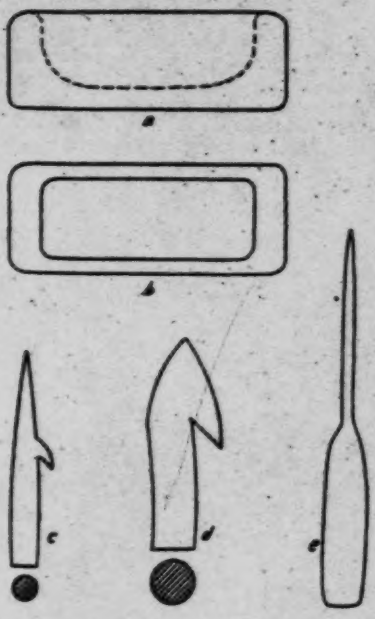

FIGURE 20.—*a*, *b*, Wooden mortar. *c*, Bone or iron point used for hunting chiguire. *d*, Hook used for manatee. *e*, Cooking paddle.

COOKING LADLES.—These are small wooden paddles used in cooking, especially when meat is boiling in a pot (fig. 20, *e*).

HAMMOCKS.—The Yaruros prefer to sleep on the sands, especially during the dry season. The men make hammocks, however, small ones generally used by children as cradles, and by the women shamans when they sing, during the day. During the rainy season they may employ them for sleeping.

The fiber employed to make the hammock string comes from the moriche leaf. The string may be very fine, of course, depending on the interest of the maker. It is made by the men. To weave the hammock a loom is made of two poles thrust into the sand to which are fastened two crosspieces at both the top and bottom. The string is then wound around these crosspieces. The weaver employs a knotter's netting technique. When the entire hammock has been woven the weaving is held in place by another string thrust through one of the woven rows.

ROPE.—The fiber mostly employed by the Yaruros is taken from the leaf of the moriche and the macanilla. The inner cortex of the leaf is stripped off and dried and then is taken apart strand by strand. These long fibers are then moistened and twisted together in two's and three's into a string by rolling them on the thigh with the palm of the hand. A stronger string is made in the same way and used for making hammocks. The bow strings are made from the fiber of the macanilla.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. Branches thrust into the sands form Yaruro shelter against sun and wind. All the possessions of this family, with the exception of bow and arrows which the hunter has taken with him, are scattered on the ground. They consist of an iron pot, a piece of cloth, several baskets, a hammock, and a water jar. 2. Yaruros prefer to sleep half buried in the sands, both for warmth and protection from insects. During the day young children are put to sleep in hammocks. 3. During the rainy season, or when a site is occupied for more than several days, the Yaruros may build structures such as the one shown in this picture.

[End Plate 4]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

512 grains of sand, they wait patiently and quietly, though hungry.
461 They seek no shelter from the wind, preferring it to the myriads of insects lurking in any sheltered spot. And then, too, it is cool in the wind, terrifically hot away from it.

About midafternoon the hunters and food gatherers straggle in.
512 They bring small crocodiles and turtles, crocodile eggs, turtle eggs,
224 perhaps some honey; and the women return with full baskets con-
222 taining changuango, a wild root that they have dug up in the savanna. They, too, may bring turtle eggs. Not always, of course. The men and the women may return with empty hands and empty baskets. In any event there is no boisterous reception, but the same silence, the same quiet acceptance of the day and what it brings as they have shown at its beginning. Fires are built larger, the women roast the
512 roots, the men help with the turtles and the crocodiles. These are
252 placed whole on the fire until the shells are toasted and then they
515 are cracked open. Wives become busy delousing their husbands, using a carved stick to help in the search. Sometimes the lice are picked and eaten. But the bodies of the men are covered with numerous black blisters, showing that they have suffered the daily torment from the insects. The wife crushes all of these blisters with the same delousing tool.

Dinner is a gala time. Calabash dishes containing the various
512 courses are placed in the center of the ring formed by each family.
264 The food is picked up and carried to the mouth with the fingers.
262 There are crocodile eggs. These are opened and the contents are sucked up raw. The same is done with the turtle eggs. There is the course of roasted changuango, and the pieces of turtle meat. But the real delicacy is crocodile, the best meat of all. The crocodile is eaten in its entirety, except for the entrails, and when the dinner is over some of it is left by the fire, an open invitation to anyone to fill any empty portion of his stomach. The stomachs become distended as tremendous quantities of food are swallowed. This is the only real meal of the day, and the fear of a dinnerless tomorrow drives the eaters to exceptional feats of gourmandizing until their bodies can hold no more. The lean dogs fight among themselves over the refuse heaps. The vultures glide overhead or are busy at crocodile entrails.

There is no after dinner work—no kitchen or table ware to wash,
512 nothing to spoil the proper enjoyment of a full stomach. They eat
517 until they have had enough, and then they move to the east of the
776 fires to lie on the clean sands and watch the sun hide beneath the western horizon. For about half an hour they watch the ever-changing colorful western sky and when rays of light emanate from below the horizon to streak the heavens with blue and gold and white, they

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

291 177 after I had been among the Yaruros for a time the women often discarded their camisoles, even though I were present.

291 286 462 The men would normally wear a breechclout which originally was woven by the woman from the fibers of the moriche palm leaf, but now it consists of a piece of cloth. Formerly the women wove wide belts of the same fiber for the men, but this is no longer done. The breechclout is held in place by a string tied around the waist.

291 287 The women, underneath their camisoles, still wear the old-fashioned Yaruro girdle, which is made from the fibers of the moriche palm. The fibers, which are about 2 feet long, are fastened together at one end. This end is slipped through a hair rope tied around the waist, and the whole mass of fibers passes between their legs and under the waist string. Plate 25, 4,[1] shows a Yaruro woman wearing one of these girdles. It is fastened in such a way that an enormous knot is formed in the rear, and when wearing their camisole the women have the appearance of sporting large tails.

562 291 301 The women on the whole seem to be more conservative than the men in their clothing and body decorations. Below the knees and around the ankles they wear a thin string, and often they have necklaces of carved asabache figures, which are shown in plate 21.

DELOUSING TOOL

412 515 An implement that is in great vogue is the delousing tool shown in plate 20, 2. The serrated end is used as a comb to expose the lice, which are seized between the fingers and crushed between the teeth. The pointed end is employed to crush blisters raised on the body by

462 302 mosquito bites. These tools, also fashioned by the men, are used exclusively by the women to groom their menfolk and each other.

CARRYING NETS

482 286 854 Carrying nets, of the knotless variety, are woven and used to carry children and food. When carrying children the net is slung across the chest from one shoulder; when carrying food it is supported by the head.

COOKING

252 462 The culinary art among the Yaruro is poorly developed. Much of the fruit and the eggs are eaten raw. Fish is eaten half raw and the meat of the crocodiles and turtles is merely warmed over the fire. Sometimes the meat is boiled. In the afternoon the women who have gathered firewood are to be found in camp waiting patiently for the men. On the hot coals they will have eggs and changuango. If the hunt is successful, and no hunt is considered

1 [see category 116, and plate 15, - - - Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

838 572 among ourselves. Also, it is true that these acts are never to be seen between man and woman. For instance, I remember young men loafing at my camp with their arm around each other's necks, and even clasped in a tight embrace face to face in each other's arms, though standing up. I never observed any physical sexual excitement, though.

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

861 858 There is no direct and organized teaching of the children. They learn from example and from the precepts laid down by the adults in discussions, generally held at night. Certainly the child is not made to feel that he is the center of attraction; rather he is tolerated, though watched with fond eyes by the adults. The children are never admonished to do this or that or negatively. It may be said that they are put into a pattern of behavior, and the bonds of this pattern are indeed close and strong. There is no breaking them as long as life lasts. It must not be thought that these bonds are felt and 181 156 that there is resentment toward them. The Yaruro is in a sense tremendously individualistic, in that each individual is forced to depend on his own resources, but when it comes to group life he is merely a part of the whole.

861 851 The children are free to play, but from infancy they also share in the adult activities. A mother may make a basket, with the little daughter constantly beside her. As soon as the child is able she will help in the digging of roots, or placing them in the basket, or will help in the making of a basket, or the cooking, her share of the work gradually increasing as she grows older. However, a child is never told to do any work, but does so entirely imitatory of the adults and the older children, with complete freedom as well as free desire.

The boy in like manner imitates the older boys and the men. His games consist of constant practice with bow and arrow, but this play is done only in the late afternoon and in the evening. During the day, as soon as the child is able to do so it will accompany the mother or father in hunting for food, doing its share of the paddling, loading and unloading of the canoe, helping to carry the food, taking care of the dogs, and watching and trying to make bows and arrows, string, etc.

GROOMING

Yerkes writes of grooming as follows:

182 515 Grooming is used in this report to designate a pattern of social behavior whose essential features are visual examination, search and manipulation of the skin and hair of a companion with fingers and lips, removal of dirt, dandruff, scabs, parasites, and other extraneous materials, and their conveyance to the mouth of the groomer, whose lips, tongue, and jaws meanwhile may have

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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been in motion, with sound production, as if in anticipation of something to be swallowed. Commonly, swallowing ensues, if the object is not disagreeable. Such behavior is conspicuous in chimpansee, which for purposes of comparison will be used in this report as type. Such familiar expressions as fleapicking, hairdressing, skintreatment, toiletmaking, frequently are used to refer to forms or aspects of the pattern of primate behavior which has been described.

Grooming is a biological habit, and like all such habits can either be perpetuated by a culture or smothered, "repressed". Among the very primitive peoples of South America I have seen habits that approximate the definition given by Yerkes. Delousing is the most common form. The lice are generally picked off and crushed between the teeth. Ticks that cover one in great numbers are likewise taken off. In this the subject of the attention generally sits very quietly, while the performer acts with evident pleasure. He or she may talk and jest much more than the subject.

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Among the Yaruros the most common forms of social grooming are the removal of lice, ticks, and the crushing of insect-bite blisters. For this latter function carved sticks are used. One end of it is used to search for the lice and to crush them and the other end is used for the blisters. This attention is generally given by the mothers to the children and the wives to their husbands, generally on the return from the day's hunt. I myself have been the recipient of such attention from Yaruro women. Not having a wife of my own, my sisters by courtesy, or adoption, took care of my body.

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It is difficult to say that the talk, jesting, smiles, that accompany these attentions are a result of the biological instinct. I am inclined to think that the culture pattern is here at work with its attendant repressions. For instance, often I have seen grimaces on the faces of the performer, the subject, and even of those standing about when a louse is crushed or a blister is broken. Is this a purely biological reaction or does it follow the pattern of conduct? Even primitive peoples are slaves to culture.

Religion and Shamanism

The Yaruro World

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Uppermost in the Yaruro consciousness is their conviction that they are faced with extinction—that Kuma exists and that she is waiting for them in her land. It was easy to prevail upon my informants to talk about Kuma and the world to which they will go upon dying. The other phases of their beliefs were difficult to bring to their attention, for the Yaruro life in this world has practically ceased. As a group, the desire to live and to continue has died. They see the hopelessness of any struggle to preserve their traditional

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. a, Fire sticks. Fire is produced by drilling one piece of laurel wood into a second. b, Fire fan. c, Horizontal piece is a hair rope worn around the waist by the women and the hairlike vertical piece is made from the moriche palm leaf and dyed red. The two pieces form the women's girdle.

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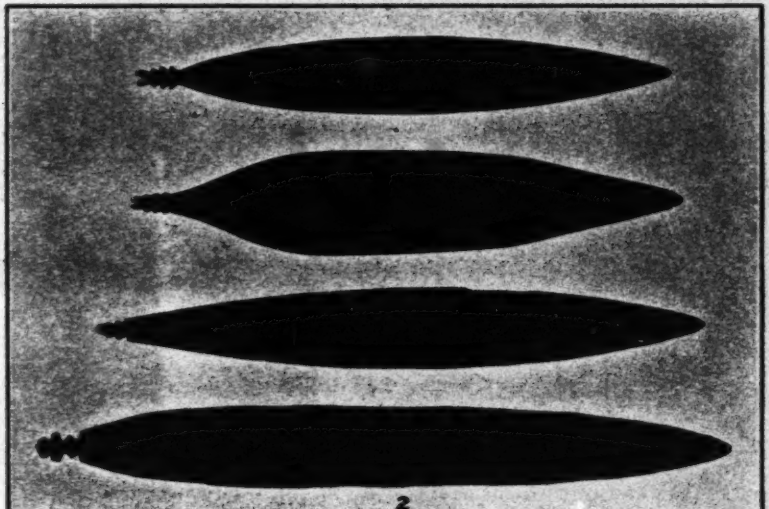

2

2. The serrated ends of the sticks are used to comb the hair in the search for lice which are either crushed between the fingers or between the teeth. The pointed ends are used to crush the blisters raised by various insects.

(End Plate 10)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

142 Among the llaneros the Yaruros have the reputation of being darker in color than any of the other tribes. This may be due to their daily exposure to the sun, for I have noticed that forest peoples tend to be lighter in color than those living in the open country. This observation was also made by the early Spanish missionaries. Gilii wrote:

> The color of the peoples of the Orinoco commonly is dark, but somewhat reddish. It is true that some tribes, for example the Otomachi[1] and the Guami', incline toward black. But they are of such a color, nevertheless, that there is no one among them who can be said to be similar to the Negroes, whose color they abhor. Generally the tribes close to the Orinoco like the Zaruvi (Jaruvos), and the Quaquari' are brown; even more whitish are the inhabitants of the interior, and of the forests. Whitish are the Maipuri, some Tamanachi, and above all the Macchiritari, and the Oji.[1]

The most striking thing in the appearance of the Yaruros is the skin condition referred to by the Racionales as "pintado," painted. When a Yaruro is first afflicted, some patch of his skin will become dry and almost sooty black in color. This will gradually lose all pigment and become as light as the skin of a white man. Practically every individual of the band I met at El Buron showed this patchy skin. The appearance is analogous to that of being profusely covered with [146] freckles. This condition does not affect the health of the individual in any way. By the Racionales it is attributed to the habit of eating crocodile meat and crocodile eggs. The Yaruros give no explanation for it.

304 [752] They practice no mutilations except that the women drill small holes through the lower lip through which they thrust bone pins. One woman wore 13 such pins. She often used them to prick blisters raised by insect bites.

● 516 The Yaruros seemed to be ambidextrous. In a group of approximately 150, I counted 6 cases of definite left-handedness, but generally, the left hand is used with a certain amount of dexterity. In addition to using the hands, the toes are used to pick up objects; for instance, if the man wishes to pick up his bow from the ground he will not stoop, but will pick it up with his toes and raise it to the level of his hands.

The posture of the Yaruros is an excellent adaptation to the soft sands on which they are forced to walk whenever they are out of their canoes. Their shoulders are thrown far back with the chest

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[1] Gilii, vol. 2, book 1, p. 34: Il colore degli Orinochesi, comunamente e fosco, ma inclinante alquanto all' rossicio. Vero e, che alcune nazioni, a cagion di esempio, gli Ottomachi, ed i Guami, tirano piutosto al nero. Ma sono di color tale nondimeno, che niuno tra essi vi e, che possa dirsi simile a Negri, il cual colore aboorriscono moltissimo. Generalmente le nazioni vicine all 'Orinoco, siccome le suddette, i Zaurui, e i Quaquari, sono piu brune; piu bianchi gli abitanti delle macchie interne, e de'monti. Bianchicci sono dunque i Mapoi, i Maipuri, alcuni Tamanachi, e sopra tutti i Macchiritari, e gli Oji.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

516 high and the hips carried well forward. As they walk along the soft sands they do not lean forward as a white man would to push against the yielding sands. The torso is held erect on the pelvis and the weight is shifted from hip to hip with the legs making a gliding motion beneath. In this way the walk is really a shifting of weight from one foot to another, the foot being planted almost flat on the ground. I noticed that on a hard trail the ball of the foot strikes the ground before the heel. They make a graceful picture as they walk about.

When sitting they double their legs under them, a position difficult to assume unless one has practiced it from childhood. The favorite sleeping posture is on the side with the knees drawn up close to the mouth. When sitting on the sands, if forced to pick up an object lying some distance away, the women especially would walk on all fours to it and bring it back without rising to a standing posture. In this manner I have seen women pick up firewood lying 50 yards away from the fire.

482 854 Loads are carried by men and women in nets suspended by a band from the forehead. Young children, who generally accompany their mothers on their food-gathering expeditions, are carried astride the hip, feeding at the breast as the mother goes about her work.

147 The physical endurance of the Yaruros is rather low. A day of hard paddling at a speed greater than their ordinary style, and they are exhausted. It is difficult to say whether this is due to their poor diet or simply to low racial vitality. It is certain that the American primitive is not as acclimated to the tropics as the Negro who, living on the same food as the Indian, will nevertheless outwork the latter.

177 The Yaruros today have been pushed to the Capanaparo and the Sinaruco Rivers. Rarely do they dare to wander far away from the banks of these two rivers. Since the days of the missions the indigenous tribes have been the victims of exploitation, even to the extent of enslavement. They are free booty for anyone who can catch them. The ranchers have sought to enslave the Yaruros, but an even more general sport has been the taking of the Yaruro women. Bandits and revolutionary groups sweeping along the llanos have not eased the Yaruro problem. Crocodile hunters, upon meeting with a band of Yaruros, will demand their women, and if the Yaruros should be reluctant to turn them over, death may be the price. I was told both by the Racionales, that is the peons, and the Yaruros, that about one month before I arrived in their midst about 150 Yaruros had been

185 rounded up and killed by the local "Jefes Civiles." The Yaruros are a hunted people, and they know that their extermination is imminent.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

516 the Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-
502 tom of the canoe on several cross sticks without any back rest or any foot rest on which to brace himself. To one not accustomed to such a position it is clumsy and painful, and easily fatiguing. The paddler's stroke is short, quick, and choppy, like that of many South American tribes in Brazil.

SHELTER

362 Yaruro shelter is the simplest thing in the world. Nothing simpler could be devised. Shunning the forest and camping only on the open beaches by the river, the shelter is devised for two purposes—to protect the family from the winds, the insects, the sun,
342 and in the rainy season from the rain. They make, therefore, a variety of shelters. The camp shelter for daytime in the dry season consists of branches thrust vertically into the sands. If there are any persons about camp during the day, which there are generally, they will sit in the shade of these branches, moving around them as the sun changes its position in the sky. At night they dig holes in the sand and lie in them, protecting themselves from the winds by a shelter of branches or basketry at the head. These shelters, however, must allow a certain amount of wind to come through in order to prevent the gathering of large swarms of insects. Sleeping in holes in the sand, they keep warm, since the dry winds make it quite
361 chilly at night. All of the Yaruro in the Capanaparo are too no-
364 madic to build better shelter than the types described, since they stay in one camp only a few days, generally two or three. They move about so much, both for the lack of game in the area and the refuse that accumulates around camp, even though the vultures can always be seen feasting upon the remains of crocodile and turtle. The Yaruro are aware that if they stay too close to such piles of refuse they may become infected.

101 However, the Yaruro living on Linda Bara, the islands at the
361 mouth of the Capanaparo, have such an abundance of food that they
342 make somewhat more permanent structures. This consists generally of a low hemispherical structure covered with palm leaves which reach to about 2 feet from the ground, leaving the interior open to the winds, but even these structures are abandoned in a few weeks because of the insect life. This is the type of structure that is employed during the rainy season when life becomes more sedentary.

POTTERY

317 At certain places along the banks of the Capanaparo the proper
323 clay is found for pottery. The type preferred is whitish in color. Generally a small quantity of yellowish red clay is mixed with it.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

796
787 shaman eventually returned to us, being fed and greeted with affection by all.

The singing stopped at 6 o'clock. A number of rather remarkable facts are to be emphasized.

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796 1. By actual count the shaman sang no less than 3,000 musical phrases and verses and about 800 stanzas without any breaks or rest, ever changing the words, and subject matter, and jumping from one thing to another at a very fast tempo. How the shaman could make up his verses so quickly, while the people repeated the previous verse, is not easy to understand.

2. He shook the rattle without ceasing a moment, with the same sidewise motion of the hand, most violently for nine and a half hours.

● [516] 3. He sat in the same posture—left leg doubled under him, right leg in cross-leg position, for the entire time. Not once did he move.

[276] 4. He smoked the long cigars with the thick leaves without taking them out of his mouth, producing so much smoke that I choked and my eyes smarted from it. He must have smoked at least 75 of them, and probably over a hundred. He smoked 35 cigarettes, in addition, in the same way.

[273] 5. He drank about 2 gallons of unfermented crushed maize in water.

The music was spirited and had a swing with the emphasis on the off beat that is as effective, if not more so, than the negro spiritual.

After the all-night singing there was a lull in the morning, everyone snatching a wink of sleep, but by the time I had finished writing and medicating my foot the men crowded around to tell me of the night's experiences. At noon the women started singing, sitting in their hammocks, and they kept this up until late in the day. They were singing mostly about me. I noticed that their songs seemed to be of a simpler sort and more monotonous than those of the men, generally consisting of one verse repeated over and over again to form the [198] stanza. They sang in the women's language.

JUAN RARIO ON THE EVENTS OF THE NIGHT

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787
776 Panemé Tsió brought a horse for the shaman to go to Kuma's house. Panemé Tsió is represented as a sort of "boss" of the figurines found in the sands. Then came the father of Fernando. He said that they should live well here and warned him not to mistreat his wife (talking to son-in-law). Then came the father of Brigida. He said that the new wife of his grandson should treat her husband well and vice versa. Then came a brother of Brigida. He said that he is wealthy in Kuma's land, possessing cattle and horses. Then came the mother of Brigida. She counseled her grandchild not to

1: Petrullo E-3 · (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

512 grains of sand, they wait patiently and quietly, though hungry.
461 They seek no shelter from the wind, preferring it to the myriads of insects lurking in any sheltered spot. And then, too, it is cool in the wind, terrifically hot away from it.

512 About midafternoon the hunters and food gatherers straggle in.
224 They bring small crocodiles and turtles, crocodile eggs, turtle eggs,
222 perhaps some honey; and the women return with full baskets containing changuango, a wild root that they have dug up in the savanna. They, too, may bring turtle eggs. Not always, of course. The men and the women may return with empty hands and empty baskets. In any event there is no boisterous reception, but the same silence, the same quiet acceptance of the day and what it brings as they have shown at its beginning. Fires are built larger, the women roast the
512 roots, the men help with the turtles and the crocodiles. These are
252 placed whole on the fire until the shells are toasted and then they
515 are cracked open. Wives become busy delousing their husbands, using a carved stick to help in the search. Sometimes the lice are picked and eaten. But the bodies of the men are covered with numerous black blisters, showing that they have suffered the daily torment from the insects. The wife crushes all of these blisters with the same delousing tool.

512 Dinner is a gala time. Calabash dishes containing the various
264 courses are placed in the center of the ring formed by each family.
262 The food is picked up and carried to the mouth with the fingers. There are crocodile eggs. These are opened and the contents are sucked up raw. The same is done with the turtle eggs. There is the course of roasted changuango, and the pieces of turtle meat. But the real delicacy is crocodile, the best meat of all. The crocodile is eaten in its entirety, except for the entrails, and when the dinner is over some of it is left by the fire, an open invitation to anyone to fill any empty portion of his stomach. The stomachs become distended as tremendous quantities of food are swallowed. This is the only real meal of the day, and the fear of a dinnerless tomorrow drives the eaters to exceptional feats of gourmandizing until their bodies can hold no more. The lean dogs fight among themselves over the refuse heaps. The vultures glide overhead or are busy at crocodile entrails.

512 There is no after dinner work—no kitchen or table ware to wash,
517 nothing to spoil the proper enjoyment of a full stomach. They eat
776 until they have had enough, and then they move to the east of the fires to lie on the clean sands and watch the sun hide beneath the western horizon. For about half an hour they watch the ever-changing colorful western sky and when rays of light emanate from below the horizon to streak the heavens with blue and gold and white, they

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

rejoice, for they know that Kuma, the goddess creator of all things, is content with them and is sending them a greeting in token thereof. On the wings of the wind comes the roar of the araguatos.

But life starts in the east and ends in the west. The day is done and the night comes on. The Yaruros turn to face the east to watch the beginning of star travel and also the fiery appearance of the moon and its transformation to a chaste white. The sands glisten and above flash "falling stars", but the Yaruros say that these are messengers of Kuma doing their errands.

Then the women roll cigars, light them, and pass them to their men. Everyone smokes and there is great contentment. There is reluctance to stand up, so if a woman has to fetch some object, say a firebrand, she will crawl on all fours, looking not unlike some large but indescribably graceful ape.

When several stars of the big dipper have appeared the women rise in a body and walk into the darkness west of the camp. They disappear from sight and hearing. What mysteries they perform they only know. The men are left alone and they talk about heaven. The children play merrily.

The women return and quietly take their places, ready to prepare more cigars. It is good to lie naked on the sand looking at the sky, listening to nature's symphony. With the same persistent effortless rhythm of the pulse beat the world outside of the individual is felt. There is the merry laughter of the children and the soft, deep, contented gurgle of the women; the soft voice of the shaman painting religious pictures, explaining existence; the murmur of the wind as a background to the calls of night birds, and the blowing of toninos, the splash of frolicsome fishes, the intermittent howl of the monkeys, the bark of the wolf, the roar of the jaguar; and the warmth of a full stomach.

A figure may detach itself from the camp shadows and disappear in the darkness of the west. Several young men may afterwards take the same path—to join the shaman in his preparations for communion with the gods. They leave behind them a feeling of expectation but nothing is said. Someone has put up a bare pole where the sand is hard packed.

The shaman returns and goes to sit in front of the pole facing the east. He sits quietly and alone in deep reverie. Later he may ask for a cigar. His wife will supply him with one.

After a period of contemplation he may begin to sing and dance. His people will join him. The music will become more and more animated, the singing and dancing will be done with increasing abandon. The stars and the moon will go their ways to rest in the west. It is only when the sun peeps over the eastern horizon that they will

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 linked, kept up rhythmic motion by bending the knees slightly and leaning forward. The men bent at the waist until the torso was horizontal, arms hanging down like apes, and made the same motion by bending at the knees. The motion was so very apelike that I wondered if the monkeys didn't enter in some way into the scheme of things. I was told that formerly they were people and when the flood came they climbed to the tops of trees, and have continued to live there ever since, gradually changing shape. When the circuiting around the pole began the men followed one another after the shaman, and the women made the outer circuit with the right hand on the shoulder of the woman in front. The right foot was stamped on the off beat.

ART

184 517 Of the arts, dancing, music, carving, painting, modeling, and perhaps drama, are present among the Yaruros. Every individual in the group participates in some form of artistic expression, even in connection with objects whose function is practical rather than aesthetic; each individual attempts to make them "tsaimui", that is "pretty", "good." Great care is taken in making baskets, pottery, arrows, and bows. Singing and dancing are universally practiced also. No individual feels that his voice is too poor to participate in 531 the singing and no individual is shy about dancing. However, social 462 custom limits the activities of the men and women in the plastic arts. 323 Pottery making is the prerogative of the women. The carving of stamps and realistic figures from the asabache is done by the men. The low relief carvings on gourd rattles are the special products of the shamans. Of all these activities it is this last that comes closest to being inspired.

531 The making of baskets is woman's work. They take great pride 285 in their workmanship, and make a conscious effort to reproduce various designs by employing several weaves. The patterns are rather limited, but then this may be due to the limited number of baskets which they make (fig. 21).

531 Pots are frequently broken in transport, but there is also very 323 little use for them. One or two pots per family are all that is required. The porousness of the material is desired in order to keep the water cool. These pots are generally decorated with crude broad bands of red paint. The pottery decoration is reproduced in figure 22.

531 The women like to paint their faces. For this purpose the men 322 make wooden stamps (pl. 22, *1*), which are dipped in red-ocher paste or a blue dye and the design is impressed upon the face. The designs are entirely geometric and rectilinear.

361 The asabache figures are of special interest because of their re- 317 markable realism. The asabache is a black igneous material found

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

in small pieces on the banks of the Capanaparo. It is about as hard to work as coal. It has much the same appearance. The carving tool is the ordinary knife which, in some cases, may be a broken machete. Yet, with such crude implements, they are able to produce exquisite realistic carvings of birds, fish, and other animals. These are generally perforated and strung into a necklace. Each woman possesses at least a few of these carved figures, the number depending on the industry of her husband. No symbolical significance seems to be attached to either the painting, the carving, or to any of the designs appearing on the stamps. There may be some magical meaning to them, but all inquiries were answered in the negative.

The gourd rattles present an entirely different manifestation. In the first place, only the male shaman can use a rattle. It is, in fact, the badge of shamanism. All the designs appearing on the rattle represent what he sees during his visits to Kuma's land. These carvings are made with the point of any sharp instrument, which cuts in just deep enough to expose the lighter colored inner wood of the rattle.

To become a shaman one must dream of Kuma and the other gods, and show his people that he can communicate with the godheads when occasion demands. Perhaps looking at shamanistic practices objectively this may mean primarily that the would-be shaman has a fertile imagination and some artistic talent. I do not think that we ought to doubt that he believes that he actually sees and talks with Kuma, Itciai, and the rest of the spirit world.

He commemorates his dreams on the sacred rattle, carving out on its surface the figures which appear in his dreams. Kuma and Hatchawa dominate the decorations on the gourd rattles, and since those collected came from the Puaná moiety, Puaná is also portrayed. In plate 24 various views of one of these gourd rattles are shown. The large geometric figure dominating the first drawing represents Kuma; the smaller one Hatchawa. Rotating the rattle toward the left we discover Puaná, the Snake.

In connection with these rattles one of the most interesting aesthetic features is the filling in of space. All of the specimens collected and shown in figures 25, 26, and 27 demonstrate this. In watching Landaeta at work I asked him why he did so; his reply was that a properly decorated rattle must be "tsaimui", that is "good", "proper", "beautiful."

Music

One would suspect that the Yaruros would have borrowed some of the musical instruments employed by the Llaneros. Among the lat-

1[See category 116, end plat. 14 --- Analyst]
2[See category 116, pp. 242-243 --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

songs. His nephew went to stand behind him; his son went forward to stand at the left shoulder of his cousin. These two boys joined in the singing, repeating Landaeta's song stanza after stanza. A few women, led by Landaeta's wife and daughter, went to stand at his right side, and joined the boys in answering the songs of the shaman. They stood there in front of the pole singing until the Southern Cross hung high in the sky. Then Landaeta's wife took a gourd rattle from the basket and gave it to her husband, who immediately began to shake it, its liquid tone blending harmoniously with the voices. The singers became more animated when they heard the rattle, and soon they began to dance, jerking the body forward and backward, rhythmically and in unison. At times Landaeta would shake his rattle violently and his voice would betray his deep excitement. His wife from time to time would give a lighted cigarette to him, holding it to his mouth until it was consumed. At midnight the shaking of the rattle became more frequent and more violent, and finally, in the middle of one song, everyone began to move around the pole. The women put their right hands on the shoulder of the one ahead, and soon were running and stamping the right foot as they did so. The men formed an inner circle, dancing one behind the other. At the end of each song they paused for a moment lined up in their original positions. As the night wore on, both singing and dancing became more and more animated until the shaman appeared to be in a frenzy. His voice rose in pitch, his rhythm was faster, and more strongly accentuated, and all sang with greater feeling. The shaman danced in jerky movements, bending and twisting his body, half spinning about, first one way then the other, until he seemed to be quivering all over. The dance around the pole became almost a mad run, made more difficult by the soft sands and the complex movements of the body. The men would leap high and as the right foot was stamped in unison, a resonant beat was produced that seemed to blend with the pulsating roar of the howlers brought to us by the wind, and marked off by the rich rattling of the gourd and the choral singing. In the morning hours the wind rose again, blew more violently, and the roar of the monkeys became stronger, and the Yaruros sang passionately. It was then, when the morning star was already high, and dawn lighted the eastern horizon, that they stopped.

The sun awoke me, and though I had slept barely two hours I felt quite refreshed. I sat up to look about me. There was the vast stretch of sand, the fringe of jungle, and the sparkling river. My Yaruros were sleeping half buried in the sand, behind basketry to shelter themselves from the wind. The vultures were already at the piles of refuse, feasting on crocodiles and turtles. Soon the sun awoke my friends, and they too sat up to gaze quietly at the western sky where they believe their gods live.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19 sia RC1

where they believe their gods live. It was only when the sun began to burn our bodies that they approached me to chat. They expressed their concern over my illness and soon busied themselves to make me as comfortable as possible. While I distributed among them a few presents bought for them in Urbana, and turned all of the food over to Landaeta, the younger men were busy building a sun shelter, an arbor of the sweet-smelling guava bush, though for themselves they had only branches thrust into the sands, giving only a thin shade. From now on, I was completely in their care, and they were careful nurses and tender friends. The best of the hunt was mine, and even the women delighted in taking care of my clothing, and in bringing me delicacies.

They were glad to see me, and the women shamans soon began their chants while the men surrounded me and told me in their own language and in broken Spanish what had occurred the previous night. [562] Men are prohibited from singing during the day, but the women sit in swinging hammocks and chant their songs. I learned, too, that Landaeta's daughter had not died, for there she was, grateful and shyly looking at me, completely well. They attributed her cure to me, though I was not at all responsible for it. During the night, they told me, the gods had come among us, and told them that I, too, was one of Kuma's children, and again they insisted that I was related to them.

I learned that Puaná and Itciai are cocreators with Kuma, the mother goddess, and they are directly responsible for the actual creation of the world. Hatchawa, in the form of a litttle boy, is another god who has given mankind fire, the bow and arrow, and many other blessings. Now, when the shaman sings at night his soul leaves his body and travels to the land of Kuma, leaving his body behind. The gods may come then, enter his body in the form of songs, and transmit their messages to the Yaruros. They had come the night before to greet me and to reassure my friends of my goodness and my own powers of shamanism.

We sat, smoked, and talked all day. In the afternoon we feasted on crocodile, turtle eggs, wild roots, palm nuts, and honey. Finishing our dinner, we sat quietly facing the west, watching the skies. As the sun set low again, rays of gold, blue, and white shot into the sky from the horizon, and my friends rejoiced at this certain greeting of Kuma to us.

Darkness came upon us, and in anticipation of a long night of singing and dancing—I could sing but could not dance, since I could not stand up—I lay on the sands to rest before the beginning of the ceremonies. but the skies interested the Yaruros and they came to tell me what they read there. The brightness of the stars and the changing

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

781 Puaná stayed with us for about an hour and a half, talking most of the time about me.

And finally at about 5 o'clock Kuma herself came to visit me and, like Hatchawa, urged me to drink of the shaman's drink. I had to drink a gourd full of it, since it was held to my lips until I finished it. She gave me messages similar to the others. Finally other Yaruros came, and the shaman eventually returned, being greeted with affection by all. We stopped when the sun rose and began another day of primitive life. We had danced and sung almost continuously for 36 hours.

This was my reception among the Yaruros after my return from La Urbana. We talked day and night about religion, and about the world in which we lived. I learned that a mother-in-law and son-in-law must never look upon each other and never talk to each other, though they must be careful to do each other service; that a man must marry his first cousin, and that socially he is under obligation to his maternal uncle who later becomes his father-in-law. Under Landaeta's tutelage the material in this report was compiled. In a sense, therefore, this is his report.

One day I announced to Landaeta that I would have to leave in the near future, giving as a reason that my wife and child needed me at home. Actually, there were other considerations; my physical condition was becoming worse, though the sores on my feet were a little better; and for the time being I had quietly exhausted the possibilities of obtaining fresh material from my friends. After all, we had been in contact with each other for six weeks, the major portion of it living communely and conversing with the shaman continuously day after day, sometimes even from sunrise to sunrise. My daily schedule consisted of rising at sunrise, drinking a little coffee sometimes brought to me by Landaeta, and immediately plunging into discussions of religious themes. This would last up to about 10 o'clock when Landaeta would withdraw and busy himself making string or carving gourds for several hours. During this period I would seek clarification of some points from whomsoever was present, or work on social organization, or on genealogy. In the early afternoon Landaeta would be back with new material, new ideas, having thought over what he had said, what I had said, and what still needed to be said. This would continue until sundown.

Then there was a short intermission for dinner, but soon afterwards I was hurried over to the eastern edge of the camp, where Landaeta and his people sat after dinner, and there we would sit while the women made cigars for us, talking about mythology, religion and general philosophical concepts. These discussions would last until 10 or 11 o'clock, and often much later, and not rarely shamanistic

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19 sia KC

performances would be given which would last until sunrise. Therefore there was an intense exchange of ideas for relatively long times with no rest.

The time came when Landaeta became a little restless. He was not accustomed to camping on one spot for more than two or three days at a time and he himself had done no hunting since I had joined them. Besides, the men and women had to forage farther and farther away for food. If my physical condition had permitted, it would have been well to continue living with them, moving from place to place, as is normal.

However, I knew I had to return to civilization quickly. The effect of my announcement on my hosts was interesting, and touching. It will be recalled that I had appeared in their midst as a stranger and a potential enemy and it was through a fortuitous event that I was accepted by them, not only as a friend but as a relative who worshipped the same gods. Since then I had actually been given an affectionate place in their emotional lives and they were sorry to see me go. They understood the reasons that were making it urgent for me to leave, especially understandable was the fact that my "wife and child" who had not seen me for many months were waiting for me to return. Nevertheless, they expressed sorrow, a certain amount of listlessness began to appear and they would come to me and sit by my side, telling me that they would be a rather lonesome people after I had gone; that they liked to talk about religious matters, and that when I would no longer be there with them they would have no one to talk things over with. This attitude affected the men and women in a very curious way. We had very little food in the camp, but still they would not go out and gather fresh quantities. And when I urged them to do so they answered that the knowledge of my coming departure made them very sad, and consequently they did not have the proper spirit to gather food, or even to eat.

These people have very little in the way of excess goods. Each family has a few baskets, perhaps a water jar, a mat or two, scraps of clothing and their tools, nothing more. And these generally were in very poor condition from long use. Knowing that I wanted to take back with me some of these things, they became busy weaving hammocks, making basketry and even pottery, so that I would take back to my "wife and child" objects new and well-made. This reaction on their part was spontaneous and they all expressed the idea that I should take back with me only new, well-made articles to remember them by; so for about a week before my departure there was intense activity around camp.

The day of my departure finally arrived and I said good-bye. There was no ceremonial wailing as had attended my departure from the

1: Petrullo E-S (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

At night each family group lay on the sands
talking a little, laughing a little. I made it a custom of visiting every night, and usually the men gathered around. The women, keeping in the background, made all sorts of inquiries concerning my country and people, but always through the men.

One cannot live on intimate terms with a group of people a week without learning something of their sexual attitudes. Only too often is this factor dangled in front of him, so that if he were to base his report on recurrent experiences and situations it would be largely made up of sex and sex problems. However, the sexual element is strongly present, but it is in normal cases a simple matter.

A simple matter but of exceeding importance if we are to believe the psychologists. Basic to life, and to social organization, the attitude toward it has its effect on the life of the individual and on the culture, but equal the make-up of the indidivual and the culture produces the sexual attitude.

To begin with, this writer does not know anything about the sexual development of Yaruro boy or girl. He does not know what secret sexual play the children may indulge in, nor does he know whether the unmarried girl has any sexual relations. He thinks that the unmarried do. He also thinks that there is some kind of homosexuality among the boys, and even the men. The following is based on what he observed, heard, and saw without any undue prying about.

The sexes are kept apart from infancy. A baby girl is launched into her future career as a woman almost from birth. She is the special care of the mother and women folk. When she is able to play she plays alone, with other girls, or with the women. She never plays with the boys. When she is able to work she helps her mother, never her father nor her elder brothers. She may be helped in her work by her brother.

It is impossible to claim that the attachment is stronger between the mother and children than between the father and daughter. It would be necessary to investigate the problem from the psychological point of view. But such is the case socially and economically.

The maternal uncle does to a certain degree substitute for the father, but this substitution is formal and social.

From babyhood the child learns his relationship to those about him. One woman is its mother. She it is who gives suck, holds, etc. Later he learns that he must call other women mother also. These are the sisters of his true mother. One man he learns to call father. This man is the one who is most with his mother, in whose canoe they travel, etc. Other men he calls father also, the brothers of his true father. Thus relationships are defined sexually, familiarly, and formally. In respect to girls of his own age he learns that some he calls sisters and others by terms whose equivalent may be rendered

1: Petrullo E-8 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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women sang to me and for me, I was not able to learn anything about their conceptions of the universe nor any other matter.

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On one occasion Landaeta, the shaman, invited Juan Bario's band to participate in a performance. The women prepared for it by painting the face with stamped designs—stamps smeared with oily stuff, stamped on the face, then the entire face, from eyebrows down, was covered with a thick coat of red ocher. It stuck where the grease was. The hair was worn in one braid down the back. They wore their best dresses.

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In anticipation of a long night, I lay down on the sands to rest, if possible. However, the skies interested the Yaruros. Landaeta and his people lay beside me to talk about the heavens. From that we passed to a discussion of Hatchawa, who, according to Landaeta, had said that I was well known to him and a good friend. In order to test the shaman I told him that I was anxious about my family whom I had left so long ago, and I asked him to find out about my wife, son, and general family from Hatchawa, which he promised to do. The conversation went back to the stars, and as the big dipper began to rise over the northern horizon Landaeta disappeared in the darkness. Soft conversation continued, and then came Juan Bario and his family to join us.

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A few words of warm friendship with Juan Bario and we went to joint Landaeta, who was sitting ready to begin. Landaeta had withdrawn to the west of the camp, and put on his shamanistic breechclout and head-cloth, which consisted of a sort of headkerchief. His son Brigido sat behind him; to the right of Landaeta sat Brigida, his wife, and next to her, her sister. Juan Bario and I sat back a little.

Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily, without reproof, under the very nose of the shaman, some of the men jested and laughed, others conversed more quietly, etc. In other words, the imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions, and no restraints were placed on the normal and natural behavior.

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Landaeta began to sing and he was accompanied by a few of the attendants. In the meanwhile small fires had appeared here and there, and at these were lighted the long green leaf-covered cigars. None smoked an entire cigar, following the general custom of sharing with the other fellow. The songs at first were accompanied with faint rattling of the macaua, but this became stronger and stronger as the shaman approached the Land of Kuma. Finally at midnight—almost on the stroke—the shaman announced in his song that he had reached the desired land. The singing became more intense, faster, and everyone seemed to take more interest.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

252 Several fires were burning, and over them there were pots containing turtle eggs. Several large turtles and small crocodiles were broiling over a fire. The shells of the turtles and the hides of the crocodiles had not been removed, and for a moment we thought that they were being cooked alive, but soon discovered that they had been killed before being placed over the fire. There was little else to be seen. It was easy to understand the reaction of the casual traveler who, upon coming in contact with a primitive group, stops, looks, and goes away quickly with the impression that there is nothing there more than the glance takes in.

123 609 On approaching the camp, Pedro, the guide, shouted words of greeting in Yaruro, "keramai" (brother-in-law). He patted some of them on the back, asked after their health in Spanish, called everyone brother or sister-in-law, and tried to make himself generally agreeable. Maria busied herself with the women. The Yaruros' only response to their demonstrations of friendship was to extend their arms half-heartedly, in a llanero gesture of greeting, and to answer their questions monosyllabically.

In spite of our friendly overtures they would not accept me as friend or guest. They remained reserved and aloof. The young man pointed out as the headman resisted my attempt to draw him into conversation. The Yaruros watched us closely, taking in our least movement, and only averted their gazes when we looked directly at them. If one has never come in contact with South American primitives before, such a reception is decidedly disheartening.

123 522 An accident relieved some of the tension. I picked up a bow. Choosing the remnants of an old basket about 50 feet away for a target, I took careful aim and shot the arrow. I missed by more than 10 feet. The eyes watching me lighted with amusement and contempt, for it was inconceivable to them that anyone could exist in this world without knowing how to shoot a bow better than that. I shot again and this time I came within 6 inches of hitting my mark, a feat which aroused some interest. I placed another arrow on the bow, raised it, pulled back the string, as far back as my ear, and then, with a loud snap, the bow broke. Laughter greeted this exploit, not so much directed at me as at the owner of the bow who had spent several days fashioning it. He was adequately compensated but that did not remove his feeling of resentment.

123 That evening we again visited the camp. The camp fires were low, so we were scarcely able to see our way about. Pedro and Maria sang out cheery greetings, while we picked our way between scarcely distinguishable groups of humanity and piles of debris. A few grunts and a few indifferent gestures of greeting were the only acknowledgments of our presence. Even the distribution of several yards of tobacco failed to melt their reserve. They did, however, put up a

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

LIFE AFTER DEATH

761 775 To the modern Yaruro death is a desirable event. It holds great promise rather than terror for him. He believes that the dead will continue to live in the Land of Kuma. That is, in the land of the Mother Goddess, where he will be restored to a life of pristine happiness in the world which is identical with that which existed before the coming of the white man. In that world, in the Land of Kuma, he will have freedom to hunt if he pleases, he will have an abundance of food, he will have horses, cattle, and tobacco. He will lead a life of eternal bliss, watching over the affairs of his relatives and descendants on this earth, visiting them occasionally through the shaman and conversing with them. Apparently his only wish is that his people will die and join him in the Land of Kuma at the earliest possible time. A better idea of this life after death can be obtained by turning to the chapters on the shamanistic performances and legends.

PLAY

522 152 The spirit of play is known to the Yaruros. In fact, they laugh so much and so often that one might get the impression that they take life very lightly. For instance, their response to any accident is laughter. A man may fall out of his canoe or hurt himself in some way, or a woman may break a pot; any such accident is taken as a fine joke by everyone else.

616 606 There is inner-moiety and joking relationship, but members of one moiety do not play pranks on members of the other moiety. In fact, even in camp the mother-in-law will keep aloof from any levity engaged in by the son-in-law, and vice versa.

533 535 524 In the dancing and singing there is gaiety, especially when Puaná visits his people. Then is a time for much laughter and joking. However, there is no formalized play among the Yaruros. Anciently it is reported that the Otomacos had a ball game. Gilii has given us a description of it.[8]

857 462 861 The most common form of play among the children is an imitation of the activities of the grown-ups. The little boys will pretend that they are hunting and fishing or canoeing; the little girls will pretend that they are making pottery, basketry, or painting their bodies. The toys which the children use are miniature implements of hunting and food gathering. The only objects made differently for children to play with which are not an imitation of anything used by the adults are small clay figures representing human beings. These are arranged by the child in imitation of human beings dancing around

[8] If the Yaruros knew this ball game they have forgotten it since then.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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a pole. In general, therefore, organized play for child or adult is hardly present.

WAR

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The Yaruros did not speak much of war. None of their legends make any reference to it except in one case which says that they were killed by the "Racionales" and that they retaliated.[6] The known historical sources say nothing except Father Gumilla's account, which makes reference to the pacification of the "Saruri."

MORAL ATTITUDES

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On the subject of conduct, the outlook on life and the organization of life values, we must distinguish between theory and practice. The former grows out of reflection and represents the intellectualization of the universe as seen without much reference to practical life. The second springs from the social and economic relationships and the fusing of individual ends and purposes into the purposes and ends of the group, whereas the first is not strictly controlled by custom and practical needs. Both exist among the [791] Yaruros. For the first we have to turn to the shaman, who in addition to being a religious leader, a savant, is also a moralist; and for the second we turn to the entire social group and need to watch it in its behavior.

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In reading over the early account of the aborigines of the region, among which we must presumably include Yaruros, we gather that their moral concepts were different from those of the Christians, but perhaps neither better nor worse in practice. It must be doubted, however, whether a number of practices attributed to the Yaruros are authentic. We read, for instance, that a number of the aborigines were patricides, and we are given a picture of the male children, on reaching adolescence, rising against the fathers [682] through lust for the mother. Patricide is an abhorrent crime and [683] the motive behind it is equally abhorrent. It is to be doubted whether patricide, or even lesser acts, such as beating the father, were ever practiced, except in sporadic cases such as may occur in [684] any society. It hardly seems possible that women were the cause of it when it is known, as it is known today, that mating and extramarital relationships are very strictly controlled by tradition and social training. Disregarding, therefore, such allusions to the moral life of the primitive peoples of the Orinoco, let us turn to our in-
000 formants for an understanding of their present mode of life. The

[6] It would appear probable that the nomadic Yaruros were too weak to ever develop any warlike spirit.

/12 cont./

budare (24), of tinaja (25), etc...which are found there are

24. Dish to cook flat manioc cakes, in Venezuelan.

25. Jar, in Venezuelan.

from the Otomaco women. But they often came this way--sometimes to dance or to buy canoes--to meet with the ancestors of the Yaruro of today. Like the former they were themselves good people. Yaruro and Otomaco each spoke in their dialect, which they mutually understood, which was not difficult. "Today," he added, "not a person remembers it."

Their relations must even have extended further, since they married among themselves without any obstacle /13/ placing itself in the way. Ijiai in fact approved of these unions, as opposed to those with other Indians, the Piquero and Taparito included, Pedro Ramón Camacho specified, or with the Racionales, of which he disapproved.

They fed themselves, it appears, not only on fish, tortoise, deer, and vegetable produce grown in the conucos, but also on guiriguiri duck (26), a bird little in demand among the

26. Venezuelan name of the Dendrocygna automnalis.

present Indians because of the fishy taste of its meat. In addition, like the Yaruro, they appear to have lived in round huts built on the dunes, practiced a ball game, and made their pottery with the same technique and not with the aid of basketwork molds, contrary to what the remains with basketwork impressions which abound in the region where they apparently lived would lead us to suppose.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

841 piece of cloth. (Among the peoples of the Xingu in Brazil she is made to wear her hair over her face, and she is kept from the sight of men.) Whether during this period special initiatory rites are performed I was not able to find out. This part of Yaruro culture is considered to be in the women's domain, and, being a man, I was kept from delving into it.

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MARRIAGE

527 The Yaruros are poor in social ceremonies. Anciently they may have practiced a great many of them but today social life is comparatively simple.

885 When a boy is ready to marry he may approach his father, or as a matter of fact, the father may approach the son. In any case he is sent to the shaman, who informs him that now he should be ready to assume the duties of a man, and proceeds to instruct him in the nature of those duties. He is told that he must love and cherish his wife; supply her plentifully with food, clothing, ornaments, and children; that he must never use harsh words toward her and that he must take care of her when she is sick; that he must never quarrel with her family, with whom he is expected to live; and of particular importance, that he must remember to take care of his father-in-law and mother-in-law. All of this is ordained by Kuma.

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584 The shaman will then approach the boy's uncle who has a marriageable daughter. No special ceremony seems to take place. The boy simply goes to live with the wife's family and assumes his duties of taking care of her as well as of his parents-in-law.

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SICKNESS AND DEATH

751 Not much material was available on sickness. It must be remembered that the Yaruros have been in contact with European ideas for several centuries and that they understand the use of medicine for the cure of a specific illness.

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753 Nevertheless, Kiberoh, the evil night spirit, is in some fashion associated with illness. If Kiberoh enters the body of a person, the latter will become ill. In such cases the only cure is the intercession of Kuma, who can be called upon to help by the shaman or musico, a term adapted from the Spanish to describe the singing shaman.

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755 The sick person is laid on the ground with his head pointing to the east. At sundown the shaman will stand to the north of the sick person and will proceed to sing, accompanying himself with the rattle. The rest of the people, with the exception of any woman in her menstrual period, line up behind the shaman and sing and dance as they generally do during any of the shamanistic performances. If they indulge in any dancing, however, they do not go around a

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

317 323 [302] [824] This same clay supplies the red and yellow ocher used for facial painting. The clay is tempered with the bark of the Mecla tree called "Toiin" in Yaruro. This bark is burned to an ash and the ashes are kneaded into the clay, which has been well moistened. Rolls of this clay are then made, coiled, and placed one upon another. They are then flattened and smoothed out by hand or with the help of a piece of shell, water being applied liberally. The clay rests on a dish of pottery which is revolved when necessary. After the pot has been built up and smoothed down it is left in the sun to dry for two days. At the proper time a base of wood is made,

[531]

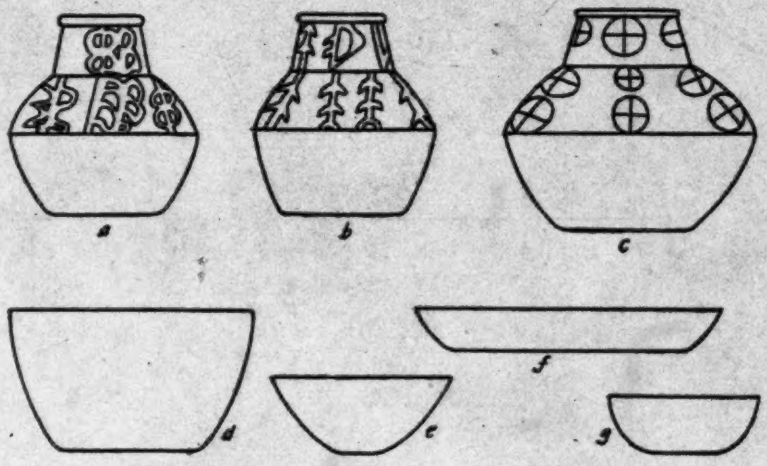

FIGURE 22.—Pottery forms and decorations. *a*, *b*, *c*, Water jars, showing painted designs. *d*, *e*, *g*, Bowls. *f*, Pottery plate used for toasting seeds.

the pottery placed on it and covered with other sticks, and then a hot fire bakes the pottery for about two hours. Such quick firing produces a poor quality of pottery, but leaves it porous. Since these pots are used only as water jars, this has the effect of keeping the water very cool (pl. 13, *2*; fig. 22).

CLOTHING

291 177 Most of the Yaruros whom I saw possessed some scrap of clothing which was worn both as protection against the weather and for social show. In many cases this clothing consisted of mere shreds, as can be seen in plate 15, *1*. The men wear coats and trousers or merely trousers. The women wear camisoles of the thinnest goods which in no way hides their nakedness. Most of this clothing is discarded when there are no visitors around camps, and

1[see category 116, and plate 3 ----- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

"Here, a son-in-law will take care of me now!" Then the Yaruros lived. The shaman had a nephew and a son. The nephew fell in love with his own sister and married—he was changed into a jaguar and she into a snake (?). If it had not been for this there would not have been any snakes and jaguars. Human beings should not marry their own sisters. It was ordered by Kuma. Animals are different.

Then one man found a tree with all the fruits on it. He did not tell the others. A white man appeared on horseback. Said he would come back in eight days. He came back in a boat. Scattered seeds everywhere. Thus he changed the country. Before it was all open savanna, but now forests and agricultural products grew.

India Rosa taught the women. God taught the men. God wanted to give the horse to the Yaruros, but they were afraid to mount, so he gave it to the Racionales instead.

KUMA

Presumably, Kuma is anthropomorphic. The only ones among the Yaruros who have any knowledge of this mythical being who is responsible for the world are the shamans. These individuals are loath to discuss what they see in their dreams, claiming that all they have to say about such things are said during their shamanistic performances. Besides, they claim that they do not remember what they see during their trances.

Nevertheless, on the rattles appear graphic representations of what Kuma is supposed to look like. In all cases, she seems to resemble a human being, standing with her arms extended upward in greeting to her people. Such figures are represented on the gourd rattles shown in plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27. It was explained that the lines appearing on the body of Kuma represent body painting and ornaments.

Of all the godheads or spirit forces of the Yaruros, Kuma is the most clear-cut. She is the creator of all things, and everything emanates from her. Her associates, Puaná, Itciai, and Hatchawa, function according to the laws of Kuma. Apparently they are not able to do anything without her consent, but occasionally she may be tricked. For instance, when Hatchawa decided to give fire to the people he threw a live fish into Kuma's fire. The wriggling of the fish scattered the coals, which the people seized and carried away.

Kuma is represented neither as an indulgent mother nor as an entirely benevolent creature in the myths. It is Hatchawa and Puaná who favor human beings. In fact, Kuma was opposed to peopling the earth with the human race. In spite of this there is no

1: Petrullo E-8 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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FIGURE 25.—Decorated gourd rattles of the shamans. *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, Views of Landaeta's favorite instrument (rotating toward the left). *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, Gourd rattle decorated by Landaeta after a night's shamanistic performance.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

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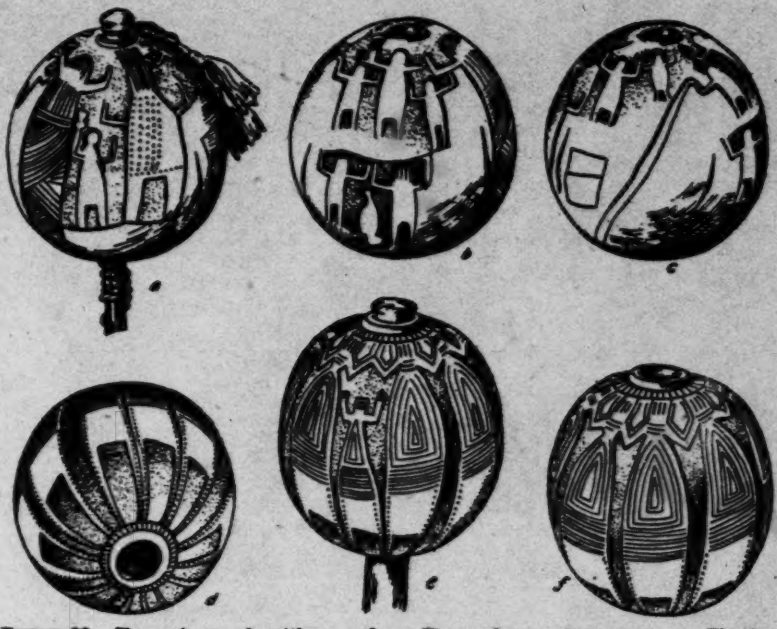

FIGURE 26.—Shaman's gourd rattles. *a*, *b*, *c*, Views of same instrument. *a*, The long figure on the left represents Puaná. The next figure on the right is Hatchawa, next to which is standing Kuma. *b*, The three figures at the top are, reading left to right, Hatchawa, Kuma, and Iteial. At the extreme right can be seen Puaná. In the lower portion the figures represent the Yaruros, except the figure of the bird, symbolism of which remained undisclosed. *d*, *e*, *f*, Views of same rattle. The figures represent the Yaruros dancing around a pole. The small figure in *e* represents a child.

FIGURE 27.—Shaman's gourd rattles. *a*, *b*, *c*, Views of same instrument. *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, Views of same instrument. *a* shows Kuma in the characteristic posture of greeting her people. *b* and *c* show Kuma dancing with her people. *d*, *e*, *f*, and *g* are views of the same rattle that show Kuma's people, the dead Yaruros, dancing in her land.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

791 ordinary citizen, receiving no compensation except the respect given
787 to an old man and a moral teacher. In the second place, shamanism
157 is a lifetime activity, and it would seem improbable that one would create such a life for himself which he would have to live until death if he were not suited to it. I saw cases of men who were striving to be shamans, some young and some old, with great regret admitting that they could not see the religious visions that others more successful had seen. In a primitive society such as that of the Yaruros, where life values are simple and evident to every one, where the intimacy existing between its members is thorough, there is very little incentive and very little opportunity for pretense.

791 Landaeta, my chief informant among the shamans, claimed that
787 he did not remember the specific events that he "dreams" when he
115 sang and that he could not sing during the day, nor could he remember the songs. He himself had to be told by the others what happened during a shamanistic performance. Thus he could tell me neither the words nor the tunes. I had to wait for another performance to try to take down both. Since the words were conversations between the shaman and the spirit forces, and thus varied at each performance, he was right. Yet there is a musical pattern and undoubtedly a word pattern also.

791 In the matter of making the sacred objects, he claimed that only
787 those who have "dreamed", have had religious experience, can make
531 them. Thus he himself was carving the rattles, and claimed that no
778 one else among his people could carve them. Some, like his nephew and son-in-law Juan Garcia, were learning.

791 At Landaeta's death probably the shaman will be either Brigido
787 Tovar, his son, or Juan Garcia, his nephew and son-in-law. Legend
554 favors the son, but Landaeta looks to Garcia. However, it is the son who sang behind the shaman in this case, but Garcia has had religious experiences already.

Landaeta himself claims that he sang behind his uncle for a long time without a moracca. Finally he had a "dream" and he was permitted to use a moracca. This religious experience is absolutely necessary to a future shaman.

791 That the shaman follows certain patterns of song, ritual, dream,
533 and revelation is quite certain, and it is these patterns that are transmitted to the neophyte. Both dreams and revelations always have
787 some bearing on current problems, and in fact attempt to solve these problems.

During a shamanistic performance the first songs describe the journey of the shaman's soul to the Land of Kuma. Upon reaching the desired land the shaman shakes his rattle violently and the songs

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

invention offers a perfect refuge, even though it is only a philosophical one.

Mechanical aids to the shaman, in addition to his own psychological make-up, are: music and dance; tobacco, which he consumes in great quantities during his performance; tcuipah, a root with narcotic properties; caroto, which is a fermented or unfermented mixture of crushed maize and water, or manioc and water, and when obtainable, white rum. The extent to which these stimulants are used can be illustrated by the observations which are made in the course of one all-night performance: The shaman consumed 42 cigarettes which I offered him, about 100 cigars, which consisted of several strips of tobacco leaf wrapped in a thick green leaf obtained from one of the trees along the bank, about 6 inches of the tcuipah root, and about 2 quarts of the fermented maize-and-water mixture. Since these narcotics and stimulants were taken hurriedlly and in great quantities, it must have had a terrific physiological effect upon him. For instance, every cigarette and cigar was smoked completely through in 10 seconds. Each musical stanza lasted from about 10 to 15 seconds. He sang it first and then it was repeated by his people. It was during this repetition of his song that the shaman inhaled as much of the tobacco smoke as possible and then exhaled it just before commencing a new stanza.

In contrast with the rather violent shamanistic performance of the male shaman, the women do not seem to depend very much on narcotics. During the day the men are not permitted to sing or whistle, but the women may lie in their hammocks and sing. They may take small quantities of all of these narcotics, but as far as my observation went I never saw any of them consume any great quantity.

The spiritual world of the shaman is quite different from the everyday realistic world. A comparison of the carvings on the gourd rattles with the realistic carvings of the asabache made by anyone greatly demonstrates this. In the latter form of art expression, animals, birds, and scenes are copied with great accuracy and skill. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that if the shaman were to attempt the realistic representation of the spirit world he could do so, but he has chosen to portray the various gods and spirits almost symbolically. Kuma and Hatchawa were always represented holding up their hands. It is this position which is read into the western skies whenever at sunset there occurs a phenomenon described above. The rays of light emanating from the horizon represent the fingers of the hands of the gods.

The form of the dance has been described. It starts off as a simple walk around a pole and it may become a fast run in the evening,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 linked, kept up rhythmic motion by bending the knees slightly and leaning forward. The men bent at the waist until the torso was horizontal, arms hanging down like apes, and made the same motion by bending at the knees. The motion was so very apelike that I wondered if the monkeys didn't enter in some way into the scheme of things. I was told that formerly they were people and when the flood came they climbed to the tops of trees, and have continued to live there ever since, gradually changing shape. When the circuiting around the pole began the men followed one another after the shaman, and the women made the outer circuit with the right hand on the shoulder of the woman in front. The right foot was stamped on the off beat.

Art

184 517 Of the arts, dancing, music, carving, painting, modeling, and perhaps drama, are present among the Yaruros. Every individual in the group participates in some form of artistic expression, even in connection with objects whose function is practical rather than aesthetic; each individual attempts to make them "tsaimui", that is "pretty", "good." Great care is taken in making baskets, pottery, arrows, and bows. Singing and dancing are universally practiced also. No individual feels that his voice is too poor to participate in 531 the singing and no individual is shy about dancing. However, social 462 custom limits the activities of the men and women in the plastic arts. 323 Pottery making is the prerogative of the women. The carving of stamps and realistic figures from the asabache is done by the men. The low relief carvings on gourd rattles are the special products of the shamans. Of all these activities it is this last that comes closest to being inspired.

531 285 The making of baskets is woman's work. They take great pride in their workmanship, and make a conscious effort to reproduce various designs by employing several weaves. The patterns are rather limited, but then this may be due to the limited number of baskets which they make (fig. 21).

531 323 Pots are frequently broken in transport, but there is also very little use for them. One or two pots per family are all that is required. The porousness of the material is desired in order to keep the water cool. These pots are generally decorated with crude broad bands of red paint. The pottery decoration is reproduced in figure 22.

531 322 The women like to paint their faces. For this purpose the men make wooden stamps (pl. 22, *1*), which are dipped in red-ocher paste or a blue dye and the design is impressed upon the face. The designs are entirely geometric and rectilinear.

361 317 The asabache figures are of special interest because of their remarkable realism. The asabache is a black igneous material found

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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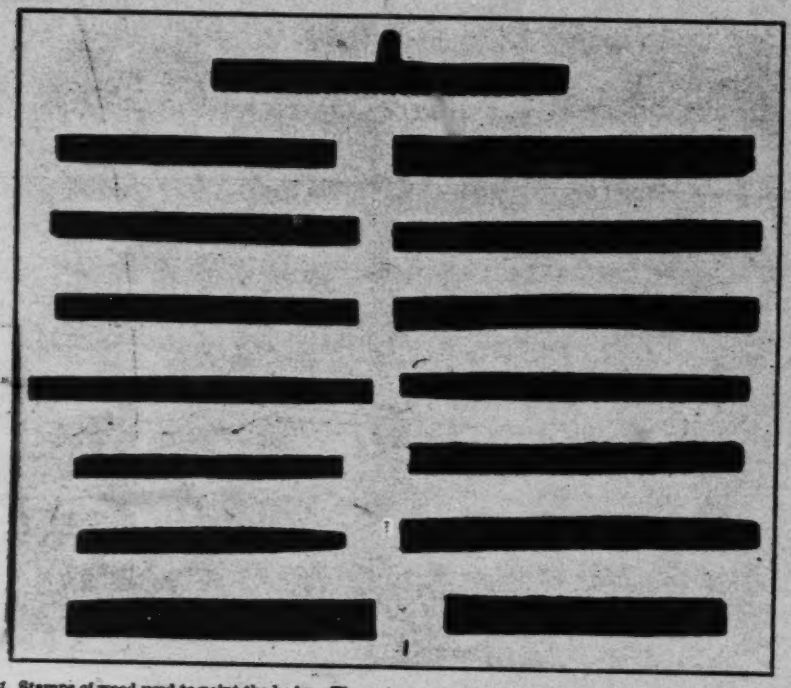

1. Stamps of wood used to paint the body. These stamps are made by the men, but used by the women. The designs are stamped on the face.

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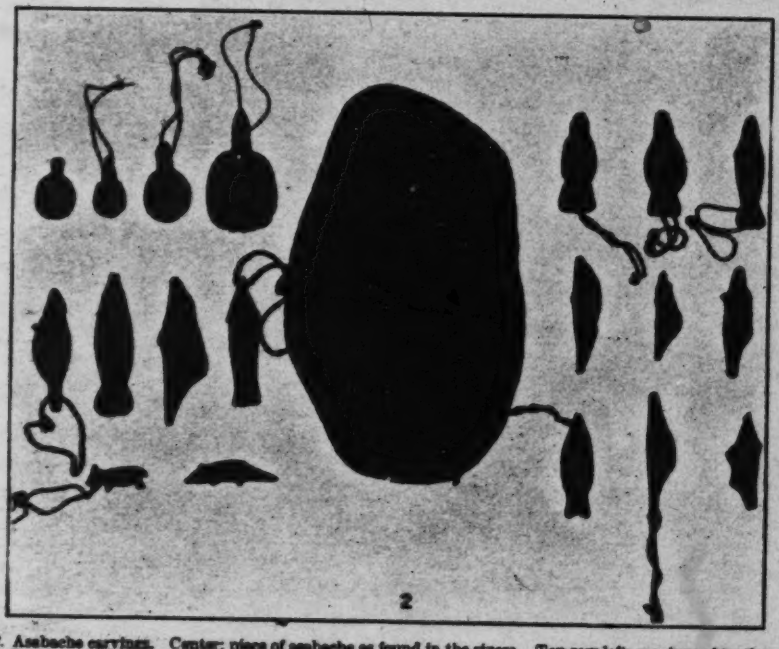

2. Asabache carvings. Center: piece of asabache as found in the rivers. Top row left: carvings of turtles. Top row right: carvings of birds. Middle row left and right: carvings of fishes. Lower row: carvings of (1) jaguar, (2) armadillo. Lower right: carvings of fishes.

[End Plate 12]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

LIFE AFTER DEATH

761 775 To the modern Yaruro death is a desirable event. It holds great promise rather than terror for him. He believes that the dead will continue to live in the Land of Kuma. That is, in the land of the Mother Goddess, where he will be restored to a life of pristine happiness in the world which is identical with that which existed before the coming of the white man. In that world, in the Land of Kuma, he will have freedom to hunt if he pleases, he will have an abundance of food, he will have horses, cattle, and tobacco. He will lead a life of eternal bliss, watching over the affairs of his relatives and descendants on this earth, visiting them occasionally through the shaman and conversing with them. Apparently his only wish is that his people will die and join him in the Land of Kuma at the earliest possible time. A better idea of this life after death can be obtained by turning to the chapters on the shamanistic performances and legends.

PLAY

522 152 The spirit of play is known to the Yaruros. In fact, they laugh so much and so often that one might get the impression that they take life very lightly. For instance, their response to any accident is laughter. A man may fall out of his canoe or hurt himself in some way, or a woman may break a pot; any such accident is taken as a fine joke by everyone else.

616 606 There is inner-moiety and joking relationship, but members of one moiety do not play pranks on members of the other moiety. In fact, even in camp the mother-in-law will keep aloof from any levity engaged in by the son-in-law, and vice versa.

533 535 524 In the dancing and singing there is gaiety, especially when Puaná visits his people. Then is a time for much laughter and joking. However, there is no formalized play among the Yaruros. Anciently it is reported that the Otomacos had a ball game. Gilii has given us a description of it.[6]

857 462 861 The most common form of play among the children is an imitation of the activities of the grown-ups. The little boys will pretend that they are hunting and fishing or canoeing; the little girls will pretend that they are making pottery, basketry, or painting their bodies. The toys which the children use are miniature implements of hunting and food gathering. The only objects made differently for children to play with which are not an imitation of anything used by the adults are small clay figures representing human beings. These are arranged by the child in imitation of human beings dancing around

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[6] If the Yaruros knew this ball game they have forgotten it since then.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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a pole. In general, therefore, organized play for child or adult is hardly present.

WAR

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The Yaruros did not speak much of war. None of their legends make any reference to it except in one case which says that they were killed by the "Racionales" and that they retaliated.[6] The known historical sources say nothing except Father Gumilla's account, which makes reference to the pacification of the "Saruri."

MORAL ATTITUDES

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On the subject of conduct, the outlook on life and the organization of life values, we must distinguish between theory and practice. The former grows out of reflection and represents the intellectualization of the universe as seen without much reference to practical life. The second springs from the social and economic relationships and the fusing of individual ends and purposes into the purposes and ends of the group, whereas the first is not strictly controlled by custom and practical needs. Both exist among the [791] Yaruros. For the first we have to turn to the shaman, who in addition to being a religious leader, a savant, is also a moralist; and for the second we turn to the entire social group and need to watch it in its behavior.

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In reading over the early account of the aborigines of the region, among which we must presumably include Yaruros, we gather that their moral concepts were different from those of the Christians, but perhaps neither better nor worse in practice. It must be doubted, however, whether a number of practices attributed to the Yaruros are authentic. We read, for instance, that a number of the aborigines were patricides, and we are given a picture of the male children, on reaching adolescence, rising against the fathers [682] through lust for the mother. Patricide is an abhorrent crime and [683] the motive behind it is equally abhorrent. It is to be doubted whether patricide, or even lesser acts, such as beating the father, were ever practiced, except in sporadic cases such as may occur in [684] any society. It hardly seems possible that women were the cause of it when it is known, as it is known today, that mating and extramarital relationships are very strictly controlled by tradition and social training. Disregarding, therefore, such allusions to the moral life of the primitive peoples of the Orinoco, let us turn to our informants for an understanding of their present mode of life. The

[6] It would appear probable that the nomadic Yaruros were too weak to ever develop any warlike spirit.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

301 317 in small pieces on the banks of the Capanaparo. It is about as hard to work as coal. It has much the same appearance. The carving tool is the ordinary knife which, in some cases, may be a broken matchete. Yet, with such crude implements, they are able to produce exquisite realistic carvings of birds, fish, and other animals. These are generally perforated and strung into a necklace. Each woman possesses at least a few of these carved figures, the number depending on the industry of her husband. No symbolical significance seems to be attached to either the painting, the carving, or to any of the designs appearing on the stamps. There may be some magical meaning to them, but all inquiries were answered in the negative.

791 787 532 534 The gourd rattles present an entirely different manifestation. In the first place, only the male shaman can use a rattle. It is, in fact, the badge of shamanism. All the designs appearing on the rattle represent what he sees during his visits to Kuma's land. These carvings are made with the point of any sharp instrument, which cuts in just deep enough to expose the lighter colored inner wood of the rattle.

To become a shaman one must dream of Kuma and the other gods, and show his people that he can communicate with the godheads when occasion demands. Perhaps looking at shamanistic practices objectively this may mean primarily that the would-be shaman has a fertile imagination and some artistic talent. I do not think that we ought to doubt that he believes that he actually sees and talks with Kuma, Itciai, and the rest of the spirit world.

791 787 532 776 He commemorates his dreams on the sacred rattle, carving out on its surface the figures which appear in his dreams. Kuma and Hatchawa dominate the decorations on the gourd rattles, and since those collected came from the Puaná moiety, Puaná is also portrayed. In plate 24 various views of one of these gourd rattles are shown. The large geometric figure dominating the first drawing represents Kuma; the smaller one Hatchawa. Rotating the rattle toward the left we discover Puaná, the Snake.

534 517 In connection with these rattles one of the most interesting aesthetic features is the filling in of space. All of the specimens collected and shown in figures 25, 26, and 27 demonstrate this. In watching Landaeta at work I asked him why he did so; his reply was that a properly decorated rattle must be "tsaimui", that is "good", "proper", "beautiful."

Music

534 177 One would suspect that the Yaruros would have borrowed some of the musical instruments employed by the Llaneros. Among the lat-

1 [see category 116, end p[illegible] 14 --- Analyst]
2 [see category 116, pp. 242-243 --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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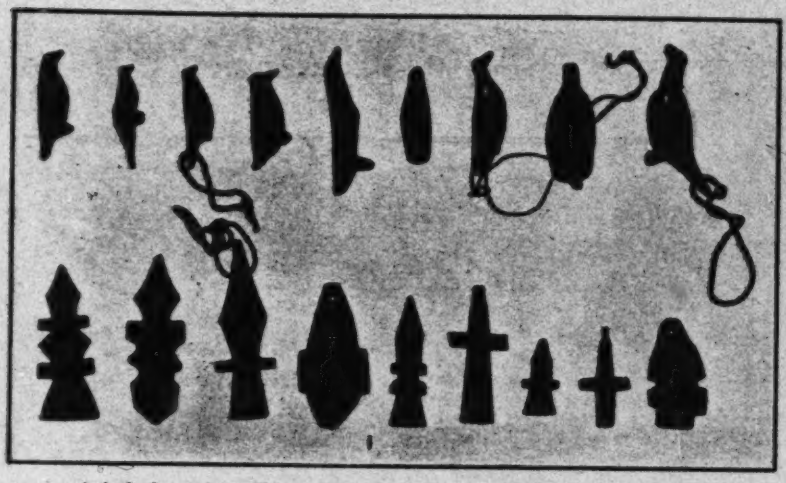
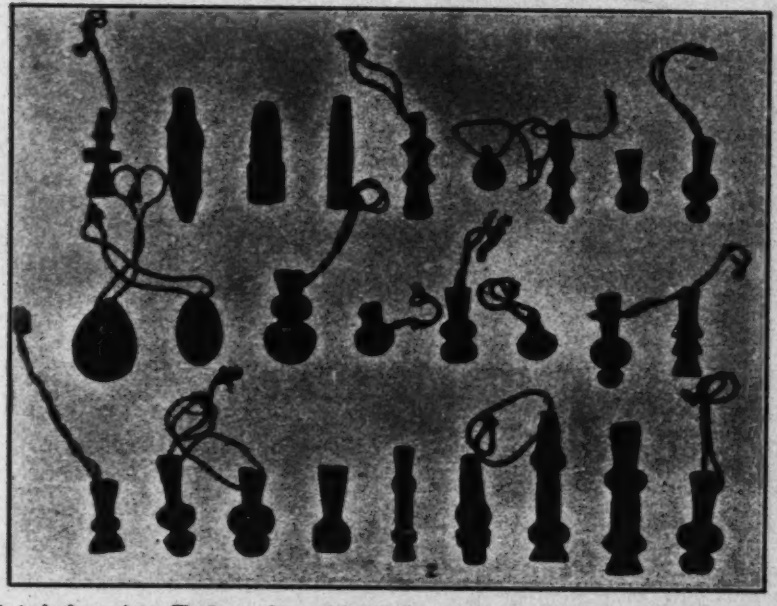


1. Asabache carvings. Top row: birds, mostly ducks. Lower row: geometric forms.



2. Asabache carvings. The two specimens of the middle row at the extreme left are palm-nut shells. For the most part these carvings represent seeds.

(End Plate 11)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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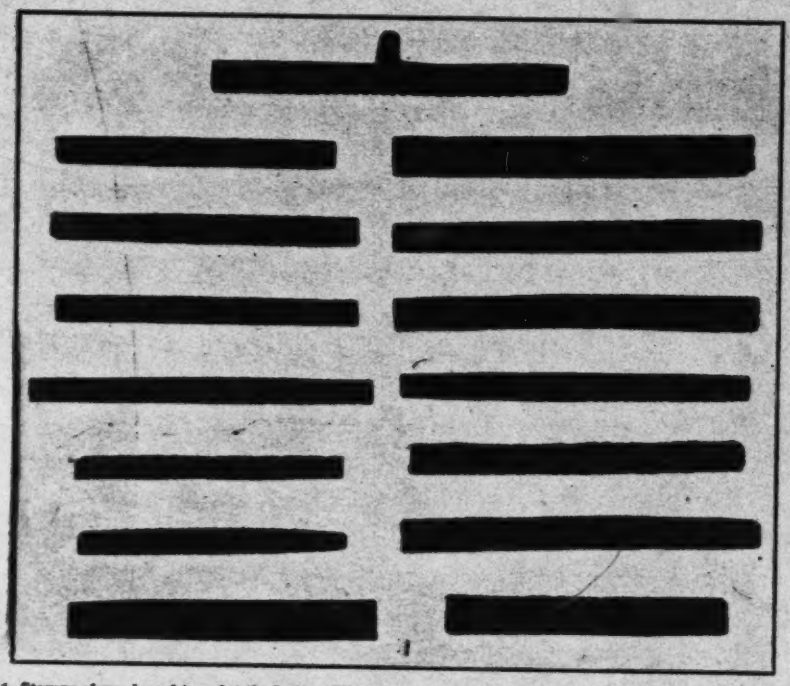

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1. Stamps of wood used to paint the body. These stamps are made by the men, but used by the women. The designs are stamped on the face.

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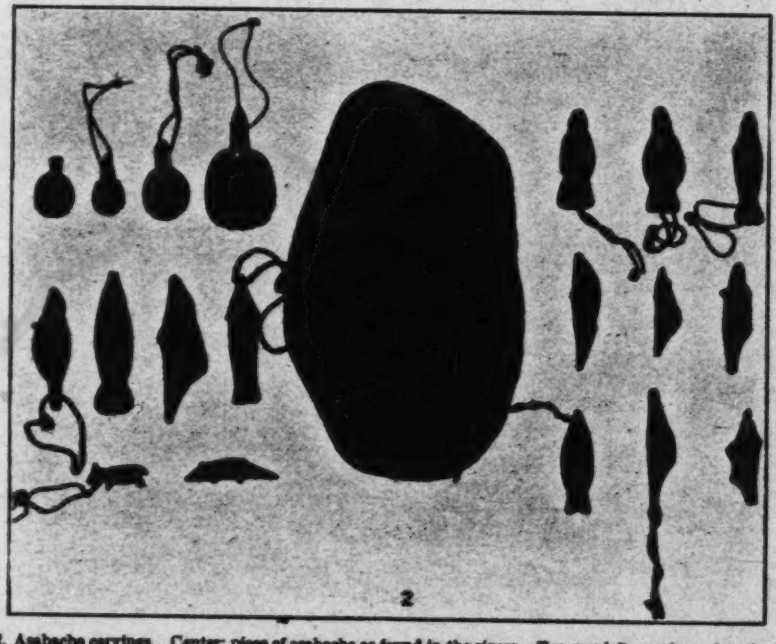

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2. Asabache carvings. Center: piece of asabache as found in the rivers. Top row left: carvings of turtles. Top row right: carvings of birds. Middle row left and right: carvings of fishes. Lower row: carvings of (1) jaguar, (2) armadillo. Lower right: carvings of fishes.

[End Plate 12]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Shaman's rattles. Only the male shamans use gourd rattles. They are always decorated with etched representations of mythological figures which the shaman "sees" during his trances and dreams.

(End Plate 19)

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533 MUSIC--musical form and structure (e.g., scale, pitch, tone, tempo, rhythm); melody; harmony; vocal music (e.g., singing, humming, chanting); instrumental music (e.g., accompaniment, solo playing, orchestras); occasions for music; song styles (e.g., work songs, drinking songs, dance songs, war songs, love songs, lullabies, sacred music, dirges and laments); musical training and appreciation; composition of music; specialization (e.g., composers, minstrels, musicologists, musicians); organization (e.g., choirs, bands, orchestras); etc. See also:

Property in songs 434
Palliation of labor with music 461
Musical texts 539
Musical performances on the stage 545

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

123 resentful of my presence. Acting on a sudden impulse, I asked one of the men sitting near me for a gourd rattle. There followed a discussion among the men, and finally they decided to give me one. Without much heart, and no will, I began to sing a song of the Bororos of Brazil, accompanying myself with the rattle. It was the song of another tribe, and I sang it badly; but my unwilling hosts were listening, recognizing the musical pattern as being akin to theirs. I sang another when I had finished the first, and then still another, not failing to notice at the same time that they were listening carefully, and passing comments to one another. When my repertoire was exhausted, I placed the rattle on the sands and smoked in silence. Nothing was said for some time. Then a hand reached for the rattle and a voice said in Spanish:

"Ahora canto yo." (Now I will sing.)

533 The speaker sat on the sands, facing east. He began a song, the melody of which sounded as wild as the medley brought to us by the wind. His people joined us and, sitting behind him in a semicircle, took up the chorus at the end of every stanza. The song was first a murmur and then a shout, but maintained its steady rhythm. When the moon brightened the tropical night with its colorless light, sharpening the many shadows and turning the waving palm leaves into quivering ribbons of silver, the Yaruros forgot all about the stranger
535 in their midst. As though on a prearranged signal, they arose and began to dance, as they sang, around a pole. Women danced as well as men, and the children joined in too. They danced all night, and it was not until the sun rose above the hills of Guiana that they stopped to seek an hour or two of sleep before setting off on the daily task of hunting their dinner.

123 During the day I noticed that their fear of me had disappeared, but
791 it was not until that evening that I discovered the reason for the change. I gathered a confused tale that the one who had led the singing was a shaman. My singing and gourd rattling had indicated to him that I was a shaman also, since only the shamans use the rattle among the Yaruros. Furthermore, he had asked the Yaruro gods who I was, and the gods, as well as the spirits of the dead Yaruros living with the mother goddess Kuma, had instructed him to tell these primitive hunters that I was different from the "Racionales" (name applied to the "civilized" llaneros) and, as evidenced by my singing, that I intended no harm to them; in short, that I was a Pumeh, one of Kuma's people, and lived very close to her land.

772 From the recital of the night's performance I gathered that the Yaruro's universe is presided over by a female being called Kuma, who lives in the west and who waits for the living Yaruros to return to her land; that in some fashion the water snake and the jaguar are

1t Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

181 up and down the rivers in their canoes, or lying on the sand, feasting on crocodile or turtle. He would see stolid fixed faces, uncommunicative, affrighted. But if this traveler were to stay he would discover that from sundown to sunrise the Yaruro lives in an intensive romantic world which he cannot and rarely would care to share with anyone else.

576 We returned from the trip to La Urbana at sundown when bars of
787 yellow, blue, and white light streaked the western sky. The Yaru-
821 ros were sitting on the sands watching this phenomenon with a certain rapture. They sat quietly and in silence facing the west until the lights had faded and merged into a subdued golden glow. Then Landaeta came and greeted me affectionately. He spoke of what we had just seen in the western sky, explaining that it represented a greeting from the mother goddess Kuma, to her children the Yaruros and to me. The other men came also, and the women too put their arms about me, but the latter kept their faces averted as is proper in Yaruro culture. We settled ourselves on the sands. Small fires were burning with remnants of turtles and crocodiles broiling over them. The sands glistened in the moonlight that soon came upon us. Araguato monkeys roared in the distance. An occasional bird sang. Insects hummed. Toninos frolicking in the water came up to blow lustily. And Landaeta explained that these animals were also children of Kuma and that everyone in Kuma's world was glad that I had returned.

553 We smoked and Landaeta talked, recounting what his gods had
123 told him about me; that now I was one of their family, and he affectionately called me "adjimai oteh" (elder brother), which became the standard form of address by all of his people. In return I was asked to call them little brother and little sister.

791 At a point Landaeta rose and walked away into the darkness. His
791 son and nephew followed him soon afterwards. He returned after
533 an absence of half and hour, wearing his shaman's ceremonial cap and breechclout. He went to sit on the clean white sands to the east of the camp, where he remained still and quiet for a long time. His wife went to him with a lighted cigarette. He smoked this in silence and alone. Finally he made a sign and his son and nephew rose immediately to plant a pole a few feet in front of him, and then retired again into the darkness. After some time Landaeta rose, and facing the east in front of the pole, continued to smoke in silence. It seemed a long time before he began to sing, softly and hesitantly, which time was measured by the rising of the stars. After he had finished two songs his wife approached him again, thrusting into the ground, close to the pole, a stick from which hung a small basket. Landaeta continued standing, facing the east and singing, pausing briefly between

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

songs. His nephew went to stand behind him; his son went forward to stand at the left shoulder of his cousin. These two boys joined in the singing, repeating Landaeta's song stanza after stanza. A few women, led by Landaeta's wife and daughter, went to stand at his right side, and joined the boys in answering the songs of the shaman. They stood there in front of the pole singing until the Southern Cross hung high in the sky. Then Landaeta's wife took a gourd rattle from the basket and gave it to her husband, who immediately began to shake it, its liquid tone blending harmoniously with the voices. The singers became more animated when they heard the rattle, and soon they began to dance, jerking the body forward and backward, rhythmically and in unison. At times Landaeta would shake his rattle violently and his voice would betray his deep excitement. His wife from time to time would give a lighted cigarette to him, holding it to his mouth until it was consumed. At midnight the shaking of the rattle became more frequent and more violent, and finally, in the middle of one song, everyone began to move around the pole. The women put their right hands on the shoulder of the one ahead, and soon were running and stamping the right foot as they did so. The men formed an inner circle, dancing one behind the other. At the end of each song they paused for a moment lined up in their original positions. As the night wore on, both singing and dancing became more and more animated until the shaman appeared to be in a frenzy. His voice rose in pitch, his rhythm was faster, and more strongly accentuated, and all sang with greater feeling. The shaman danced in jerky movements, bending and twisting his body, half spinning about, first one way then the other, until he seemed to be quivering all over. The dance around the pole became almost a mad run, made more difficult by the soft sands and the complex movements of the body. The men would leap high and as the right foot was stamped in unison, a resonant beat was produced that seemed to blend with the pulsating roar of the howlers brought to us by the wind, and marked off by the rich rattling of the gourd and the choral singing. In the morning hours the wind rose again, blew more violently, and the roar of the monkeys became stronger, and the Yaruros sang passionately. It was then, when the morning star was already high, and dawn lighted the eastern horizon, that they stopped.

The sun awoke me, and though I had slept barely two hours I felt quite refreshed. I sat up to look about me. There was the vast stretch of sand, the fringe of jungle, and the sparkling river. My Yaruros were sleeping half buried in the sand, behind basketry to shelter themselves from the wind. The vultures were already at the piles of refuse, feasting on croc[illegible]es and turtles. Soon the sun awoke my friends, and they too sat up to gaze quietly at the western sky where they believe their gods live.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

821 formations held a deep fascination for them. I understood but little of it, for their Spanish was too broken, and I was unfamiliar with Yaruro. So we spent the evening in quiet conversation and amity, conscious of the soft voices of the women in the background, children, laughter, and always the throbbing roar of the distant bands of 825 howlers which was brought to us by the wind. To the Yaruros the howlers were formerly men.

Landaeta relayed to me questions uppermost in his wife's mind. Did I have a wife in my own country? Did I have any children? Why had they not come with me? Once in Brazil I had been asked similar questions by another naked primitive fold, and I had answered truthfully that I had neither wife nor children. I remember their confusion and amazement. In their eyes I was a great man, and therefore I should have had many wives and many children. It is certain that they really never believed or understood my answer. So, in this case, not wanting to make extensive explanations about our civilization, which not only does not insist that men and women marry, but even makes it very difficult for them to do so, I lied, answering that I was married and had one son. Of course I had to describe both wife and boy to the inquisitive women. They wanted to know if her skin was the same color as mine, and her hair as white as mine, and what did she wear on her body? Also, they made me 784 promise that some day I would bring my wife and boy to them, so that the women who, because of social taboos, could not converse directly with me, would be able to do so with my wife.

821 As we talked of these things, falling stars played in the heavens, "messengers of Kuma" according to the Yaruros, the big dipper swung higher, and the southern crosses began their journeys. For a while the wind died down, and the monkeys were heard no more. Always responsive to the world in which they live, the Yaruros became silent and still. And then, as the moon rose above the hills of Guiana, Landaeta disappeared in the darkness to return later and begin his singing.

796 Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at cre-
781 ating artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily under the very nose of the shaman without reproof, and the adults talked happily. The imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions and no restraints were put on normal and natural behavior before joyous events.

533 There was no dancing on this night, in deference to me, for I could not participate in it, but we sat in a semicircle and sang after the shaman.

787 Itciai arrived and I was helped to sit close to the shaman. Appar-
791 ently Itciai was talking about me, referred to as "the Man." I lighted a cigarette and held it to the shaman's mouth. Without interrup-

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522 152 The spirit of play is known to the Yaruros. In fact, they laugh so much and so often that one might get the impression that they take life very lightly. For instance, their response to any accident is laughter. A man may fall out of his canoe or hurt himself in some way, or a woman may break a pot; any such accident is taken as a fine joke by everyone else.

616 606 There is inner-moiety and joking relationship, but members of one moiety do not play pranks on members of the other moiety. In fact, even in camp the mother-in-law will keep aloof from any levity engaged in by the son-in-law, and vice versa.

533 535 524 In the dancing and singing there is gaiety, especially when Puaná visits his people. Then is a time for much laughter and joking. However, there is no formalized play among the Yaruros. Anciently it is reported that the Otomacos had a ball game. Gilii has given us a description of it.[6]

857 462 861 The most common form of play among the children is an imitation of the activities of the grown-ups. The little boys will pretend that they are hunting and fishing or canoeing; the little girls will pretend that they are making pottery, basketry, or painting their bodies. The toys which the children use are miniature implements of hunting and food gathering. The only objects made differently for children to play with which are not an imitation of anything used by the adults are small clay figures representing human beings. These are arranged by the child in imitation of human beings dancing around

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[6] If the Yaruros knew this ball game they have forgotten it since then.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

SHAMANISM

791 157 Prerequisites to successful shamanism are temperament, knowledge, and experience. It has often been stressed by field investigators that in matters of religion, as in matters of artistic expression, only certain types of personalities can achieve any success. In the case of the Yaruros, by temperament is meant the inclination and desire to become a shaman which perhaps is reducible to other factors of personality, and a neurotic make-up which will permit the tyro to experience religious phenomena. Since there is no set test which has to be passed in order to be recognized as a shaman the pretender can try to achieve recognition by his people until his very death, but if he lacks the necessary temperament his attempt is hopeless. A 791 554 shaman must have knowledge above that of his fellow tribesmen. He must know and understand thoroughly the history of his people and their mythology, he must be able to solve and settle ethical points that may come up on the basis of ancestral customs, he must know all the medicinal practices of his people, and the magical also. In short, he must be a savant and a leader, a person who will be morally respected. This knowledge he can acquire only through experience. The Yaruros say that he must acquire it through personal teaching from the gods, not through an intermediary but in actuality he learns, of course, from the older shamans whose place he will take eventually and from the rest of his people. He is supposed to sing behind a shaman for many years before he can hold performances of his own.

791 533 He must, of course, learn all the tricks of the trade, though by this is not implied that the shaman is conscious of practicing any legerdemain among his people, but there is a certain ceremonial pattern which must be mastered by the neophyte and which can only be mastered by practice over a long period of time. For instance, in singing there are undoubtedly a number of standardized songs, but what is more important is to learn the musical pattern and the pattern of phraseology that must be fitted to the music. Since in a shamanistic performance the shaman does not sing set songs but spontaneous ones which he composes, or as the Yaruros claim the gods compose, and sing through the shaman, it is essential that he have many years of experience. The importance of this is fully understood when it is considered that the shaman must sing without any pause or hesitation some six thousand stanzas in the course of a night's performance, varying his tune and words again and again. It seems reasonable to suppose that there must be form given to such performances which can be mastered by one following closely the performances of a particular shaman.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

791 787 157 ordinary citizen, receiving no compensation except the respect given to an old man and a moral teacher. In the second place, shamanism is a lifetime activity, and it would seem improbable that one would create such a life for himself which he would have to live until death if he were not suited to it. I saw cases of men who were striving to be shamans, some young and some old, with great regret admitting that they could not see the religious visions that others more successful had seen. In a primitive society such as that of the Yaruros, where life values are simple and evident to every one, where the intimacy existing between its members is thorough, there is very little incentive and very little opportunity for pretense.

791 787 115 Landaeta, my chief informant among the shamans, claimed that he did not remember the specific events that he "dreams" when he sang and that he could not sing during the day, nor could he remember the songs. He himself had to be told by the others what happened during a shamanistic performance. Thus he could tell me neither the words nor the tunes. I had to wait for another performance to try to take down both. Since the words were conversations between the shaman and the spirit forces, and thus varied at each performance, he was right. Yet there is a musical pattern and undoubtedly a word pattern also.

791 787 531 778 In the matter of making the sacred objects, he claimed that only those who have "dreamed", have had religious experience, can make them. Thus he himself was carving the rattles, and claimed that no one else among his people could carve them. Some, like his nephew and son-in-law Juan Garcia, were learning.

791 787 554 At Landaeta's death probably the shaman will be either Brigido Tovar, his son, or Juan Garcia, his nephew and son-in-law. Legend favors the son, but Landaeta looks to Garcia. However, it is the son who sang behind the shaman in this case, but Garcia has had religious experiences already.

Landaeta himself claims that he sang behind his uncle for a long time without a moracca. Finally he had a "dream" and he was permitted to use a moracca. This religious experience is absolutely necessary to a future shaman.

791 533 787 That the shaman follows certain patterns of song, ritual, dream, and revelation is quite certain, and it is these patterns that are transmitted to the neophyte. Both dreams and revelations always have some bearing on current problems, and in fact attempt to solve these problems.

During a shamanistic performance the first songs describe the journey of the shaman's soul to the Land of Kuma. Upon reaching the desired land the shaman shakes his rattle violently and the songs

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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789 that follow describe this land as well as the gods and the spirits of the Yaruros.

It is to be noted that it is the ornaments worn by Kuma rather than the person of the gods which are described. We are told that she wears golden necklaces, fine clothes, and belts and bands typical of the ancient Yaruro woman's costume. She is represented vaguely as being in the form of a human being, who, on the other hand, is never described. Try as I might, I was not able to obtain any idea of her appearance. Hatchawa, as we know, is a little boy, but Itciai again lacks any definite form.

787 The shaman claims that during his ordinary life he has no idea of what he sees in the Land of Kuma, therefore these descriptions can only be gathered from due sources through the songs which he sings in shamanistic performances and through the figures which he etches out on the shamanistic gourd rattle. Several of these rattles are reproduced on plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27.

The shaman does not claim special power to reveal anything, nor does he claim to have the power to cure. He is merely a vehicle or instrument through which the gods can visit the Yaruros by substituting themselves for the soul of the shaman. The only power that he claims is the ability to let his soul leave his body and travel to the Land of Kuma. His soulless body subsequently becomes possessed by various spirits who wish to communicate with their relatives on earth. As explained above, the shaman only sings the first songs hesitantly and in a poor voice which is in direct contrast to the violent and beautiful singing which the spirits exhibit when they are in possession of his body.

772 Kuma's Land is a perfect heaven for the Yaruro, who has endowed it with all the comforts and liberty denied to him in this world. In Kuma's Land food is abundant, the weather is ideal, there are no forests, no diseases, and most important of all, no civilized being to desolate them. We are confronted here with the creation on the part of the Yaruro of a superlative heaven which furnishes an escape for him from the woes of this life.

181 We have noted before that primitive peoples, when faced for a time with a hopeless situation in this world, such as extinction, tend to seek and discover an escape by creating such a heaven. The Guarani sought a heaven in the West where there was no death and no persecution. More recently our own Indians on the reservations have turned to Peyoteism, which also supplies a heaven. In all these cases there is a renunciation of this world. The will to live is practically gone because there is no need to worry about maintaining life in this world, an impossible thing to do when in competition with civilization. But a heaven which cannot be touched by any civilized

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

invention offers a perfect refuge, even though it is only a philosophical one.

Mechanical aids to the shaman, in addition to his own psychological make-up, are: music and dance; tobacco, which he consumes in great quantities during his performance; tcuipah, a root with narcotic properties; caroto, which is a fermented or unfermented mixture of crushed maize and water, or manioc and water, and when obtainable, white rum. The extent to which these stimulants are used can be illustrated by the observations which are made in the course of one all-night performance: The shaman consumed 42 cigarettes which I offered him, about 100 cigars, which consisted of several strips of tobacco leaf wrapped in a thick green leaf obtained from one of the trees along the bank, about 6 inches of the tcuipah root, and about 2 quarts of the fermented maize-and-water mixture. Since these narcotics and stimulants were taken hurriedlly and in great quantities, it must have had a terrific physiological effect upon him. For instance, every cigarette and cigar was smoked completely through in 10 seconds. Each musical stanza lasted from about 10 to 15 seconds. He sang it first and then it was repeated by his people. It was during this repetition of his song that the shaman inhaled as much of the tobacco smoke as possible and then exhaled it just before commencing a new stanza.

In contrast with the rather violent shamanistic performance of the male shaman, the women do not seem to depend very much on narcotics. During the day the men are not permitted to sing or whistle, but the women may lie in their hammocks and sing. They may take small quantities of all of these narcotics, but as far as my observation went I never saw any of them consume any great quantity.

The spiritual world of the shaman is quite different from the everyday realistic world. A comparison of the carvings on the gourd rattles with the realistic carvings of the asabache made by anyone greatly demonstrates this. In the latter form of art expression, animals, birds, and scenes are copied with great accuracy and skill. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that if the shaman were to attempt the realistic representation of the spirit world he could do so, but he has chosen to portray the various gods and spirits almost symbolically. Kuma and Hatchawa were always represented holding up their hands. It is this position which is read into the western skies whenever at sunset there occurs a phenomenon described above. The rays of light emanating from the horizon represent the fingers of the hands of the gods.

The form of the dance has been described. It starts off as a simple walk around a pole and it may become a fast run in the evening,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 791 with the stamping of the right foot on the off-beat, but whenever the shaman is giving a really good performance his whole body responds to the dance and he may shake as violently as the rattle in his hand. His people may also throw themselves into a dance, making a series of jerky movements, bending from the waist downward and up again.

533 539 One of the typical songs of Kuma was a greeting to me. She said:

> Greetings, man, greetings. Your wife is waiting. She is not dead, nor is she sick, but she is thinking that her husband has been away so long that perhaps he is dead. She is good and loves her husband who is sick, which is good. But it is good that he is with me (Kuma speaking) and with my people. He is a good man. He gives me a cigar. I shall give him a horse when he is born again in my (Kuma) land. I shall give him much silver when he is born again in Kuma Land. I love him, the good man, and I shall love him in my land. In the other land, my land, he gave me drink like you my people. Like you my people, everyone will come to my land, the Yaruro land.

FEMALE SHAMANISM

791 787 554 776 It proved impossible to learn much about those things in which the women are chiefly or exclusively interested. The shamans seem to be as influential among both sexes as the men are, and they seem to acquire their power and prestige through dreams or revelations in the same way as the male shamans do. In the case of the women it seems that India Rosa must appear in a dream rather than Kuma. In the legends it is India Rosa who taught the women the various arts and crafts, so in shamanism she is the chief spiritual power. During the day, both Kuma and India Rosa are pictured as resting in their hammocks. Because of that the women shamans sing sitting in their hammocks, swaying back and forth, during the day. Apparently it is believed that by imitating the picture of Kuma and India Rosa they can reach the two spiritual forces more easily. These shamans never perform at night, although they will sing with the male shaman when the latter is giving a performance.

535 791 554 The gourd rattle seems to be an instrument which only the shamans can use with immunity and as a means of conversing with Kuma. The women do not have these rattles. Their singing is done unaccompanied by any musical instrument or by any dancing. Dancing is performed only at night, when it is led by the male shaman.

609 123 The nature of the visions experienced by the female shamans remained unknown to me. As has been mentioned before, social intercourse between man and woman, unless closely related by blood or marriage, is prohibited. It is a social taboo which apparently is never violated and which no amount of bribery could break down. It seemed best to respect this custom, even though it were at the expense of remaining ignorant of many phases of Yaruro culture practiced by the women. So, in the case of shamanism, although the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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shaman eventually returned to us, being fed and greeted with affection by all.

The singing stopped at 6 o'clock. A number of rather remarkable facts are to be emphasized.

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1. By actual count the shaman sang no less than 3,000 musical phrases and verses and about 800 stanzas without any breaks or rest, ever changing the words, and subject matter, and jumping from one thing to another at a very fast tempo. How the shaman could make up his verses so quickly, while the people repeated the previous verse, is not easy to understand.

2. He shook the rattle without ceasing a moment, with the same sidewise motion of the hand, most violently for nine and a half hours.

[516] 3. He sat in the same posture—left leg doubled under him, right leg in cross-leg position, for the entire time. Not once did he move.

[276] 4. He smoked the long cigars with the thick leaves without taking them out of his mouth, producing so much smoke that I choked and my eyes smarted from it. He must have smoked at least 75 of them, and probably over a hundred. He smoked 35 cigarettes, in addition, in the same way.

[273] 5. He drank about 2 gallons of unfermented crushed maize in water.

The music was spirited and had a swing with the emphasis on the off beat that is as effective, if not more so, than the negro spiritual.

After the all-night singing there was a lull in the morning, everyone snatching a wink of sleep, but by the time I had finished writing and medicating my foot the men crowded around to tell me of the night's experiences. At noon the women started singing, sitting in their hammocks, and they kept this up until late in the day. They were singing mostly about me. I noticed that their songs seemed to be of a simpler sort and more monotonous than those of the men, generally consisting of one verse repeated over and over again to form the stanza. They sang in the women's language. [198]

JUAN BARIO ON THE EVENTS OF THE NIGHT

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Panemé Tsió brought a horse for the shaman to go to Kuma's house. Panemé Tsió is represented as a sort of "boss" of the figurines found in the sands. Then came the father of Fernando. He said that they should live well here and warned him not to mistreat his wife (talking to son-in-law). Then came the father of Brigida. He said that the new wife of his grandson should treat her husband well and vice versa. Then came a brother of Brigida. He said that he is wealthy in Kuma's land, possessing cattle and horses. Then came the mother of Brigida. She counseled her grandchild not to

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

787 115 [539] Then came the father of Juan Bario on horseback. He said:

"I greet you. I am waiting for you. Your land is poor now but Kuma's land is good and rich. When you die you will be born in Kuma's land. I was living here with you, I died here, but I was alone in Kuma's land where I am wealthy. See, you are poor. I was the same way. It is different in Kuma's land. There is much cattle and horses. Live well with your wife. Treat her well. Kuma does not want you to do otherwise."

● 533 Then the shaman returned on horseback.

There is great reluctance on the part of the shaman to sing unless there is a strong reason for it. During my stay with the Yaruros many occasions presented themselves to justify the holding of shamanistic performances.

796 791 On one occasion I returned to camp after an absence of two days. This was enough. I arrived at their camp about 7.30 in the evening. Landaeta greeted me affectionately and then told me that he and his people considered me a member of the family. The women came to put their arms about me in greeting. Landaeta in one of his mystical moods talked of the beauty of the small fire with turtle roasting; of the sands glistening in the moonlight; the araguato monkeys which were roaring in the distance; the occasional birds that sang in the night; the toninos came up to blow and splash in the river. All of this fitted in with the soft murmur of women speaking, and laughing in the darkness. An occasional misfortune, such as dropping a sackful of stuff, brought merry laughter on everybody's part. The crunching [276] of the sand gave notice that the women were digging deep to reach moist sand in which to bury the leaves to be used as cigar covers. Soon all of us, men, women, and children, were smoking.

The rest of Landaeta's people arrived in canoes. They sat on the sand with us. Landaeta talked with them at length. At a point he arose. His wife handed him some objects. He walked away to the west, immediately followed by one of his sons and a young nephew. He returned after a while, minus his trousers, wearing the shaman's breechclout and cap.

He went to sit alone at the bottom of the sand bank. After some time his wife gave him a cigar. He continued to sit alone and silent. At a sign his son and nephew took a slender pole and planted it in the sand. They retired. Men and women continued talking. After some time Landaeta rose, stood before the pole, smoking, facing it and the east. Several stars began to rise. 796 He stood in front of the pole for some time. Then he weakly began 791 to sing. After two songs his wife came to plant a shorter pole to the 533 west of the long one, and hung from it a basket. Landaeta continued standing still and singing, pausing briefly between songs. His son went to stand behind him, his nephew at the left side of the

1: Petrullo E-o (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

796 791 533 son. They began to take up the songs—shaman sang one phrase, repeated it, sang at low pitch and repeated. Last repetition joined in by assistants (attendants) and then the four phrases would be repeated, the shaman remaining quiet, but immediately singing a new phrase when they had hardly finished it. A few women joined in a line side by side to the south of the shaman. Singing without a rattle and without dancing continued for about an hour. Then 796 791 535 one of the women went to the basket and brought the shaman the rattle. Singing continued. The only motion was a slow bending forward and bending of the knees by the women in unison—that is, rhythmically on the off beat. A few of the men did the same. Shaman would shake his rattle at times. At the end of one song he said "amen" and the women walked away to the west. When he began a new song they returned. His wife from time to time brought the shaman a cigar from the basket. A fire was started to the west of the pole and the women clustered around. The shaking of the rattle became more frequent and more energetic, and in the middle of one song the women and all began dancing. Women put right hand on left shoulder of one in front and walked anticlockwise around the pole. An inner circle was formed by the men walking one behind the other. Animation was slight, but the right foot was stamped on the off beat. After going around a few times they would stop in original position to finish the song.

This dance was varied a little later on.

In the course of the evening, the singing and dancing became more and more animated until the shaman was in a frenzy. High-pitched voice, faster rhythm, greater accentuation, more feeling. Shaking of rattle became more frequent, rhythm became faster. Shaman no longer stood still, but danced at first by a jerky movement forward, bending the knees, then moving about, half spinning, and near the end his body seemed to quiver jerkingly and rhythmically. The women's motions became more and more accentuated and near the end men and women bent low at the waist, moving body up and down, bending legs at the knees. The walk around the pole became a fast run, with a hopping step on the right foot in unison. In this way—the men would leap high—a resonating beat was produced, accentuating the liquid rich rattle of the gourd and the choral singing.

This continued until 4 in the morning, becoming more and more frenzied, until the morning star appeared.

I regret that I fell asleep near the end. When I awoke at sunrise everyone was asleep, apparently completely exhausted.

535 They started facing northeast in front of the pole, the women to the right of the shaman. When standing still the women, with arms

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

534 177 ter the harp is very popular. Flutes and whistles are also made by the Llaneros, but the gourd rattle, which consists of a small gourd containing coarse grains of sand, or seeds, is the instrument employed by the Yaruro shaman. Music, therefore, is produced by singing to the accompaniment of the rattle if the singer happens to be the [512] shaman. Since the men are prohibited from singing and whistling during the daytime there is no freedom of expression in this way. During the entire time that I stayed with these people I never heard anyone begin a song except the shaman. Whenever, for purposes of recording, I asked some of the men to hum some of the tunes they refused to do so.

533 Although there are a variety of tunes, the music apparently consists of one phrase repeated four times for each stanza of the song. Each stanza is begun in a high falsetto. The second phrase is sung an octave lower, and the last phrase, therefore, is four octaves lower [462] than the first. The woman shaman, however, has a song slightly different than the male shaman's song and their pattern seems to begin at the lower end of the scale for each phrase and repeating each phrase in the same range as the first. In both cases, each phrase covers the entire scale of six notes. The tempo is 1-2 time, with the accent on the off-beat, but at the height of the ceremonies the songs are syncopated. The intensity of the songs, the melodious quality of the phrases, and the oral repetition produces an effect similar to the negro spirituals.

It is difficult, if not impossible, for one to sing in tune with the Yaruros. Their scale is different from ours and they seem to have quarter tones. In addition to this peculiarity, they never seem to sing in a full voice, not in a falsetto, but in a style of their own, difficult for one trained in European music to master quickly. Of course the theory is that it is the gods and the ancestral spirits who composed both the music and the words and the people singing behind the shaman merely imitate these inspired songs.

533 535 The Yaruros have only one word to signify dancing and singing: "tohiwahimerekidi". The shaman, who is the leader in both these arts, is called "dancer" or "singer." In actual practice dancing is subordinate to singing, much as gesturing is subordinate to speaking among ourselves. Perhaps the correct translation of this word would be closer if rendered as "singing."

Dancing as an independent art does not exist. When it is practiced it is almost an outflow of singing. Singing may be done without dancing but dancing without singing is impossible. Every dancer sings, though every singer does not necessarily dance.

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O Y 775 776 way which leads to the other world it will meet after the village of the tiyo of Iɟiai, at the left, on the same side, the tiyo of the Otomaco. They sang and danced (shamanistic ceremony) during the day when Kuma and Iɟiai were still living on earth. When they ran off into the other world they continued to sing and dance but at night. During their songs they walked, the old men of past times used to say."

Y 533 539 Pedro Ramón Camacho completed his account with a quatrain of this song which had been repeated to him by a grandfather, but the meaning of which he did not know:

gwačarka hihi gwačarka hihi
gwačarka hihi gwačarka hihi
pideruba pideruba pideruba hihi
pideruba pideruba pideruba hihi

Y 773 825 136 The Otomaco are presented in Yaruro legends as being in the beginning three animals: the mono (15), the araguato (16),

15. Monkey (Cebus nigrivittatus), in Venezuelan.

16. Howling monkey (Alouetta ursina), in Venezuelan.

and the chigüire (17).

17. Capybara, large amphibious rodent (Hydrochoerus hydrochoeris), in Venezuelan.

Y 773 825 The transformation of the Otomaco into monos and araguatos seems to have occurred at the time of the flood unleashed by Iɟiai to cleanse the world of all the moral disorder which reigned there. Some Otomaco took refuge in the trees

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

791 songs. His nephew went to stand behind him; his son went forward
796 to stand at the left shoulder of his cousin. These two boys joined in
533 the singing, repeating Landaeta's song stanza after stanza. A few women, led by Landaeta's wife and daughter, went to stand at his right side, and joined the boys in answering the songs of the shaman. They stood there in front of the pole singing until the Southern Cross hung high in the sky. Then Landaeta's wife took a gourd rattle from
534 the basket and gave it to her husband, who immediately began to
791 shake it, its liquid tone blending harmoniously with the voices. The
796 singers became more animated when they heard the rattle, and soon
535 they began to dance, jerking the body forward and backward, rhythmically and in unison. At times Landaeta would shake his rattle violently and his voice would betray his deep excitement. His wife from
[276] time to time would give a lighted cigarette to him, holding it to his mouth until it was consumed. At midnight the shaking of the rattle became more frequent and more violent, and finally, in the middle of one song, everyone began to move around the pole. The women put their right hands on the shoulder of the one ahead, and soon were running and stamping the right foot as they did so. The men formed an inner circle, dancing one behind the other. At the end of each song they paused for a moment lined up in their original positions. As the night wore on, both singing and dancing became more and more animated until the shaman appeared to be in a frenzy. His voice rose in pitch, his rhythm was faster, and more strongly accentuated, and all sang with greater feeling. The shaman danced in jerky movements, bending and twisting his body, half spinning about, first one way then the other, until he seemed to be quivering all over. The dance around the pole became almost a mad run, made more difficult by the soft sands and the complex movements of the body. The men would leap high and as the right foot was stamped in unison, a resonant beat was produced that seemed to blend with the pulsating roar of the howlers brought to us by the wind, and marked off by the rich rattling of the gourd and the choral singing. In the morning hours the wind rose again, blew more violently, and the roar of the monkeys became stronger, and the Yaruros sang passionately. It was then, when the morning star was already high, and dawn lighted the eastern horizon, that they stopped.

600 The sun awoke me, and though I had slept barely two hours I felt quite refreshed. I sat up to look about me. There was the vast stretch of sand, the fringe of jungle, and the sparkling river. My
513 Yaruros were sleeping half buried in the sand, behind basketry to
521 shelter themselves from the wind. The vultures were already at the
778 piles of refuse, feasting on crocodiles and turtles. Soon the sun awoke my friends, and they too sat up to gaze quietly at the western sky where they believe their gods live.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

773 "Here, a son-in-law will take care of me now!" Then the Yaruros
539 lived. The shaman had a nephew and a son. The nephew fell in love with his own sister and married—he was changed into a jaguar and she into a snake (?). If it had not been for this there would not have been any snakes and jaguars. Human beings should not marry their own sisters. It was ordered by Kuma. Animals are different.

Then one man found a tree with all the fruits on it. He did not tell the others. A white man appeared on horseback. Said he would come back in eight days. He came back in a boat. Scattered seeds everywhere. Thus he changed the country. Before it was all open savanna, but now forests and agricultural products grew.

India Rosa taught the women. God taught the men. God wanted to give the horse to the Yaruros, but they were afraid to mount, so he gave it to the Racionales instead.

KUMA

791 Presumably, Kuma is anthropomorphic. The only ones among
776 the Yaruros who have any knowledge of this mythical being who is re-
787 sponsible for the world are the shamans. These individuals are loath to discuss what they see in their dreams, claiming that all they have to say about such things are said during their shamanistic performances. Besides, they claim that they do not remember what they see during their trances.

531 Nevertheless, on the rattles appear graphic representations of what
776 Kuma is supposed to look like. In all cases, she seems to resemble
534 a human being, standing with her arms extended upward in greeting to her people. Such figures are represented on the gourd rattles shown in plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27. It was explained that the lines
[301] appearing on the body of Kuma represent body painting and ornaments.

776 Of all the godheads or spirit forces of the Yaruros, Kuma is the most clear-cut. She is the creator of all things, and everything emanates from her. Her associates, Puaná, Itciai, and Hatchawa, function according to the laws of Kuma. Apparently they are not able to do anything without her consent, but occasionally she may be tricked. For instance, when Hatchawa decided to give fire to the people he threw a live fish into Kuma's fire. The wriggling of the fish scattered the coals, which the people seized and carried away.

Kuma is represented neither as an indulgent mother nor as an entirely benevolent creature in the myths. It is Hatchawa and Puaná who favor human beings. In fact, Kuma was opposed to peopling the earth with the human race. In spite of this there is no

1: Petrullo E-3 (1938-94) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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FIGURE 25.—Decorated gourd rattles of the shamans. *a, b, c, d*, Views of Landaeta's favorite instrument (rotating toward the left). *e, f, g, h*, Gourd rattle decorated by Landaeta after a night's shamanistic performance.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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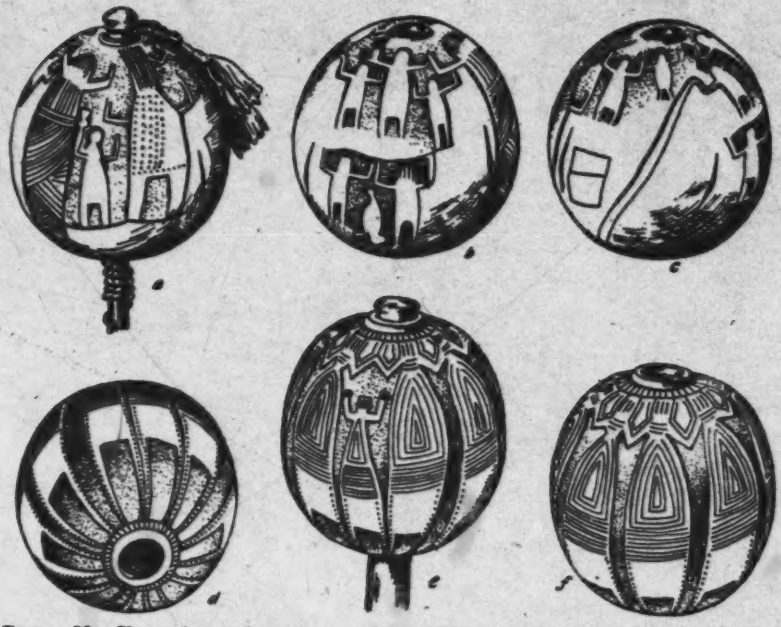

FIGURE 26.—Shaman's gourd rattles. *a*, *b*, *c*, Views of same instrument. *a*, The long figure on the left represents Puaná. The next figure on the right is Hatchawa, next to which is standing Kuma. *b*, The three figures at the top are, reading left to right, Hatchawa, Kuma, and Iticiai. At the extreme right can be seen Puaná. In the lower portion the figures represent the Yaruros, except the figure of the bird, symbolism of which remained undisclosed. *d*, *e*, *f*, Views of same rattle. The figures represent the Yaruros dancing around a pole. The small figure in *e* represents a child.

FIGURE 27.—Shaman's gourd rattles. *a*, *b*, *c*, Views of same instrument. *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, Views of same instrument. *c* shows Kuma in the charhcteristic posture of greeting her people. *b* and *c* show Kuma dancing with her people. *d*, *e*, *f*, and *g* are views of the same rattle that show Kuma's people, the dead Yaruros, dancing in her land.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 791 with the stamping of the right foot on the off-beat, but whenever the shaman is giving a really good performance his whole body responds to the dance and he may shake as violently as the rattle in his hand. His people may also throw themselves into a dance, making a series of jerky movements, bending from the waist downward and up again.

533 539 One of the typical songs of Kuma was a greeting to me. She said:

> Greetings, man, greetings. Your wife is waiting. She is not dead, nor is she sick, but she is thinking that her husband has been away so long that perhaps he is dead. She is good and loves her husband who is sick, which is good. But it is good that he is with me (Kuma speaking) and with my people. He is a good man. He gives me a cigar. I shall give him a horse when he is born again in my (Kuma) land. I shall give him much silver when he is born again in Kuma Land. I love him, the good man, and I shall love him in my land. In the other land, my land, he gave me drink like you my people. Like you my people, everyone will come to my land, the Yaruro land.

FEMALE SHAMANISM

791 787 554 776 It proved impossible to learn much about those things in which the women are chiefly or exclusively interested. The shamans seem to be as influential among both sexes as the men are, and they seem to acquire their power and prestige through dreams or revelations in the same way as the male shamans do. In the case of the women it seems that India Rosa must appear in a dream rather than Kuma. In the legends it is India Rosa who taught the women the various arts and crafts, so in shamanism she is the chief spiritual power. During the day, both Kuma and India Rosa are pictured as resting in their hammocks. Because of that the women shamans sing sitting in their hammocks, swaying back and forth, during the day. Apparently it is believed that by imitating the picture of Kuma and India Rosa they can reach the two spiritual forces more easily. These shamans never perform at night, although they will sing with the male shaman when the latter is giving a performance.

535 791 534 The gourd rattle seems to be an instrument which only the shamans can use with immunity and as a means of conversing with Kuma. The women do not have these rattles. Their singing is done unaccompanied by any musical instrument or by any dancing. Dancing is performed only at night, when it is led by the male shaman.

609 123 The nature of the visions experienced by the female shamans remained unknown to me. As has been mentioned before, social intercourse between man and woman, unless closely related by blood or marriage, is prohibited. It is a social taboo which apparently is never violated and which no amount of bribery could break down. It seemed best to respect this custom, even though it were at the expense of remaining ignorant of many phases of Yaruro culture practiced by the women. So, in the case of shamanism, although the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

in small pieces on the banks of the Capanaparo. It is about as hard to work as coal. It has much the same appearance. The carving tool is the ordinary knife which, in some cases, may be a broken matchete. Yet, with such crude implements, they are able to produce exquisite realistic carvings of birds, fish, and other animals. These are generally perforated and strung into a necklace. Each woman possesses at least a few of these carved figures, the number depending on the industry of her husband. No symbolical significance seems to be attached to either the painting, the carving, or to any of the designs appearing on the stamps. There may be some magical meaning to them, but all inquiries were answered in the negative.

The gourd rattles present an entirely different manifestation. In the first place, only the male shaman can use a rattle. It is, in fact, the badge of shamanism. All the designs appearing on the rattle represent what he sees during his visits to Kuma's land. These carvings are made with the point of any sharp instrument, which cuts in just deep enough to expose the lighter colored inner wood of the rattle.

To become a shaman one must dream of Kuma and the other gods, and show his people that he can communicate with the godheads when occasion demands. Perhaps looking at shamanistic practices objectively this may mean primarily that the would-be shaman has a fertile imagination and some artistic talent. I do not think that we ought to doubt that he believes that he actually sees and talks with Kuma, Itciai, and the rest of the spirit world.

He commemorates his dreams on the sacred rattle, carving out on its surface the figures which appear in his dreams. Kuma and Hatchawa dominate the decorations on the gourd rattles, and since those collected came from the Puaná moiety, Puaná is also portrayed. In plate 24 various views of one of these gourd rattles are shown. The large geometric figure dominating the first drawing represents Kuma; the smaller one Hatchawa. Rotating the rattle toward the left we discover Puaná, the Snake.

In connection with these rattles one of the most interesting aesthetic features is the filling in of space. All of the specimens collected and shown in figures 25, 26, and 27 demonstrate this. In watching Landaeta at work I asked him why he did so; his reply was that a properly decorated rattle must be "tsaimui", that is "good", "proper", "beautiful."

Music

One would suspect that the Yaruros would have borrowed some of the musical instruments employed by the Llaneros. Among the lat-

1[See Category 116, end plate 14 --- Analyst]
2[See category 116, pp. 242-243 --- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

534 177 ter the harp is very popular. Flutes and whistles are also made by the Llaneros, but the gourd rattle, which consists of a small gourd containing coarse grains of sand, or seeds, is the instrument employed by the Yaruro shaman. Music, therefore, is produced by singing to the accompaniment of the rattle if the singer happens to be the [512] shaman. Since the men are prohibited from singing and whistling during the daytime there is no freedom of expression in this way. During the entire time that I stayed with these people I never heard anyone begin a song except the shaman. Whenever, for purposes of recording, I asked some of the men to hum some of the tunes they refused to do so.

533 Although there are a variety of tunes, the music apparently consists of one phrase repeated four times for each stanza of the song. Each stanza is begun in a high falsetto. The second phrase is sung an octave lower, and the last phrase, therefore, is four octaves lower [462] than the first. The woman shaman, however, has a song slightly different than the male shaman's song and their pattern seems to begin at the lower end of the scale for each phrase and repeating each phrase in the same range as the first. In both cases, each phrase covers the entire scale of six notes. The tempo is 1–2 time, with the accent on the off-beat, but at the height of the ceremonies the songs are syncopated. The intensity of the songs, the melodious quality of the phrases, and the oral repetition produces an effect similar to the negro spirituals.

It is difficult, if not impossible, for one to sing in tune with the Yaruros. Their scale is different from ours and they seem to have quarter tones. In addition to this peculiarity, they never seem to sing in a full voice, not in a falsetto, but in a style of their own, difficult for one trained in European music to master quickly. Of course the theory is that it is the gods and the ancestral spirits who composed both the music and the words and the people singing behind the shaman merely imitate these inspired songs.

533 535 The Yaruros have only one word to signify dancing and singing: "tohiwahimerekidi". The shaman, who is the leader in both these arts, is called "dancer" or "singer." In actual practice dancing is subordinate to singing, much as gesturing is subordinate to speaking among ourselves. Perhaps the correct translation of this word would be closer if rendered as "singing."

Dancing as an independent art does not exist. When it is practiced it is almost an outflow of singing. Singing may be done without dancing but dancing without singing is impossible. Every dancer sings, though every singer does not necessarily dance.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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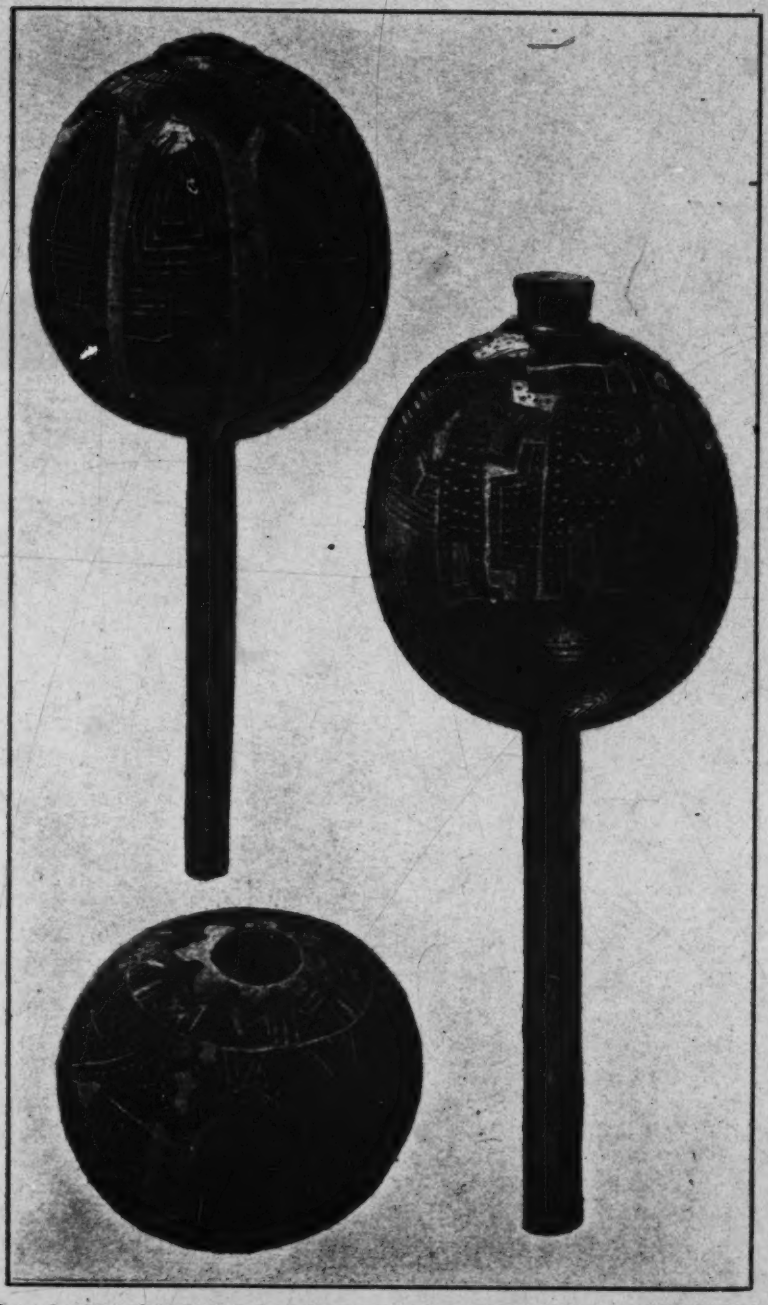

Shaman's rattles. Only the male shamans use gourd rattles. They are always decorated with etched representations of mythological figures which the shaman "sees" during his trances and dreams.

(End Plate 19)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

123 resentful of my presence. Acting on a sudden impulse, I asked one of the men sitting near me for a gourd rattle. There followed a discussion among the men, and finally they decided to give me one. Without much heart, and no will, I began to sing a song of the Bororos of Brazil, accompanying myself with the rattle. It was the song of another tribe, and I sang it badly; but my unwilling hosts were listening, recognizing the musical pattern as being akin to theirs. I sang another when I had finished the first, and then still another, not failing to notice at the same time that they were listening carefully, and passing comments to one another. When my repertoire was exhausted, I placed the rattle on the sands and smoked in silence. Nothing was said for some time. Then a hand reached for the rattle and a voice said in Spanish:

"Ahora canto yo." (Now I will sing.)

533 The speaker sat on the sands, facing east. He began a song, the melody of which sounded as wild as the medley brought to us by the wind. His people joined us and, sitting behind him in a semicircle, took up the chorus at the end of every stanza. The song was first a murmur and then a shout, but maintained its steady rhythm. When the moon brightened the tropical night with its colorless light, sharpening the many shadows and turning the waving palm leaves into quivering ribbons of silver, the Yaruros forgot all about the stranger
● 535 in their midst. As though on a prearranged signal, they arose and began to dance, as they sang, around a pole. Women danced as well as men, and the children joined in too. They danced all night, and it was not until the sun rose above the hills of Guiana that they stopped to seek an hour or two of sleep before setting off on the daily task of hunting their dinner.

123 791 During the day I noticed that their fear of me had disappeared, but it was not until that evening that I discovered the reason for the change. I gathered a confused tale that the one who had led the singing was a shaman. My singing and gourd rattling had indicated to him that I was a shaman also, since only the shamans use the rattle among the Yaruros. Furthermore, he had asked the Yaruro gods who I was, and the gods, as well as the spirits of the dead Yaruros living with the mother goddess Kuma, had instructed him to tell these primitive hunters that I was different from the "Racionales" (name applied to the "civilized" llaneros) and, as evidenced by my singing, that I intended no harm to them; in short, that I was a Pumeh, one of Kuma's people, and lived very close to her land.

772 From the recital of the night's performance I gathered that the Yaruro's universe is presided over by a female being called Kuma, who lives in the west and who waits for the living Yaruros to return to her land; that in some fashion the water snake and the jaguar are

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

songs. His nephew went to stand behind him; his son went forward to stand at the left shoulder of his cousin. These two boys joined in the singing, repeating Landaeta's song stanza after stanza. A few women, led by Landaeta's wife and daughter, went to stand at his right side, and joined the boys in answering the songs of the shaman. They stood there in front of the pole singing until the Southern Cross hung high in the sky. Then Landaeta's wife took a gourd rattle from the basket and gave it to her husband, who immediately began to shake it, its liquid tone blending harmoniously with the voices. The singers became more animated when they heard the rattle, and soon they began to dance, jerking the body forward and backward, rhythmically and in unison. At times Landaeta would shake his rattle violently and his voice would betray his deep excitement. His wife from time to time would give a lighted cigarette to him, holding it to his mouth until it was consumed. At midnight the shaking of the rattle became more frequent and more violent, and finally, in the middle of one song, everyone began to move around the pole. The women put their right hands on the shoulder of the one ahead, and soon were running and stamping the right foot as they did so. The men formed an inner circle, dancing one behind the other. At the end of each song they paused for a moment lined up in their original positions. As the night wore on, both singing and dancing became more and more animated until the shaman appeared to be in a frenzy. His voice rose in pitch, his rhythm was faster, and more strongly accentuated, and all sang with greater feeling. The shaman danced in jerky movements, bending and twisting his body, half spinning about, first one way then the other, until he seemed to be quivering all over. The dance around the pole became almost a mad run, made more difficult by the soft sands and the complex movements of the body. The men would leap high and as the right foot was stamped in unison, a resonant beat was produced that seemed to blend with the pulsating roar of the howlers brought to us by the wind, and marked off by the rich rattling of the gourd and the choral singing. In the morning hours the wind rose again, blew more violently, and the roar of the monkeys became stronger, and the Yaruros sang passionately. It was then, when the morning star was already high, and dawn lighted the eastern horizon, that they stopped.

The sun awoke me, and though I had slept barely two hours I felt quite refreshed. I sat up to look about me. There was the vast stretch of sand, the fringe of jungle, and the sparkling river. My Yaruros were sleeping half buried in the sand, behind basketry to shelter themselves from the wind. The vultures were already at the piles of refuse, feasting on crocodiles and turtles. Soon the sun awoke my friends, and they too sat up to gaze quietly at the western sky where they believe their gods live.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

LIFE AFTER DEATH

761 775 To the modern Yaruro death is a desirable event. It holds great promise rather than terror for him. He believes that the dead will continue to live in the Land of Kuma. That is, in the land of the Mother Goddess, where he will be restored to a life of pristine happiness in the world which is identical with that which existed before the coming of the white man. In that world, in the Land of Kuma, he will have freedom to hunt if he pleases, he will have an abundance of food, he will have horses, cattle, and tobacco. He will lead a life of eternal bliss, watching over the affairs of his relatives and descendants on this earth, visiting them occasionally through the shaman and conversing with them. Apparently his only wish is that his people will die and join him in the Land of Kuma at the earliest possible time. A better idea of this life after death can be obtained by turning to the chapters on the shamanistic performances and legends.

PLAY

522 152 The spirit of play is known to the Yaruros. In fact, they laugh so much and so often that one might get the impression that they take life very lightly. For instance, their response to any accident is laughter. A man may fall out of his canoe or hurt himself in some way, or a woman may break a pot; any such accident is taken as a fine joke by everyone else.

616 606 There is inner-moiety and joking relationship, but members of one moiety do not play pranks on members of the other moiety. In fact, even in camp the mother-in-law will keep aloof from any levity engaged in by the son-in-law, and vice versa.

533 535 524 In the dancing and singing there is gaiety, especially when Puaná visits his people. Then is a time for much laughter and joking. However, there is no formalized play among the Yaruros. Anciently it is reported that the Otomacos had a ball game. Gilii has given us a description of it.[1]

857 462 861 The most common form of play among the children is an imitation of the activities of the grown-ups. The little boys will pretend that they are hunting and fishing or canoeing; the little girls will pretend that they are making pottery, basketry, or painting their bodies. The toys which the children use are miniature implements of hunting and food gathering. The only objects made differently for children to play with which are not an imitation of anything used by the adults are small clay figures representing human beings. These are arranged by the child in imitation of human beings dancing around

524 323 532

[1] If the Yaruros knew this ball game they have forgotten it since then.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

181 177 invention offers a perfect refuge, even though it is only a philosophical one.

Mechanical aids to the shaman, in addition to his own psychological make-up, are: music and dance; tobacco, which he consumes in great quantities during his performance; tcuipah, a root with narcotic properties; caroto, which is a fermented or unfermented mixture of crushed maize and water, or manioc and water, and when obtainable, white rum. The extent to which these stimulants are used can be illustrated by the observations which are made in the course of one all-night performance: The shaman consumed 42 cigarettes which I offered him, about 100 cigars, which consisted of several strips of tobacco leaf wrapped in a thick green leaf obtained from one of the trees along the bank, about 6 inches of the tcuipah root, and about 2 quarts of the fermented maize-and-water mixture. Since these narcotics and stimulants were taken hurriedlly and in great quantities, it must have had a terrific physiological effect upon him. For instance, every cigarette and cigar was smoked completely through in 10 seconds. Each musical stanza lasted from about 10 to 15 seconds. He sang it first and then it was repeated by his people. It was during this repetition of his song that the shaman inhaled as much of the tobacco smoke as possible and then exhaled it just before commencing a new stanza.

791 276 273 [[32]] 533 276

In contrast with the rather violent shamanistic performance of the male shaman, the women do not seem to depend very much on narcotics. During the day the men are not permitted to sing or whistle, but the women may lie in their hammocks and sing. They may take small quantities of all of these narcotics, but as far as my observation went I never saw any of them consume any great quantity.

791 276

The spiritual world of the shaman is quite different from the everyday realistic world. A comparison of the carvings on the gourd rattles with the realistic carvings of the asabache made by anyone greatly demonstrates this. In the latter form of art expression, animals, birds, and scenes are copied with great accuracy and skill. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that if the shaman were to attempt the realistic representation of the spirit world he could do so, but he has chosen to portray the various gods and spirits almost symbolically. Kuma and Hatchawa were always represented holding up their hands. It is this position which is read into the western skies whenever at sunset there occurs a phenomenon described above. The rays of light emanating from the horizon represent the fingers of the hands of the gods.

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The form of the dance has been described. It starts off as a simple walk around a pole and it may become a fast run in the evening,

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 791 with the stamping of the right foot on the off-beat, but whenever the shaman is giving a really good performance his whole body responds to the dance and he may shake as violently as the rattle in his hand. His people may also throw themselves into a dance, making a series of jerky movements, bending from the waist downward and up again.

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> Greetings, man, greetings. Your wife is waiting. She is not dead, nor is she sick, but she is thinking that her husband has been away so long that perhaps he is dead. She is good and loves her husband who is sick, which is good. But it is good that he is with me (Kuma speaking) and with my people. He is a good man. He gives me a cigar. I shall give him a horse when he is born again in my (Kuma) land. I shall give him much silver when he is born again in Kuma Land. I love him, the good man, and I shall love him in my land. In the other land, my land, he gave me drink like you my people. Like you my people, everyone will come to my land, the Yaruro land.

FEMALE SHAMANISM

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609 123 The nature of the visions experienced by the female shamans remained unknown to me. As has been mentioned before, social intercourse between man and woman, unless closely related by blood or marriage, is prohibited. It is a social taboo which apparently is never violated and which no amount of bribery could break down. It seemed best to respect this custom, even though it were at the expense of remaining ignorant of many phases of Yaruro culture practiced by the women. So, in the case of shamanism, although the

1: Petrullo E-5 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

796 791 533 son. They began to take up the songs—shaman sang one phrase, repeated it, sang at low pitch and repeated. Last repetition joined in by assistants (attendants) and then the four phrases would be repeated, the shaman remaining quiet, but immediately singing a new phrase when they had hardly finished it. A few women joined in a line side by side to the south of the shaman. Singing without a rattle and without dancing continued for about an hour. Then one of the women went to the basket and brought the shaman the rattle. Singing continued. The only motion was a slow bending forward and bending of the knees by the women in unison—that is, rhythmically on the off beat. A few of the men did the same. Shaman would shake his rattle at times. At the end of one song he said "amen" and the women walked away to the west. When he began a new song they returned. His wife from time to time brought the shaman a cigar from the basket. A fire was started to the west of the pole and the women clustered around. The shaking of the rattle became more frequent and more energetic, and in the middle of one song the women and all began dancing. Women put right hand on left shoulder of one in front and walked anticlockwise around the pole. An inner circle was formed by the men walking one behind the other. Animation was slight, but the right foot was stamped on the off beat. After going around a few times they would stop in original position to finish the song.

796 791 535

This dance was varied a little later on.

In the course of the evening, the singing and dancing became more and more animated until the shaman was in a frenzy. High-pitched voice, faster rhythm, greater accentuation, more feeling. Shaking of rattle became more frequent, rhythm became faster. Shaman no longer stood still, but danced at first by a jerky movement forward, bending the knees, then moving about, half spinning, and near the end his body seemed to quiver jerkingly and rhythmically. The women's motions became more and more accentuated and near the end men and women bent low at the waist, moving body up and down, bending legs at the knees. The walk around the pole became a fast run, with a hopping step on the right foot in unison. In this way—the men would leap high—a resonating beat was produced, accentuating the liquid rich rattle of the gourd and the choral singing.

This continued until 4 in the morning, becoming more and more frenzied, until the morning star appeared.

I regret that I fell asleep near the end. When I awoke at sunrise everyone was asleep, apparently completely exhausted.

535 They started facing northeast in front of the pole, the women to the right of the shaman. When standing still the women, with arms

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 linked, kept up rhythmic motion by bending the knees slightly and leaning forward. The men bent at the waist until the torso was horizontal, arms hanging down like apes, and made the same motion by bending at the knees. The motion was so very apelike that I wondered if the monkeys didn't enter in some way into the scheme of things. I was told that formerly they were people and when the flood came they climbed to the tops of trees, and have continued to live there ever since, gradually changing shape. When the circuiting around the pole began the men followed one another after the shaman, and the women made the outer circuit with the right hand on the shoulder of the woman in front. The right foot was stamped on the off beat.

Art

184 517 Of the arts, dancing, music, carving, painting, modeling, and perhaps drama, are present among the Yaruros. Every individual in the group participates in some form of artistic expression, even in connection with objects whose function is practical rather than aesthetic; each individual attempts to make them "tsaimui", that is "pretty", "good." Great care is taken in making baskets, pottery, arrows, and bows. Singing and dancing are universally practiced also. No individual feels that his voice is too poor to participate in 531 the singing and no individual is shy about dancing. However, social 462 custom limits the activities of the men and women in the plastic arts. 323 Pottery making is the prerogative of the women. The carving of stamps and realistic figures from the asabache is done by the men. The low relief carvings on gourd rattles are the special products of the shamans. Of all these activities it is this last that comes closest to being inspired.

531 285 The making of baskets is woman's work. They take great pride in their workmanship, and make a conscious effort to reproduce various designs by employing several weaves. The patterns are rather limited, but then this may be due to the limited number of baskets which they make (fig. 21).

531 323 Pots are frequently broken in transport, but there is also very little use for them. One or two pots per family are all that is required. The porousness of the material is desired in order to keep the water cool. These pots are generally decorated with crude broad bands of red paint. The pottery decoration is reproduced in figure 22.

531 322 The women like to paint their faces. For this purpose the men make wooden stamps (pl. 22, *1*), which are dipped in red-ocher paste or a blue dye and the design is impressed upon the face. The designs are entirely geometric and rectilinear.

301 317 The asabache figures are of special interest because of their remarkable realism. The asabache is a black igneous material found

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

pole in a circle but merely move forward and backward. During the performance it is prohibited for anyone to pass by the head of the sick person. The shaman will sing all night and if by morning the sick person has not shown any marked improvement the woman shaman will lie in a hammock with her head pointing to the east and will continue the singing. Other women will sit in the hammock with her and sing all day long. I myself underwent such attention. If the wife shows little interest in the welfare of her husband it is concrete proof that she does not love him and it is believed he will die. In this there are two factors to be considered from my observation of these people. The first is that a lack of wifely interest is the equivalent of bad medicine and that the husband himself will feel so disconsolate that all desire to live will be lost.

If the sick person dies during the night nothing is done except to stop the singing and dancing. At daybreak his people will drink vast quantities of chica and prepare for the funeral rites. If the sick person happens to be a woman in her menstrual period it is important to note that she is in the care of the woman shaman. The man shaman does not dare to sing to her.

In the morning the dead person is washed by the women and the body is wrapped in a hammock and taken to the burial place. The brothers and the uncles carry the body. The father and mother do not accompany the body to the grave, but in the case of a married man the widow does. The body is interred in the hammock with the head pointing to the east. The bow and arrows, whatever clothing he may have possessed, and any equipment are buried with him, but neither food nor water is necessary. The night after the burial there is a feast in the camp, but the taboo on fish is observed by everyone. The shaman and the people will sing the equivalent of:

The dead one died here, now he has arrived in the Land of Kuma, and there he has been made young again (if a child dies, it becomes a young man or woman, according to the sex). He will know nothing but joy now and will have everything he may desire.

The widow goes on a strict diet for four days. All fires which were burning at the time of the death of the individual are put out and fresh ones are built. On the fourth day the two men, who have put the dead body into the pit, and the widow, bathe; they fast on the fifth. On the fifth night the shaman sings in order to find out if the dead person has reached Kuma, if he has been given a new name, if he has been made young, strong, and rich. For a month after this the widow keeps a strict diet and she is not married for a long time. It is believed that if a man marries a widow soon after her husband has died he will die soon of the same sickness.

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CREATION LEGEND

VERSION I

At first there was nothing. Then Puaná the Snake, who came first, created the world and everything in it, including the river courses, except the water. Itciai the Jaguar created the water. Kuma was the first person to people the land. Then the other people were created. Then came India Rosa from the east. The Guahibos were created last. That is the reason that they live in the forest.

Horses and cattle were given to the Yaruros. However, they were so large that the Yaruros were afraid to mount them. The "Racionales" were not afraid, and so the horses were given to them.

The sun travels in a canoe from east to west. At night it goes to Kuma's land. The stars are her children and they wander about at night. The moon, which is a sister to the sun, travels in a boat.

On the land of Kuma exists a large plant of each species. The plants which are cultivated by the Racionales were first given to the Yaruros. The Yaruros cut them down in such a way that the tops fell in the land of the Racionales. The roots remained in the land of the Yaruros, but the Racionales got the seed and that is why they have bananas, plantains, maize, tobacco, and the Yaruros have none of those things.

VERSION II

Everything sprang from Kuma, and everything that the Yaruros do was established by her. She is dressed like a shaman, only her ornaments are of gold and much more beautiful.

With Kuma sprang Puaná and Itciai; Hatchawa is her grandson and Puaná made a bow and arrow for him. Puaná taught Hatchawa to hunt and fish. When Hatchawa saw the people at the bottom of a hole and wished to bring them to the top Puaná made him a rope and a hook.

Another figure that sprang with Kuma was Kiberoh. She carried fire in her breast and at Kuma's request gave it to the boy Hatchawa. But when the boy wanted to give it to the people Kuma refused and he cleverly threw live fish in the fire, spreading coals all about. The people seized the hot coals and ran away to start fires of their own. Everything was at first made and given to the boy and he passed it on to the people. Everybody sprang from Kuma, but she was not made pregnant in the ordinary way. It was not necessary.

VERSION III

The first to appear was Kuma, the chief of all of us and the entire world. Itciai, Puaná, and Kiberoh appeared with her. There was nothing then. Nothing had been created. Kuma was made

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pregnant. She wanted to be impregnated in the thumb but Puaná told her that too much progeny would be produced that way. So she was made pregnant in the ordinary way. Hatchawa was born, grandchild (?) of Kuma, Puaná, and Itciai. From then on the attention of the three was centered on the boy. Puaná created the land; Itciai the water in the rivers. Hatchawa was very small, but soon grew to a very large size. Kuma and Puaná took care of his education, though Puaná took more care of him. Puaná made a bow and arrow for him and told him to hunt and fish. Hatchawa found a hole in the ground one day and looked into it. He saw many people. He went back to his grandparents to ask them to get some of the people out. Kuma did not want to let the people come out, but Hatchawa insisted on it. Pauná made a thin rope and hook and dropped it into the hole. The people came out, just as many men as women. Finally a pregnant woman tried to come out and she broke the thin rope in getting out. That is the reason there are few people.

The world was dark and cold. There was no fire. Puaná had made the earth and everything on it, and Itciai had created the water. Hatchawa took a live jagupa (a fish) and threw it into the fire which was kept burning in the center of Kuma-land, a high circular pasture. The little fish struggled and knocked coals all about, and the people ran away in all directions with the coals. One part of these people were the Yaruros. Then Kuma wanted to give the horse to them, but the Pumeh (Yaruros) were afraid to mount it.

Of every plant in Kuma land there exists (or existed) a gigantic type, so big that an ax can't cut it. Of every animal there exists a gigantic representative.

VERSION IV

India Rosa is the same as big Kuma. This Kuma lives in her city in the east. She is either the wife or sister of the sun. She is the younger sister of the other Kuma. She taught the women to make pottery and weave basketry in the same way as Puaná taught the men. Itciai and the other Kuma look after everything.

VERSION V

At first there was nothing. The snake, who came first, created the world and everything in it, including the water courses, but did not create the water itself. The jaguar, the brother of the snake, created the water. The people of India Rosa were the first to people the land. After them, the other people were created. India Rosa came from the east. The Guahibos were created last. That is the reason that they live in the bush.

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Horses and cattle were given first to the Yaruros. However, they were so large that the Yaruros were afraid to mount them. The "Racionales" were not afraid, and so they were given the horse.

The sun travels in a boat from the east. It goes to a town at night. The stars are his children and they go out from the town at night. The moon, who is a sister of the sun, also travels in a boat.

VERSION VI

A woman who came from the east went to live with the sun at his village in the west. She taught women how to do everything which women do. The sun taught the men. The sun and India Rosa are married, and probably were the first people from whom everyone has sprung. But the sun and India Rosa came out of the ground. They had children. Everything was dark at that time. The children dispersed in all directions. They became the different peoples of the world. Then everything was covered with water. Horses were given to the people but they were afraid and would not ride them. But a white man sick with smallpox rode the horse, and then the horse was given to his people. He asked the Yaruros to kill him and they did. Then his people killed the Yaruros.

VERSION VII

India Rosa came first. She gave birth to a son and a daughter. The son impregnated his sister, who gave birth to all humanity. India Rosa went west, the daughter went east. The son is the sun. The moon is the daughter. The snake came afterwards, and the jaguar created the water.

VERSION VIII

Kuma was first. God appeared. Had two children, brother and sister, and they married. There were no human beings at that time. One day Kuma said, "Let us have some people". So God went out to see about it. He found a man in a hole. He went back to Kuma, consulted with her, and went back to the man with a hook and a rope. A pregnant woman wanted to be the first to come out of the hole, but she was left to the last. Many people were brought out. The last to be brought out was the pregnant woman, and then the rope broke. The world was dark and cold. So God made a fire. A fish appeared and scattered it, so that each person could take a little of the fire. That is why all people have fire today. The people married among themselves. One of the woman descendants of India Rosa married a man of the new race and from them sprang the Yaruros. This was welcomed because the father of the girl said,

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773 "Here, a son-in-law will take care of me now!" Then the Yaruros
539 lived. The shaman had a nephew and a son. The nephew fell in love with his own sister and married—he was changed into a jaguar and she into a snake (?). If it had not been for this there would not have been any snakes and jaguars. Human beings should not marry their own sisters. It was ordered by Kuma. Animals are different.

Then one man found a tree with all the fruits on it. He did not tell the others. A white man appeared on horseback. Said he would come back in eight days. He came back in a boat. Scattered seeds everywhere. Thus he changed the country. Before it was all open savanna, but now forests and agricultural products grew.

India Rosa taught the women. God taught the men. God wanted to give the horse to the Yaruros, but they were afraid to mount, so he gave it to the Racionales instead.

KUMA

791 Presumably, Kuma is anthropomorphic. The only ones among
976 the Yaruros who have any knowledge of this mythical being who is re-
787 sponsible for the world are the shamans. These individuals are loath to discuss what they see in their dreams, claiming that all they have to say about such things are said during their shamanistic performances. Besides, they claim that they do not remember what they see during their trances.

531 Nevertheless, on the rattles appear graphic representations of what
776 Kuma is supposed to look like. In all cases, she seems to resemble
534 a human being, standing with her arms extended upward in greeting to her people. Such figures are represented on the gourd rattles shown in plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27. It was explained that the lines
[301] appearing on the body of Kuma represent body painting and ornaments.

776 Of all the godheads or spirit forces of the Yaruros, Kuma is the most clear-cut. She is the creator of all things, and everything emanates from her. Her associates, Puaná, Itciai, and Hatchawa, function according to the laws of Kuma. Apparently they are not able to do anything without her consent, but occasionally she may be tricked. For instance, when Hatchawa decided to give fire to the people he threw a live fish into Kuma's fire. The wriggling of the fish scattered the coals, which the people seized and carried away.

Kuma is represented neither as an indulgent mother nor as an entirely benevolent creature in the myths. It is Hatchawa and Puaná who favor human beings. In fact, Kuma was opposed to peopling the earth with the human race. In spite of this there is no

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776 [416] strong implication both in the myths and the saying he attends to his people, especially those belonging to the snake moiety, that Puaná is also anthropomorphic. I believe that the conception of the godheads is not quite as clear among the Yaruros as we who attempt to rationalize his beliefs would like it to be. Puaná stands closer to the members of his moiety than does even Kuma. During the shamanistic performances led by Landaeta the singing and dancing were rather sluggish until it was announced by the shaman that Puaná was on his way, and when Puaná reached the shaman's body there was unbounded rejoicing which put fresh spirit into the singing and the dancing. No such enthusiasm was apparent even when Kuma approached. We may contrast the attitude toward Kuma and Puaná as one of respect and one of familiar love.

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HATCHAWA

Hatchawa is the culture hero of the Yaruros. It is he who interceded with Kuma about giving fire to the human race, and it is he who begged Puaná to make a bow which he passed on to his people. He is credited with being the direct instrument and also the means by which the Yaruros have acquired knowledge of hunting. When Hatchawa arrives among the Yaruros during shamanistic performances he is received gladly and thankfully.

ITCIAI

All of the shamans with whom I spoke and whose performances I attended belong to the Puaná clan. They knew little of Itciai and were not interested in telling me much about this rival to Puaná. Itciai seems to be identified with the jaguar, but he is not anthropomorphic. He is given credit for having created the water in the rivers, but, as if they were jealous of even this attribute, my informants said that "Itciai created only the water in the rivers."

FLOOD LEGEND

773 539 After the people were created and had lived on this earth a long time they began to forget to do the right thing. They no longer believed that Kuma is the mother of water and the entire universe and everything that there is in it. So Kuma, in order to show them that she was the creator of the universe and everything therein, caused a rain to begin which continued until everything was covered over with water except a tree on the upper Capanaparo, and the top of a hill. A man and his sister took refuge on the very topmost branches of the tree, and a man with his aunt saved themselves by staying on top of this hill.

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Everything was covered with water and these four survivors of the human race suffered great hunger for many days. Those on the tree ate the leaves, and the bark, and some of the wood itself. Those on the hill not only suffered great hunger but were menaced also by a huge fish that wanted to eat them and kept on swimming around and around the hill. Finally Kuma stopped the rain. The first day after the rain stopped the waters withdrew one arm's length. The people ate what they found on the exposed land. The second day the waters withdrew two arm lengths. The people had nothing to hunt with. There were no trees out of which to make bows and arrows, since everything had been destroyed by the waters. Finally the turtles began to come out of the water and the people were able to catch some of them. Everything was clean of vegetation and flat, but they managed to gather food enough to live. After some days the one man said to the other, "Look here! We are all alone. Why don't you marry my sister and I will marry your aunt?" The other replied, "Very good; but I must ask my aunt if she is willing to marry you." So he asked his aunt and she consented to marry the man. The two men then married the women. They then had children. The man's aunt gave birth to a girl, and the sister of the other man gave birth to two boys. When the older boy was sufficiently grown up his father told him to marry the girl who was his cousin. The boy answered his father that he was no good for marriage, that he was not able to hunt enough food, or do anything else well, and that he could not have sexual relations with women. So the man waited until the younger son was old enough, and this boy married the girl. They had children and they married each other. But there were not enough girls, so the two boys married the children of the snake and the jaguar and went to live with them.

The uncle of these children, he who had not been able to marry, and who knew many things, did not like brother and sister marriage. To show them that they were like wild beasts he changed the boys into a jaguar and a snake. Then he tried to change them back again, but after twelve days he gave it up. He was not able to do it. Then he called the people together and told them that in the future they should not marry their sisters, since marriage between brother and sister is practiced only by the wild animals, and that if they did they also would be changed to snakes and jaguars, and that he was powerless to change them back again. He told them to marry their cousins, that is, the cross cousins. And he told them that those who descended from the snake should marry those who descended from the jaguar. That is how the Yaruros, who are the descendants of these people, are related to the snakes and jaguars.

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535 791 with the stamping of the right foot on the off-beat, but whenever the shaman is giving a really good performance his whole body responds to the dance and he may shake as violently as the rattle in his hand. His people may also throw themselves into a dance, making a series of jerky movements, bending from the waist downward and up again.

533 539 One of the typical songs of Kuma was a greeting to me. She said:

> Greetings, man, greetings. Your wife is waiting. She is not dead, nor is she sick, but she is thinking that her husband has been away so long that perhaps he is dead. She is good and loves her husband who is sick, which is good. But it is good that he is with me (Kuma speaking) and with my people. He is a good man. He gives me a cigar. I shall give him a horse when he is born again in my (Kuma) land. I shall give him much silver when he is born again in Kuma Land. I love him, the good man, and I shall love him in my land. In the other land, my land, he gave me drink like you my people. Like you my people, everyone will come to my land, the Yaruro land.

FEMALE SHAMANISM

791 787 554 776 It proved impossible to learn much about those things in which the women are chiefly or exclusively interested. The shamans seem to be as influential among both sexes as the men are, and they seem to acquire their power and prestige through dreams or revelations in the same way as the male shamans do. In the case of the women it seems that India Rosa must appear in a dream rather than Kuma. In the legends it is India Rosa who taught the women the various arts and crafts, so in shamanism she is the chief spiritual power. During the day, both Kuma and India Rosa are pictured as resting in their hammocks. Because of that the women shamans sing sitting in their hammocks, swaying back and forth, during the day. Apparently it is believed that by imitating the picture of Kuma and India Rosa they can reach the two spiritual forces more easily. These shamans never perform at night, although they will sing with the male shaman when the latter is giving a performance.

535 791 554 The gourd rattle seems to be an instrument which only the shamans can use with immunity and as a means of conversing with Kuma. The women do not have these rattles. Their singing is done unaccompanied by any musical instrument or by any dancing. Dancing is performed only at night, when it is led by the male shaman.

609 123 The nature of the visions experienced by the female shamans remained unknown to me. As has been mentioned before, social intercourse between man and woman, unless closely related by blood or marriage, is prohibited. It is a social taboo which apparently is never violated and which no amount of bribery could break down. It seemed best to respect this custom, even though it were at the expense of remaining ignorant of many phases of Yaruro culture practiced by the women. So, in the case of shamanism, although the

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mistreat his new wife, otherwise even his relatives in Kuma's land will lose their riches. She told Juan Bario, her brother, that she greeted him, that mother was happy (dead). Then came Garcia, the brother of Juan. He said that he had gone to the house of Kuma without having seen his relatives before dying (he died without being attended during his illness); that he was buried without even clothing, and thus he arrived at Kuma's without anything (his clothing was actually stolen); that the grandfather (father of Juan Bario) came to take him to Kuma's land since his uncle was far away and busy and did not know of the sickness (father rarely is mentioned as taking care of children).

Then came Itciai on horseback, shoes, hat, etc. He came to greet us, and said that he came to greet me also since I was also a Pumeh; he told Juan Bario to interpret what he was saying to me, since I didn't understand Yaruro very well; he loved me and my family very much; that he loved a man who visited his people with love in his heart like me; that when the world ends he will not be like the others but like you will be made rich in Kuma's land; to explain to me, since I lived near him, that his wife, son, and family are well and waiting for me; that he had made the world to live in as this man lived; that I was a very good man and knew very much, that is why I was waiting with a cigar for him; that Hatchawa was coming.

787 776

Hatchawa came on horseback, with bow and arrow, shoes, and gold necklace. He said: "I have come to greet this man and all of you. What do you say and think of this man? Isn't it true that he loves you? The man came with love for you. There are no people like him about here. He is like you of the same family. Puaná will come now."

Puaná came on horseback, which makes a noise like the anaconda, "teio, teio"! "I have come to greet the man and you. Didn't you in his land? He has come with love for you. He is of your family; take care of him. Raise him as one of your family. He knows a great deal, like the shaman. That is the reason that he sings as you do. I have watched from very near. He lives in a land just like mine, mountainous and very beautiful. Where he lives it isn't warm as here. Sometimes it is very cold. Ask him if he wants a drink. Kuma is coming to get you."

[539]

Kuma arrived and said:

"How are you? The man has come here as I want it to be. He is of our family, not like the people about here. That is the reason he loves you so much. He knows as much as the shaman; that is why he is waiting with a cigar ready. That is as I like people to be. Tell him that when the earth ends he won't live here in a cold world like the (?) but will live with you and like you very rich. He is of our family. Where he lives is very beautiful. For this reason I made this earth that people like him should live on it. For this reason I told Puaná to come to greet him, for I love him very much."

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787 Then came the father of Juan Bario on horseback. He said:

115 "I greet you. I am waiting for you. Your land is poor now but Kuma's land
[539] is good and rich. When you die you will be born in Kuma's land. I was
living here with you, I died here, but I was alone in Kuma's land where I am
wealthy. See, you are poor. I was the same way. It is different in Kuma's
land. There is much cattle and horses. Live well with your wife. Treat her
well. Kuma does not want you to do otherwise."

533 Then the shaman returned on horseback.

There is great reluctance on the part of the shaman to sing unless there is a strong reason for it. During my stay with the Yaruros many occasions presented themselves to justify the holding of shamanistic performances.

796 On one occasion I returned to camp after an absence of two days.
791 This was enough. I arrived at their camp about 7.30 in the evening. Landaeta greeted me affectionately and then told me that he and his people considered me a member of the family. The women came to put their arms about me in greeting. Landaeta in one of his mystical moods talked of the beauty of the small fire with turtle roasting; of the sands glistening in the moonlight; the araguato monkeys which were roaring in the distance; the occasional birds that sang in the night; the toninos came up to blow and splash in the river. All of this fitted in with the soft murmur of women speaking, and laughing in the darkness. An occasional misfortune, such as dropping a sackful of stuff, brought merry laughter on everybody's part. The crunching
[276] of the sand gave notice that the women were digging deep to reach moist sand in which to bury the leaves to be used as cigar covers. Soon all of us, men, women, and children, were smoking.

The rest of Landaeta's people arrived in canoes. They sat on the sand with us. Landaeta talked with them at length. At a point he arose. His wife handed him some objects. He walked away to the west, immediately followed by one of his sons and a young nephew. He returned after a while, minus his trousers, wearing the shaman's breechclout and cap.

He went to sit alone at the bottom of the sand bank. After some time his wife gave him a cigar. He continued to sit alone and silent. At a sign his son and nephew took a slender pole and planted it in the sand. They retired. Men and women continued talking. After some time Landaeta rose, stood before the pole, smoking, facing it and the east. Several stars began to rise.
796 He stood in front of the pole for some time. Then he weakly began
791 to sing. After two songs his wife came to plant a shorter pole to the
533 west of the long one, and hung from it a basket. Landaeta continued standing still and singing, pausing briefly between songs. His son went to stand behind him, his nephew at the left side of the

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Today	jamba′	Water (cold)	uį′ toutcia′
When	kanemo′	Water	uį′
Wild, shy	naitca′	Yucca	pae′h
Woman	ieį′	Yucca (sweet) (edible yucca).	huruara′ pa′eh
Woman (old)	ieį′ tehi′	Yucca (bitter)	pa′eh kara
Warm water	uį′ kewita′		

ORIGIN LEGEND

● 539

Joro′ (irokwi—give one)	Kuma-unijoro′	maę	joro′	kodeh	tcune′ih	joro′		
give	kuma boy give	speech	give	I	all	give		
hụi′hą	nimbø′ote′bureh	maę′	a′no′neh	hinani!	jabuą			
afterwards	speak everyone (all)	language	we all	many	now			
tokwęi′mi	nomi	nyo	hudi′ka	nyo	ibi′	kuma′	hine·	
few very	before	say	afterwards	say	to us	kuma	she	
tcade′ni	ko′nøtu′h	ado′	kønøtø′h	maęjoro	kønøtø′h	mana		
good very	that we live (on this earth)	more	live (yes) (I live here)	language give (words)	live (yes) (here)	come		
hineh	Kuma-di′·	hatciri	uihana′ui′	mana′bedi′	ibo′	ea′aį ya′		
she	kuma with	far away	water much water	comes	us	weeping mother for (my)		
ndairø′pe	mana′	øni′	diro′	naa′	hao′	habe′ dirǫ	"tohę′	
yonder	comes	boy	born	her	son	a moment just, merely itself, born	is singing	
ta′hve′ di be′	tave· di be	ate′ bureh	mana′ dirǫ′	ote bure′h				
unknown with you (people)		among all	comes is being born (family)	all				
sade	dirǫ′ mua′henidirǫ′	ea kni′	one′	uni′	nua′h	deheini′		
are well	is rich	weeping lacks	doll	boy	are	poor		
jai	pututairą′	nua′h dirǫ	tcere′h	paria pa′·h	keheni	tokur′		
horse saddle	has	silver	making	small				
pariapa′	habe′ dirǫ	tię′ tia	kę′·tia′	tibo′hida′	jode′·h	kaią′		
making	all remains	she will give name when he is born in her land	has name	goods are kept	this	my		
høđi′	jode′·h	fa′ka	kaią′ uni	fa′ka	jai	kaia′ uni′	huraria′	
is or are	this	cattle	my boy	cattle	horses	my boy	food	
kaia′ uni′	tąụ	kaia′ uni′	tcade′·h	kaia′ uni′	hina′dirǫ			
my boy	shoes	my boy	good		many			
hidake′	handi′para′	nua′me′·h′	tokwę	pariapa′	jodi′h			
waiting	for that	is rich	few	is making	this			
tcere′	tokwę	hi′na	patce′tciara	faka	tokwę′	jai	tokwę′	
silver	few			few	horse			
jambua′	tiogi	ụjmbo′	manna	huraką′	knidanni	pume′n kode′		
now	here with a woman	comes	eats	feels sorry	Yaruros	we		
ote′h uni′	manna′	hąhą′	puana′h uni	n-gua ke·nuą′	fakanguą′ke			
chief boy	comes	yes	I have (woman speaking)					

539

huratø′ uni′ fakanua′ tønøndi′ huriara′ hønandi′ gⁿynuku′
will eat boy what is (interrogative) food what (inter.) cheese

hønandi nambi hønandi′ huo′ uni hą′ tcǫ′ ngohe′ a′no·h
tobacco for the boy (fish) let us go (woman speaking)

tu′kayø ⁿtohinuą′tano ero′ hanam tohewa′nhapano′ witcotanoh
paint ring let us let us bathe (?)

tibo′hina′tano nambihe′ joroku′n pumehami joroku′n nambihe′
let us dress tobacco give me for the people give me tobacco

nienepa′h dibeh ai′nika′tø heba′hur heba′heba′ hebahur
might already ? we will laugh married married marry

tciadani garapa′ tokwę nene garimpa′ hebahine tcadeni
give him clothing laughing small very in love marry (♂) do well

tcadeni′ hapa wį′ jorohį′ tibo′ jorohį′ taų′wei jorohį′
(treat man well) give clothing give shoes

ero′ jorohį′ huraria′ jorohį′ ta′mbe huratto′ni garmpaį′
food give eat

nimoma′ konombi′ naia′hǫ′ru hai′hø′ tcidø′ haihø′ aihe
live there ? my house hunt deer

hambu′ tometcǫ′ hai′hø′ dome′· haihø′ tcį haihø′ tatu′timi
dead with hunger hunger turtle iguana

haibe′ garimpa′ mehį′ tcad ni heba į′ kode′ na′ia′aį′
deer in love woman treat well wife mother

kode′ ikidi ai′ⁿm kaįya ha′o kaia hao′ kaią a kaią′ dike′
I his mother father my son son younger brother it is mine

kaią hudi dike′ haba′rikudi barike yude yu′ha jabo′tca abe′rikidi′
this is mine seems far to me I go there for a moment wait for me a little here

pumeida ondi′ha amerikidi ⁿgoha′ diane hana ⁿguaha′rineh
The Yaruros I accompany we go (or let us go) come (you) go with me

ᵐbaøtø′·h ᵇua′na pe. gniene pa′ri gnuta′ipe ine·h ᵐbaø′pa′ne·h
we go walk quickly night gather what shall we do

mlaø′ rikudi ena′ tlatci′· høta′ni ⁿguoha′riane′·h ᵐbuatø′·h
I go about far let us go you do not want to go with me go far

habatci′ mbaø′dawu′·h ha′nawu′·h nimbø′ tcatane′·h kanawu′·h
I don't want do not go come quickly let us talk come quickly

ume′·h hanawu′·h kerama′i tainta′ne′·h huriara′ aitane′·h
family come quickly brother-in-law let us go hunting food gather food

tojwą′tane·h hota′bure′·h tcune′ine′·h pa·ⁿchi′·h cu′·hu′·ni
let us sing all every one (all) women also give to all

toina pavidi·h hebawa′·tø·h tanu wę′ we′nawu′·h haba′rikidi
dance say to let us help let us help these people come sing wait there (a moment)

yabu′tca hatci′·vi. hatci′ri kudua′ jambųa′ ᵐbaø′ ᵐbaø′ak i′
I go there (a moment) very far I came very far to-day I go I go

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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kaja′ tciri′rupe′·h habe′merikudi kni′maia′ tcunja′di
for my country I stop there it is ended

nawadape′ndi′·h jipe′·hndi′·h piuji′n·h ᵃdaudikone′·h ᵃdąinawu′·h
is last where is it it is here I don't find it look for it

ᵃgụadenawu′·h jụa′ tanandid wana′kwi′·h jode′·h habe′kidah
come see it which whose is it bring it to me to see a moment

manna′di·h hatji′·h wenahu′·h we′nahu·h bagum′wu′·h
coming now far go fast (note change of accent) run

tcniadi′·h da′tukun′·h wana′kụi· awimąi′ hana′wu′·h agnima′i
finished I go see bring me nephew come brother

a-mụ′i kahąi′ ka′ami′ kahąi kahį amu′į kahawi′tokwį′
father mother sister aunt grandson my niece

mbaø′rikidi′ awa′ muha′rine′ mbaøtø′·h hida′kụi′·h
I go yes now come no of course that we go wait for me

męandimbą′ø merikidi′ himu-baøtane himu jabuka′wø′·h
I go with you we go together take

jabubaø′wu′·h ᵃjoaᵃguabaø′bu ka-ji′ hudi′ heda′no tibato′
go first carry this brother he made bow

tcito′h kodeh ait atø. Kaji′rdi′ narapania′riki tcara
arrow (harpoon) for me to shoot (arrow) My brother showed me taught me canoe

edadidiko′ kajiriki. Kajaya′ kajaį′ idepa′ nia′rikụdi uni′
make my brother my my mother born I boy

andi′kemerø′h jaruparu′h huni hide′piarikudi uni araniki
there large pasture boy there I was born boy there

kaj′ aj′. Mbøritari kødı aji′repanabapanį′a tcuni′
my mother I shall make hammock my brother taught me to weave hammock all

tcara apenikudi kajya′ maya′. Kaiaya′ kajhaini′ kambụa hini
I made canoe I alone my mother died

kodeh tøkwı′ndu himbụ′a. Kajaya′ ami′ eᵐba′riki.
I I was small still my sister took care of me

Inijoronikwi huriara′ kajaya eba′riki ote′ piarø′h hambø
She gave me food took care of me afterwards I was large my

kaiaya.
mother died

(FREE TRANSLATION)

Kuma talked about the boy (Hatchawa) to whom she gave everything. Afterwards everyone (the other spirits, ancestors) spoke. Kuma said to us, "We are few now but formerly we were many. I come from very far away. I come from very far away across much water. He this man came to us. A little boy and his mother (my son and wife) are weeping. Both of them are well. They are rich but weeping. The boy does not have a doll. He has a horse, saddle, and silver. I will give the man a name when he comes to my land. I will give cattle to him my boy, horses, food, and shoes. I am waiting for my boy. Now, I will eat with my people, the Yaruros, good food.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

539 cheese, smoke tobacco, for my boy. Let us go, let us bathe, let us dress. Give me tobacco for the people, give me tobacco. We shall laugh. Give my people clothing. Treat this man well. He will give you clothing, shoes, food. He will live there with us in my house, to hunt deer, turtle, iguana. Marry a woman, treat the wife well. I go away for a moment, wait for me here a little. Go with me. We shall walk away quickly in the night and gather what we need. Let us shout far, let us go. Let us talk, come quickly. Family, come quickly, brother-in-law. Let us go hunting, let us gather food, all of us, everyone. The woman also. He will give to all something. He says let us help these people. Come sing, come sing. I go there to his land very far away. I have come very far today. Now I go to his country. I stop there. Here is this land. It is here. I don't find it, I look for it, whose is it? Bring it to me to see. I am coming now, far, I can travel very fast, run, it is finished." (One of the Yaruro spirits speaking.) My nephew come, brother, father, mother, sister and grandson, niece. I go with you. My brother made a bow for me and an arrow to shoot. My brother showed me how to make a canoe. I was born there in a large pasture. I shall make a hammock for my mother. My brother taught me to make a canoe then I was left alone. My mother died. I was smaller then. My sister took care of me. She gave me food. She took care of me. Afterwards my mother died.

BUILDING A CANOE

Icara′	ghia′tume	wu′·h	k^{w}a hu′	ngua′hę	torena′	tcu′ruwǫh
canoe	I open		burn it	ehikuria	canoe	plane it on outside

kuavǫ′h	mbatci′	gua wų′·h	mbatci′^{n}di	tcinja′	ado′	Kanemo′
burn it	ready	plane it inside	is ready	is ended	move	other

hapapa′rikidi′	kaiąya′	kajyami	ab ko′	de′rikudi′	nde′hano
is making	my	for me	tomorrow	it is so	throw down (knocked down)

habako′	mbụi′tcị	tcaratokwǫ′	tcarato′·h	mbąǫ′	har′rikidi
tomorrow	small	small canoe	(the canoe tree)	I go away	

tcarahi′	tcunaru′h	mbąǫ′rikidi	tcarupe′mu	mbąǫ
canoe	is finished	I go away	yonder	I go away

garu′paime′rikidi′	hamba′rikidi′	konroi′ merikidi	gnụa′rindie′.
I come back	I am here still	I live where I go	two days

mannaime′dikude′	Hatcihorikidi	habe′ merikidi	honi′pe
I come	I go far	I delay much	there where I go

kau ji′yu′puę′	kaią pume′h	na′bari kudi′	ka ami′aparikidi
my older brother	my family	I am here	I have my sister

kaja′aya′	kaja′ya	hade′h	kajaya	kai′	kaiąya′	oma′ kaią′ya
my father	my uncle (elder)		my	aunt		granddaughter

kera′	kaiąya	Habi′	tokwị′	kaị′rke′rami	kaiąya	hadimui
sister-in-law		little girl		my brother-in law		younger uncle

hiamụi	kajyaba′	ebane	Kajya ba′	hawi mi′	eba′	joro′bǫhę′
grandchild (♂)	my girl child	is married	my girl	husband	married	give to her

hurarią′	joro′bǫhę′	tibo′	ebabuhe′ ♂	tcaidani′ ———
food	give her	goods	marry her (ebah[?])	do not do harm

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hapade tcohedi tibo′ naia′ tibo′ joha′di tcere garempa′
take ♂ goods

kodeh kaiąiej′ garempa′ tcade′kaią′iaį′ turusi hadi ¹¹jobedi
(y) necklace take take

turusi′ johedi′ mahu′ johe′di tahe′ b———— mbaurikidi
plate I am going away

ha′deme mbaunkidi keramaį mbaunkidi animaį baun hidi

aiamaį′ mbauke kaį aį mbauką′hąmatį′ hąhą′ hąhą′
good bye my mother

hą′hą′ na—paru′ mana′i ume′.
when are you coming

Kuma′ jorohį ebahį tune′ine′ ebai i į′ eba′imeneno′
(speaking) give marry go away all is married married

tca-ni′ ebai′ hati′ bąø mbauta′no′. hati tokwę′ime
far away go of course (?) very few

hunihą′tcin dabu′ide′ kono kaja′ uni tcuna′ne′ tcuini′ha′
is land of the boy live my boy go away all all

jode′ tcuni tcin kaj′a′ uni. mbau′ke ♀ ayumaj′ mbauke′ ayamaj′
this all this land

mbau′ke ayamaj′ mbauki′ ademaį hademaį mbauke′

nαparu′ mbaumeneno′ habe′ke habeko baune naparu′baubim
when let us go not yet let us go tomorrow when the others go ♂

mbaukeda′ hiama′i mbaukeda nimaj′ mbaukeda′ Hø imaj′
I go away ♀ nephew I am going son uncle

ma′naignike′ abeka namparumana kina ąi′ mbaunikide u
I shall come tomorrow when you come my mother I go away

mbau′ mbaurikide keremai mbaunkide hiamą′i mbaunkide
brother-in-law

kambue′ jorokwi′ umayo′ jorokwi′ adema′i ticiparaghi
relative fishhook uncle harpoon arrow

jorokwi′ mbauke′ agnikowi mbauke′ amia′į mbaunkidi′
I go away ♀ sister elder sister

niama′i mbaunkide′ kambue′. hąhą! namparu′mana kambu′e
nephew relative when you come relative?

taranihdoru mana′ime′. mbaun′kideh hadimą′i mbaube′
three days come I uncle I am going

auitokwej′. Hąhą! Hąhą! Jipę′ bau′ hadamai′ mbaurikide
niece (♂) where are you going grandfather

atdgi′. Manankideh gnumairu′h. Gnǫmbuwę′ kaja aia′maj.
elder brother ♂ I come next year tell him ♂ my father

Hą′hą′ nyǫbuwę′ hanato′di kaiomaj. kaiaabi′ gnǫbuwę′
that he come my father my daughter ♂ (younger) Tell him

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habeko'hana tødi' hødikodi'. tananabui tcarana'h kni' daiya'
to come tomorrow it is I how are you going ♂ canoe poor fellow

kudikude' naparø'hu hadatchua'mi dø' kni' daiya' tana'h
it is I when are you going four days poor fellow whose son

Kodeh ua'pa'rikide gnakanką ti'puti'pu' uapankideh· ha'ha'!
am I I am afraid cayman custard I am afraid

køtøgnio'd Hąhą'! abarikide jiabuą'hu'inne' høtuynioką'yahade'
go there a moment now I say to him goes there my mother

animaį nyo'i'ni manarikidi kodeh manarineh hinade
uncle nephew said he I come ♂ you come with much people

tanarį do'ro karani' tohęnya'—diane ♀ bagharienе' otabure'h
3 days deep hole we will sing ♂ go all

bø·ane'h payo bau'rineh beru'pe' hǫrupę gnuią' tcumai
cattle yes you to my town I go home where soup

handi' adomine'h kni bau'de kni kodeh høkaniaine doh
I don't know you no I go away no I most one sun

kodeh butio'anah gnumahirøh kodeh mana'hideh gohe'ano'
I next year comes here go we

guatoni tcarana' tana' mbaupa'no autabu'reh gohadine'
we will carry take canoe where go we all gather the people

anyime' mbautane' keriame'h dipe'h berupe'h oru'pe'h
brother we will go brother-in-law which town for the town new born

gohe'da knahura'aneh tambe'h paeh parøtuna'h oe
work here eat we manioc topacho (a banana) maize

Hą'hą' jipeh hurarapa'. Muapa' jambya' mya' høe'napi
changuango I eat now I sleep now I come sleep quickly

ben mbuataneh dame'h ateø'h tcǫ' hambu'rakedeh
you we will go to shoot fish I am dead

tametcǫ. mBau'taneh ha'diameh mbaurikideh jambuą'.
with hunger we go uncle I go now—

Joro'kwe ajima'i jagu'ime. Dede nua'aikideh jagueme.
give me older brother salt yes I have salt

clean

Quepe ku'neh habe' anǫda' nienta'ni do tanaruh kono'pa.
I have cleaned it already we will stay how many days where we will live ♂

Huriara' apa'rine'h konde'h jorokwi' huriorokwi ambu'rikidi
food preparing (making) we five give me come eat I am thirsty

where go you

ui' hi'—kna' je'pembaømane' mbaurikidi tu'ararupǫ. Jipę'!
water here it is where are you going I go with canoe where

djudi'pe· hi khądį gnotarikø dime. "Napau'—une hade'mai
it is there here he is I say It is his my uncle

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hado′ companion jo′de′h this keriami brother-in-law hado′ companion aiya′maį′ my father hado′ naia′ai′kaiąai′ his mother my mother

adonia′į (which is the woman) ami′ sister jorokwa give me ami′ sister kna′ this jorokwe give me ghonehį′mua′ I say to her ♂ sleep

høl house dai′na· take across Jorowį′ give me ♀ jo′rokwa ♂ jiakoda′ pot jorokwa da nah take across

agnimą′i brother ado′ move tanangwameado he that has more mau sleep gnobireku′di′ I say ♀ kni no

nua′de I don't have hana′bø that he come we′napi wu′h that he goes quickly tana′dedi that they go na^{n}dedio bua′di.

we′napuwuh mana′idi· tcara a′na dirǫ′ jo′ Ha! Hą! hudimua he sleeping

jagųa me salt nive′ Jorokwi jaguime′ tana ua′ that he carries tibo′ goods gate′ I bought

kode′ for a hammock mburina′ gate′bu·mburina′. I bought for hammock Jorokwi ero′ gate′

jorokwi give me ømua′yo′ fishhook he′na′ni much gate′. I bought Patciutciarą′ hat kainą my

jorokwe′ tciana′kø′· sweet (sugar) høbø kaiyąbehø for the boy hatci′de far away kani′ not hatci′dedi very far away

hetati′ caroto (a drink) nguą′ has nive′· rational (civilized) padiø′ that you nguą′(e′di′) he has (positive expression) mbarikidi hø øpa′kode′ I fear

nivę′ høhøpa′ I go walking huritį′ I am going to eat gohau′ane′ you let us go huritsį′ eat nimbø^{n}tsao talking

ibi′ąmae′ alone language tamuo′ is true tamuo′ is true Handi it is so gno′mane what you say Gnǫhe′ look! hahi aunt

høde′mene you do not go ♂ dede. yes hąhą jorokwa′ ta′eh calabash totcio′gnua′ fruit I have

totuio′ I buriabura —black Nafe′ coffee buriabura′ black Hę′ ea′ weeping tokwęne ea′ little boy

ea′di′ weeping saying tokwę·′di little one jorokwęhuį′. give me water Mbaupa I go away anoda′ we (same as anoneh) mperupe′· for home

øun you go weinepi′ further habedoru′ early adomine′ you also naparawbøh when are you going tiambią′ now I go bøh I go

kodeh. Wa′na′pi·mana come quickly mboeya′ pig huriara′hę′ food give him johe′da′ exhaust huriara′di here is the food

huratane. let us eat wanapi quickly tcunø′ all otawu′reh everyone goharine′ let us go hurapa′ to eat

tcade′mane thus it is good paęo′ that you tcade′· very good (very tasty, fine) ado′ move hødinǫ′ give habadine′ a moment abe′. wait

Nomene′ yesterday naparu′ when nomene. tciare′h brother adjimąi mbaø′ I go away auji′mu′ brother

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pa'di· tacuma we' buria'buria' kafe' buria'buria' arapa'
hat you make soup black coffee black to drink

joro'kwe(nuą') jorokwe' ado mbatci' jorokwe tibo'hoa'rią'
give me a particular fish it is good soap

jorokwe· nimito'·h jorokwe' bate'a høri'bø høta'nę·
comb something to wash clothes get ready that we go

djabuamana bea' kønidekudi jito'rikude jito'iketohe' gaipa'
now he comes said I cannot I am sick I have a headache I unite

jito'rikude hąmbua'di haidi'me gate'hapa'rikode tibo'
I am sick he is dead here he is I shall buy clothing

kaiąię'ha kahęhabi'ha tibo' ado' gate'hapa'rikade tore'h
for the woman for my daughter ropa digging tool

kania'meh nię'ni ka'rani' hado'tcomi konitci'mo
one 2 3 4 5

knitu'gupe kamieme kniticirupe nyoani' hadotume
6 7 8

kni'tcirupe' itisune' taurupane kaniame taumpe' gnione
10 11

taurupe taranih k^{a}tana'mo tsini' keintanari' keniame

kųntanari nyoani' taranih hado'tcheme ta'usume'. Habe!

hado' habe' hudi! kode' jorokwi konde'h kodeh tcuma

huriara' tcuma'· mdaibø ba'inbo' cųbo'e kajabi' kajaha'o
go get my little daughter my daughter my son

ka'jahę'i jorokwa kajatibo nyohe' unitu'rikdi hati'n
son said he I am tired very far

urøtø' ko'de'· jambo nomene' jorokwe kuononia' jorokwi
I am going to eat now tomorrow give me knife give me

topone' hibe' tiboka'į jitorikweitci gitorikwe' tao' ado
machete ax fish line my finger burns abank

gitorikwe apahu' tana'. Tode'ha tibatzua'pa todeh'pa
back this, so. cut make cut

tibatzua'pa tcia'rapapa' tcharato'h quepeto'h chido' bu'ah
make canoe salted (a tree) chignire deer

aure'h opara'h arih tcę· ikuvi'· ari' okaroro' po·o
dog white heron baby fish turtle baby chicken snake

cheni! 'we' ^{a}ndura'h tcirideme·h yuna' wate'h ^{sh}pa'rari·h
water snake hawk tawny crane tortoise king duck wire

nyia'kanka·h oibi'·h ^{bui}tca'.^{hw} apekuch tara'^{h}·
caiman tonino my arana spider jivaro stork

tchiratoh oah arhedi ho'de'h kevamuin kodeh mineh
make I brother-in-law I you

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(FREE TRANSLATION)

I split a log to make a canoe, I burn it, I plane it on the outside. I burn it. I make it ready. I plane it inside. Now it is ready. The work is finished. Tomorrow it is thrown down. Tomorrow I shall have a small canoe. The canoe is finished. I go away younger. I go away. I come back. I live here. I am going two days away. I shall stay a long time there where I am going. My older brother lives there with my family but I am here now and I have my sister, my father, my uncle, my aunt, granddaughter, sister-in-law, a little girl, my brother-in-law, younger uncle, grandchild, my girl child who is married. Her husband he gives food to her, cloth, he is married to her, he does not harm her. He gives her a necklace. Goodbye my mother. When are you coming with us? Let us go. Not yet, let us go tomorrow when the others go away. I am going away nephew, I am going away son, uncle, I shall come tomorrow when you come my mother. I go away my brother-in-law. (The rest of the text is incomprehensive except that it continues to emphasise traveling back and forth between the author's country and the Yaruro country, hunting, eating, and family relationships.)

Nụdiha′ kaị katopa′ri wirø′h Hụdia′h hutihą′ mitę′vide′
afterwards rope let down man seized rope to come out

kaị′ miteh anoneh ado′kaịnimo ieịnmiteh hu′diha hado′
pull we more others woman pull more

mitede adokonimoh nomehiti kaị′ hoị′ adokenemoh ieị′
took hold more others before rope husband more other woman

adokenemoh kaị′ adokenemoh pumeh hoi adokenemoh
more others rope people husband

yeị′ adokenemoh hoị′ adokenemoh yeị adohenemoh
pumehoi pumeh yeị adokenemoh ho′i adokenemoh yeị
adokenemoh ho′i yeị′ adokenemoh Yaruro ho′i yeị
peha′ondi
(so it is)

Marupano churo′pano tsia′nupọ′ taruru po′· johadi muị′hivę′
(North, left hand) (right) south west east take below (river)

kaị ntiha′ hondi kiadia-ti hutiha juro pu′ndidiha′ untiha
afterwards rope truly stays south went

johadi′ joha′ whuapar idi nuna ate puru· tcou me′hde
take take four duck reals feathers was loose

lame′ha′pa podameh jomę′de pu′meh.
fishing for thrals unsuccessful in hunt

(FREE TRANSLATION)

Afterwards the rope is let down. Afterwards a man seized a rope to come out. We pull up more, we pulled up woman, afterwards we pulled up more of the others. We pulled up her husband and women and more of the others. So it is.

Kodo kodo pearuh pumeh yeị pearu undiatceni pandi
long time ago (before) (Yaruro) woman before reverted animal

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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terracoapendi Uiya pumehdi uiya′ pe′aruh chuį pumehdi
there were no people antes before people howlers new monkeys people
people

pea′ral Yaruro pearuh pumehdi pea′ru Jaruro Merideh
before people (Yaruros) before (another animal)

pumeh pea′ru beri monati. chumeri pearuh tibatu
(were people once) (fino)

kaę′hahį mbua′dahaneh ku·wa tetǫ′ mbua′deneh ecitǫ′a
string he left fat (large, thick) harpoon arrow he left (died)

undia′ brekadirǫ ihe udiha′ hudirǫ′hudihą′ amboie′dida
was fierce afterwards the others is dying

antcikwehu høe wi·ru′ indiha tambena′ hadewa′h hurade′dihų′
submerged manire get closer (approach) is eating

harawi′tah hurare′dibuah
we were eating

(FREE TRANSLATION)

A long time ago before the Yaruro woman was referred to an animal there were no people. This was before the people became monkeys. Before the Yaruro people. The howlers were people once. (The rest is untranslatable.)

Y eba parihidi dekudi hode ha′bi hado′ ahu′rmaį′ aį′
woman I want uncle brother mother

kera′ ayęimaį hparikidi atsi′ manei′mirikidi pumehdaįharikidi
sister-in-law father far away I will come in five days I shall go to see

ado′ tamentsomerikidi tana′h urapa′ane′h arigudi′—igru′
my people they are hungry let us eat armadillo

(FREE TRANSLATION)

I want to go to my woman, uncle, brother, mother, sister-in-law, father, far away. I will come in five days. I shall go to see my people. They are hungry, let us eat armadillo.

Po·tcuni tciaware′h tcipu′tcipu′h taia kwaį po· hikanakopo′h
water snake (rattle) snake (another snake) (garter snake)

cresu′ente grande Mana uihana′ hudi′hą gondo′ uni dabu o′te′ha′
flood water come water much afterwards pull out hole jole

nyǫ hudihą′ kaį· uni jorokoa—kaį′ ottahį′ pøhana′ uni′
said afterwards rope boy give to me rope Jeha water snake (mythical) boy

hoteh puhana′di hondo′pa hudi′ha′ pueheri′ muingondo′
kainą nyuanih′ Huidiha′ pue′rih handi mbea′h hoynde′
kaniame ieį′ kaniame ieį ado′ Hudihą baudire kaį
undiah maę′ tǫkwe maį′ ieį′ Hųdiha′ abantcę n′diha

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Hụdiha′	kondeh	kua	tcutca·mbuh	pumeh	Hụdiha′	ote′h	
	fire	light	cold feels cold			chief	
djorohendeh	huriara′	nyo′hǫdihę	hohią	nyǫ′	bidiwę′	prohana′(di)	
give other more	eat (food)	said more	to the men	they told me		snake	
huraria′	ado′	huriara′	Hudi′ha′	huna′rahį′h	hara di dine′h		
food	more	food		search for food gather	living is (people) is existing		
huriara′	tcuneineh	ota′burah·	hụdi′ha	nyo′bedirę′	uni		
eat	all	everything		said man ♂	boy		
iba′udede	tciri′h	hụdihą	anǫ′bineh	tcinjio′awuh	pono		
not ours	land (savanna)		us (we)	(savanna)	lining		
tcinhoy	mbedenu	ivi	yeį	kania′me	iei	keniameho	
savanna man	has no house	(water)	woman	one woman only			
hina′patu	univedrǫ	tcin jioayu	joro	hinani	jąi	nivenah	
give more yields	boy but a man now	savanna here	give	much			
jąi joro′	jai′	joro′	inenivoka	niveina′·h	vaka	joro	joa′
home	horse	give	much cattle	many whites	cattle	give	this
tcidoh	mboa′	mdame′h	aurih	pumeha′ndi	taive′	jipe′h	
chiguire	deer		dog	people no (not)	stranger	changuango	
pumeh	hura′pa	ji′pe	datutunu′h	pumeha′	tcidoh	mbua′di′ro	
	eat		iguana		for us	is coming down from	
ngatetu′	tibǫ′	paitcetcora′	Hudi!	yodeh·	pumehandi		
he goes buy	clothing	hat	also	this	for us		
tcirihǫdeh	dabuch	pumeha′	tana′pa	ndabu′h	hi′na	pumeha′	
land that	the beach	for the people	happened	earth	much	for the people	
orijara′	India	Rosa	ᴮdahuh	India	Rosa	handi′	tibato′
land of Kuma	(where she was born)		earth			no (negative)	
huriara	ha·pja	tibato′	tcitǫ′	humayo′	he′dano	hotai′di′	
comida	arrow		puyon (harpoon, arrow)	fishhook	is making fixing	he sends	
huridirǫ′	uni	hura′riapa	dipuate′	dihote′	tciparadi′h		
go hunting	boy	is cooking food	javalon		iron		
tcnehewą	tibato′	iving′nǫh	jipeh′	ivi deneh	jipe′h	tcopai	
his		wife		many women		(a fruit) (guapo)	
ivindeneh	joka′i	para′·	ividno	taruvidineh	ivivenę		
woman	(fruit guapo)	barbaco		digging	women digging		
hakandawa′po	moh	tsio	kondehtsio′	tibǫh	aboria	hote di	
collecting guapo	turtle		smoke light (fire)	breechclout		man	
kajya	hiadiro′n	pe aroh	hudi′	maę	joa′	ibamąi	hurapiandeh
my		new	language this	our language		cook	
huriara′ndeh	kaja cani′	hatahuriara′	tibato′	huriarą′	tcǫ		
for us to eat	my boy	send (to get) food					

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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tibato' tcọ-pa'ndi tcu ma diawa hụdiha tcọhani' undi
how gather soup making fish much
hurato' oteh uni' udi'hia'me puhanaineh yeịn India
is wealthy
Rosa ha'ni ota'ini pue joro' timeh tcenehewa' huni
our hole give us silver has
a'ndi honde'h kodokodi inehe akri' honde'h nye' moi
long time ago stole people is
kia "datcen nyenenih nglne'h hụdiha tcara pa' tikuni'h
sleeping night curiare make look
huriara' taint hurara a'itu hambu tiọ' tcara tọmetcọ'
food paddle fisher avoid hunger hunger
huriarikidi hurapa'ri kidi tomatca'rikidi tomaticọ' honde'h
eaten already drank already hunger have
jaguọ'meh niveyọ' tcumamau' huria'rą homa' huriara' ngua"deri
salt ranmal making soup grandmother lacks
hohu'dihohadeo'di hohaur' hudi'ha mbautaneh hawi iembateneh
there is your land nephew let us go soak go hunt
yci eba'-h hadi'di hakari undi'ah mbahu yeị ebah
hunting let us go hunting
itu'nemeh tcihi'nemeh gwabu'itcare huwi tcuputci pu-hde
hundred lagger stretch by raya cascavel let
hu'hi tciara tciara kdo kdehineh pumeh kodo kodo yeị
dance
tsade'h putsiake'h hudia' pumhdi tea'deh garempa
pretty nephew of Kuma
kodo kodo tokwị pumeh yeị

(FREE TRANSLATION)

The water snake created a great deal of water. There came much water afterwards. The people were full of doubt of the hole. The chief (Hatchawa) said afterwards give me a rope. The boy asked Puaná and * * * the people felt cold. The chief (Hatchawa) gave them food and fire, he told the snake to give more food, to gather food. The boy said to the man, the land is ours. There was one woman. The boy was a man now and gave her much, gave her horse, gave much cattle, gave capibara, deer, dog, gave chanquango, the iguana. This man here is going to buy us a hat. He said this land was for us, for the people. The boy fixed a fishhook and an arrow and went hunting. The women gather fruit, barbaco, the women dug for barbaco. They collected turtles, lighting a fire, made breechclouts. (The remainder is unintelligible.)

STORY OF KATIWE'J

Katiwi hura' pume-tokwị hura' katiwe'i huitcuaduo
she boy nothing
hura' pumeh tokwị- Hudhą' hohadi' nuabąuhjhati'.
uncle took him away for

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Hudihą′ tutarią′ anno′ katiwci dawedepia′ totarią′
corral left afterwards no one new corral

dawedepią′ katiwi mbaǫuhą′ katiwi· kumahi′ pe abe′tei.
went to puma

Ado′ tigitigihura′ pume tokwi uni. Hudihą′ nguna′hą′
also hawk large killed him

tigi tigi anna′. Hudihą′ nkua′hą′ konderų′ nkua′ tigitigi.
burned with fire.

Itciai hidi nyǫ.

Sade′habja′ pumeh sadeh′habe igi′ sadeh hąohąø jito′ deka′
greetings man greetings women greetings children not sick

hidata′ kieine ambrjandi bau ⁿhuandi′ nome′. Hatchawa Ha′Hą′
waiting wife dead many days time that he has been away perhaps is dead

tcadeidi dibe pume′hdi gitodeka′ tcade′ tcadeide køa′yu
good loves man sick not good good (is) with me

tcadeidi jorodike nombi joro i′me ja′i hambuado kumą′dabu
gives me cigar will give him horse will be born Kuma land

joroime baka joroime tiere′ kodeh hambua′dø ado′
silver will be born

kuma dibeume tcade′di′ pumedi habiandabu′ kodeh
love him good man my land

pariata kunni pumehdirį′ konemo tcin′bu kanemo pumi
making (ǫ speaking) people other kind land other

kodeh joruą′ konotø′· konotø meneno′mi
gave to live like you

Puana′ ado

Pume′ monemo′ debendi tciri nua′tohę meneno′ hotabure!
like you every one (Yaruro land)

siande tcacheidi dibeh honetaide ea dibe′ ea

Kode′rikidi oteh tcunią′ oteh kodeh kode joro
tcara′ tcitǫ′ tobato′ kuriara′ atø′ menenǫ′ ote bureh
all/everybody

tcune′ine otebure′ dabu tciri kaią koderikido aname′·
tokwi mi hamburinene′ tsadevinene hambu′ hida′tsinǫ′kwi
walk

nuą′ⁿtohe′nuą′ larihidi kodeh tsunią jurupa′ hambu′uni′
(all be loves) (ending dying)

ote′bure′h tcade dirę′ dibeaia dirǫ′.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

(This is the speech made by Kuma to me during one of the shamanistic performances.)

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Greetings, men, greetings women, greetings stranger, greetings relatives. His wife is waiting. She is not sick, nor is she dead. He has traveled many days. She thinks that perhaps he is dead. Hatchawa loves this good man. He is good to me. He gives me a cigar. When he will be born again in Kuma land, I shall give him a horse, silver, he will be born in my land. I love this good man. He lives in the other kind of land. I gave it to him to live there, like you my people, like you every one living in Yaruro land.

MAKING A HAMMOCK

hunghuari	kodi	ghubu'ideha	ngua'	dedi	kudi	kaįkaįnya'		
I shall	seek	moriche (palm) cut	I do not have			for all the rope		
ndarikudi	abụa'	jambụa'	tcatcą'	abo'	habaukidi	tci'ha		
I found it	new	to-day	heavy	!	wait a moment			
ⁿgaopa'	tcirike'	muiarikide'	kanehau'kidiua	habeko	hudi'			
already	dry	I go	I shall put it there	tomorrow	afterwards			
hunghuarihode	hude	wa'derikudi,	uapaumene	panaume'				
I go seek	macanilla	I do not have	but I fear	jaguar				
tcuame dida	hupaname'di	kọaheanihun	ⁿgudi'	merikone'				
fierce (wild)	time	go forth fierce	I shall	kill it				
Habetcį	jikude'wą'	hụtcą'rịawej'	barikudi	kaįtca'ha				
Now I	am ready	it	a moment (wait)	I will the string				
ⁿdigⁿuaderikidi								
I do not have								

kaį'=string, rope

(FREE TRANSLATION)

I shall seek a moriche and cut the leaves to make rope which I do not have. I found it heavy today. Wait a moment. It is already dry. I go now. I shall put it there until tomorrow. Afterwards I shall go seek my macanilla. I do not have it now, but I am afraid of the jaguar, a fierce animal. It will go forth, fierce. I shall kill it. Now I am ready. I shall make the string which I like.

CARVING ASABACHE

Ne·♂apa'rikidi	hjehą'	hade'nni	hjeha'mmi	kaįa	ieį	hami		
I am making	for the woman wife	pretty	wife for	my	wife	for		
tcade'dedike'do	tun·tsi'·	ngate	ha'rikidi	habu	gweinitiẹinda			
good well tamed out	no	necklace	buy	I shall	no	why	si	
tsụa'dehabo'	tcade'diho'	hape'me'rikone'	ngluto'rike	ikidø				
because	good because or	I make it	it hunts me	the finger				
tcumidanika'	hapadẹime	dekone'	nguadeni'kja	huihambo'rikidi'				
makes me lazy	make better (better I not make it)	I not	I do not want	I am very thirsty				

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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harare'hiro'ke aguretumi'kja hurakikodi abarikidi tcirike'a
drink water I go away urinate

hatcin hǫ'ị'de koe'tonda.
far away forest because it is cool there

(FREE TRANSLATION)

I am making for my pretty woman, my pretty wife, a necklace because she is good. My finger hurts me. Makes me lazy. I shall not make it. I do not want to make it. I am very thirsty. I shall drink water. I am going away to urinate far away in the forest because it is cool there.

Udia burahananandi tohigwąme' whui'hą jąi tohị' gwą'ame'
he came shaman he horse shaman

whuihą' jai· whuinduria hanari hamburi'me di· whuinduria
he horse was (perfect) afterwards next other dead (his spirit) was next

hanari iene· pumei iene' wbu'nduria' hanari pume oị'·
other woman (Yaruro) woman was next other Yaruro men

whuị induria hanari ieni. Handokanemo' hana di (*or* hanari)
was next other women more others

hado hanemo hanari nehde'i whuị'nduria'· whuimduria
more others come!

hanari kanemo' hadohanemo' hindeni whuị induria. Hindeni
more more

hadohanemeno whuinduria ieni. Hadhanemo' iene' hi'nadnę'
many

hinane hind iro *or* hina'dne. Hadokanemo' hanadi' hadokanemo'
much people

whuinduria. Hadodibende'ni kanemodui hina'drę' pumeh
come with his companions later

Hinadre, Hinadre' pume'h. Hado'di hendeni kanemo' dụi' hindrę' ndia hanne'du hinadrę' hadokanemo' haneni hinadrę. Hado'di hineni kanemo' dụi' Hado' kanemo' hinedrę'.

Iteiai hudi=man
hini=woman

Hanadi Iteiaide pea'ru tie'riai kanumei hanadei
comes at first land all one comes

Hatchawadei. oteh di Hado'kanemo' otehdi puanadi. Hanadei
this

kumahini. Nyodei Itcadei konoto tcade'i· konoto tciri jụa,
would like good this earth

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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behade jode' dibe hungo ndona'nadi'. eadidibe'. Eadidibe
does not want, love, like this you arrived he arrived loves you much he

tcadedi' Yaruro depeha'ndi. Hatchawa tcadi'di debehu'.
also when he comes

Ngodediman dibe ea'tara. Eadedi nivena. Andei eadedi
he wants to come loves you much no loves

Nninenivenah.

Eadidibe dibe'.

Puana'—Eadidibe' tcade'di ibia pumedi
our family

Kuma—Nguo'nanadidibe' eadidibe' ea'dedi yude'. Hą dite manna dibe' yu. [a]Daba—ine ndi handimanna tara' manna.
?

Udia' burahananandi tohigwa'me' whuihą' jai tohigwāme'
Then he came large shaman he horse shaman

whuihą' jai' whuinduria' hanari hamburimedi' Whuí'nduria
he horse was afterwards other dead (spirits) was afterwards

hanari' iẽine whuinduria' hanari' i'ẽine pume i'ẽine
other women was afterwards other woman (Yaruro) women

whuinduria' hanari' pume'h oi. whuinduria' hanari i'ẽine
afterwards other (Yaruros) men afterwards other women

handoka'nemo' hanari hadoka'nemo' hanari hendei
more others more other more came

whuinduria' whuinduria' hanari kanemo' hadokanemo'
was afterwards afterwards more came more came

whuinduria i'ẽine hadokanemo i'ẽine hina'drẽhinane hinadirõ.
afterwards women more came women

hanadi Itciaide pearu tciviai kaniamee'i hanadei Hatcawade'i
came Itciai first of this land one came Hatchawa

oteh·'di hadokanemo' oteh·'di puanadi hanadei Kumahisu'
chief more other chiefs Puana came Kuma

gnodei Itciaidei konoto' tcadei konoto' tcirijua' hehade
said Itciai live well live this land does not love

jode' dibehungondonanadi eadidibe eadidibe tcadedi Yaruro
rational to you arrived he loves much you loves you well Yaruro

dephandi'
also

Hatcawadei nyodei
(Hatchawa said)

Tcadedi dibehu ngodedi manadibe' eatara' eadedi'
when he came to you he wants to come here much loves you

nivenah andei eadide' nine nivenah eadibe dibe!
not rational more he loves you not rational he loves you

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Gnodei Puanadei
Puaná said

Eadibe' tcadedi ibea pumedi a Kuma nyonamadidibe
he loves you our family Kuma comes saying

eadidibe eadedieyude haditemanna dibeyu [a]dabuinnendi
loves you but not rational people not like this over there he comes to you (?)

handimanna' tara' manna'

(FREE TRANSLATION)

Then the shaman came on a large horse, and afterwards the other spirits came and other women came. Afterwards more women, Yaruros came. Afterwards other Yaruro men came, etc. Then came Itciai, first of this land. He came. Then came Hatchawa, the chief, and more of the chiefs came, Puaná came, Kuma came. Itciai said live well. Live well in this land. This man does not love the Racionales. He has arrived among you. He loves you Yaruros much. Hatchawa said when he came to you here he loves you. He wants to come here much. He does not love the Racionales. He loves you.

Puaná said he loves you, our people, and family.

Kuma said he loves you but not the Racionale people. It is not like this over there where he lives. He comes to you.

/11 cont./

O Y 775 776 way which leads to the other world it will meet after the village of the tiyo of Iɟiai, at the left, on the same side, the tiyo of the Otomaco. They sang and danced (shamanistic ceremony) during the day when Kuma and Iɟiai were still living on earth. When they ran off into the other world they continued to sing and dance but at night. During their songs they walked, the old men of past times used to say."

Y 533 539 Pedro Ramón Camacho completed his account with a quatrain of this song which had been repeated to him by a grandfather, but the meaning of which he did not know:

gwačarka hihi gwačarka hihi
gwačarka hihi gwačarka hihi
pideruba pideruba pideruba hihi
pideruba pideruba pideruba hihi

Y 773 825 136 The Otomaco are presented in Yaruro legends as being in the beginning three animals: the mono (15), the araguato (16),

15. Monkey (Cebus nigrivittatus), in Venezuelan.

16. Howling monkey (Alouetta ursina), in Venezuelan.

and the chigüíre (17).

17. Capybara, large amphibious rodent (Hydrochoerus hydrochoeris), in Venezuelan.

Y 773 825 The transformation of the Otomaco into monos and araguatos seems to have occurred at the time of the flood unleashed by Iɟiai to cleanse the world of all the moral disorder which reigned there. Some Otomaco took refuge in the trees

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Even if there were stronger interest in sex than seemed to exist, there would be little opportunity for the youngsters to indulge in any sexual relations, since their playmates tend to be parallel cousins and very often playmates are lacking altogether. In the small hunting groups often there may be only one or two unmarried young people. Under such conditions a boy would either have to seek sex relations with one of his moiety sisters or practice adultery with a woman of the opposite moiety living with his own hunting group. We may presume that neither incest nor adultery are unknown to the Yaruros. During my stay among them there was no evidence of that.

Another factor which tends to help [illegible] Yaruros live a strictly moral life is that upon reaching puberty both boys and girls marry if a mate is available, even though the wife or husband may be considerably older. Premarital romantic love life may be entirely absent on this account, but one suspects that another type of romanticism may be built on what is available. For instance, practically from babyhood the boy or girl knows whom he or she will marry and in waiting for the promised day one would suspect an emotional attitude is built up. It is certain that after marriage strong bonds of affection are developed between husband and wife. Strictly limited in choice, there can be no free play for one's desires.

In the Yaruro society prostitution is probably absent. I believe that today some degree of prostitution has been forced upon them by the peoples with whom they come in contact. Perhaps we should call it purchasing of sexual rights, with the Yaruros playing a docile if not hostile part. After all, they are forced to acquiesce in a great many practices foreign to their ideas.

The above is the sexual ambient. As a result the adults act in the following manner. Sexual intercourse is considered one of the numerous natural acts. It is not exaggerated, little talked or joked about, and judging from the sort of life they lead not over indulged in.

Among the men, woman is not discussed. Neither virtue nor sin is the subject of comment. She is let strictly alone and uncensored. Obscenity is rare.

If any homosexuality exists it must be established by inference. It is common among the hunting tribes for a man to have a companion with whom he hunts, travels, and with whom he spends most of his time. Such companionship seems to be closer before marriage than after.

I have observed two boys, unmarried because no girls were available, engaged in such acts as we are accustomed to impute to love making—holding hands, etc. Yet, lest we jump at hasty conclusions, it must be said that affection between men is demonstrated much more so than

1: Petrullo E-S (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19 ●
Venezuela SS1

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SUMMARY

The Yaruros are river nomads, practicing no agriculture and keeping no domestic animals except the dog. Their material culture is meager, being limited to what they can carry in their canoes as they wander from one camp to another. Expecting extermination within a short time, they have turned to life after death for consolation.

We know practically nothing of the Yaruros as they were several hundred years ago. According to the missionary accounts they had a simpler culture than the other tribes inhabiting the region of the delta of the Apure. However, lacking descriptions of the Yaruros, we cannot make sound comparisons. There is very little in the modern Yaruro culture which resembles that of the Otomacos and Tamanacos as described in the missionary accounts.

The things that distinguish the Yaruros from Racionales (as the "civilized" people are known) are lack of permanent abodes, no domestic animals, and no agriculture. The things that are common to both groups are the bow and arrow, the canoe and paddle, and hunting. Among the Yaruros there is a closer communal life than among the Racionales.

In the material culture of the Yaruros we can discover but few elements which have been borrowed from the Europeans. Of these, the use of iron is the most important. Formerly the Yaruros had only bone and wood out of which to shape arrow points, but now iron has displaced these other primitive materials. The use of iron knives, an occasional ax, a hammer, and a heavy iron hoe used by the women on their digging sticks, has, of course, been introduced by the traders. In exchange for these elements the Yaruros have given to the Racionales the bow and arrow, the canoe, the gourd rattle, basketry, and pottery.

The Yaruro in recent years has been even further removed from European culture than he was several centuries ago. The policy of the late dictator, Gen. Juan Vicente Gomez, of disarming the Venezuelans to keep down revolutions, left the people of the llanos without any ammunition, even though they might have old shotguns and rifles. Guns and ammunition were smuggled in at a premium and were far beyond the means of the Llanero peasant and cowboy. As a result, those who were not attached to the household of some powerful absentee rancher were forced to eke out a living with bow and arrow.

The world depression and the cattle monopoly of General Gomez affected the Llaneros also in two ways. Cattle could no longer be sold at a profitable price and the workers were forced either to abandon the country and withdraw to the cities or to Guiana, to become farmers, or to live in an even more primitive style than they

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19 ●
Venezuela SS1

Y 105 SS1 ●

were accustomed to. That is, they had to fall back on a life somewhat similar to that of the Yaruros. Today one finds close to some river bank a little hut, the home of one of these Llaneros. In such a household one may find a man, his wife, and children. Their only possessions are what they can gather and make from their environment. They may have a garden in which they raise plantains and bananas, a little maize, and yucca. But the soil of the Llaneros is not fit for fertile gardens, so these people have to depend on hunting and fishing for most of their food. These are the people with whom the Yaruro have most contact. There is nothing in their houses and nothing in their mode of living to attract the Yaruro. As a matter of fact the Yaruros themselves made the comment that a Racionale's house was dirty and full of vermin and insect life, whereas they, preferring to live on the open beaches behind no shelter, had the advantage of moving about from one clean camp site to another.

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How much the Yaruros have borrowed from Spanish lore and religious ideas it is impossible to say on a basis of our knowledge. In their religious ideas one might guess that the conception of the existence of an evil spirit and the personality of India Rosa may be the two strongest elements. All these, however, were introduced a long time ago and with the breaking off of communication with the missionaries during the past century they have become weaker and weaker. Today India Rosa is confused with Kuma. The evil spirit appears in only one or two legends and plays hardly any part in the shamanistic performances.

The tenor of the Yaruro culture is typically conservative. Their reaction to any European idea is one of suspicion and fear. For instance, they will not raise domestic animals or learn to cultivate gardens. The Yaruros had their chance, they say, when the world was created, and refused to take it. Now there is only one thing left to them: to live as their ancestors have done and to die.

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This patient acceptance of their lot is the most characteristic attitude of the Yaruros. They have abandoned all hope of maintaining themselves against the destructive forces of the world around them, and even of dying out peaceably. Their only consolation lies in their firm belief that Kuma is waiting for them in the other world. In other words, not unlike many other American aboriginal groups, they have built for themselves an indestructible heaven, and one from which foreign peoples will be excluded. There they will recapture their ancient mode of life. They will have plenty of food, clothing, horses, and the companionship of their relatives. Kuma's land is a world of bliss, an expression, really, of the living Yaruro's yearning to be allowed to hunt, fish, and live peacefully with each

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6:Le Besnerais--13a E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

I. STATEMENT OF COMPLEMENTARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE COMMUNITIES OF THE YARURO (29)

29. For date of observations, location of communities on the Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, and description of habitation types, see "infra" IV List ...38.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30)					Remarks on Sites
			30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...38.					
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III
On the Capanaparo River:								
1	Carlos José Delgado, then, after his death, his wife Severiana.	Santa Ana		9				According to Vicenzo Petrullo's (31) investi- 31. See "infra" IV List...32. gations, the community was called Las Mercedes and was located near the Venezuelan farm of the same name.
2	José Ledema	a) Lagunota abandoned for:		5				Same community as Petrullo's Lagunota (31). 31. See "infra" IV List...32.
	or Juan Esteban Bellac (in the absence of the former)	b) Potrerito	x (32)	x		x		which was situated beside the Venezuelan farm of Piedra Azul.
		32. "x" indicates unenumerated habitations.						
3	Adán Matute	Potrero Grande		4 to 6				The summer encampment located on a shore and not observed is called San Luis.

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
4	Marcelio Castillo	3 sites occupied simultaneously: a) Guacharaca		2					
		b) Agua Linda	2						
		c) Médano Alto		1					At the time of the observations (29), the site 29. /See footnote 29 above./ had only one type II 1 a habitation, temporarily occupied by one ♂, 2 ♀, and 2 children who were to return to Guacharaca.
5	Ramón Beltrán	Médano Alto		5		5			
6	Pedro Ramón Camacho (33) 33. The underlined names are those of higher chiefs (in Spanish: capitán mayor) with greater authority than the other chiefs (in Spanish: capitán menor). This authority generally extends to the neighboring communities sometimes directed by a capitán menor and grouped together on this table by wavy lines.	a) Guamacho abandoned for:		3 to 4				x	
	His actual authority over Ramón Beltrán is contested.	b) (island opposite it)		3 to 4				x	The island was later abandoned for a site farther upstream.

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...38. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
7	Ezequiel Padrón	Morecurito		x		x		x	
8	Ramón Jesús Caravajal (named by the Venezuelans) (34)	Magdalena							
	34. "Named by the Venezuelans" means that he was designated or confirmed as chief by a representative of the Venezuelan authorities.								
		or Caravajal	8			x			
9	Antonio Perasa (named by the Venezuelans and not recognized by the Yaruro)	San José and San Luis	8			x			The winter habitations are invisible from the bank. The summer encampment located on a shore is at San Luis.
10	José Carmen Garcillo	2 sites occupied simultaneously							
		a) Santa Rosa			1				
		b) Caño Amarillo	8						

6:Le Besneraïs--13c E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
11	Andrés or Juan Pío (subordinate of Bernardino Agustín Lopez, surnamed Venado —see community no. 15)	Pozo El Robo (briefly occupied)	x			x			
		then simultaneously Vuelta Mala 1 and Vuelta Mala 2	x			x			
12	Ramo Romilio Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Chaparal or (Vuelta Mala) or (Barranca)	2					x	The type I habitations are located 400/500 m. from the bank.
13	Jacinto Lopez father of the preceding (named by the Venezuelans)	El Rosario	1						The community is located near a forest and a spring of clear water coming from the savanna.
14	Judá Arcaya	Mangalito	1						
15	Bernardino Agustín Lopez surnamed Venado; also has authority over Andrés or Juan Pío (see comm. no. 11). (no doubt named by the Ven.)	El Caliente	2				1	1	The summer encampment is located on an island downstream from the mouth of the Riecito.

C:Le Besnerais--13d E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30)						Remarks on Sites
			30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
16	Ramón Dias	El Cebote	3				5	3	The type I habitations are located about 300 m. from the bank.
17	Castillo	La Gavinera	5				x		
18	Simón Pacheco	Merecurito	1						
19	Simón Pacheco	Argentina	3			x			
20	Bilegas	Argentina	x						The habitations are located on the savanna far from the bank.
21	Bilegas	Garici	1 to 2			x			
22	José Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Matacaballo	3						The habitations are far from the bank.
23	Eloy	Monte Zamuro (La Patilla)		x		x			

6:Le Beszerais--13e E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...38. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
On the Riecito River:									
24	?	?	2						The habitations are located about 200 m. from the bank.
25	Cecilio (Cecilito)	Mangoito	6 to 7						The habitations are located 1 km. 500 from the bank. They are surrounded by mango trees.
26	Felipe (Felipito)	?	2			1		1	
27	Jerónimo	?	x					x	The summer encampment is set up under some trees.
28	Gregorio	?	1						
29	José Blanco	?	2			3		1	
30	Luis	?	4	1		5		8	

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Between the Capanaparo and Cinaruco Rivers:			
P	?	?	One day downstream from R
Q	Joseito Menor	La Vigía	2 km. downstream from R
R	Olivet	El Gomal	One league (5 km.) from the Cinaruco and one day in summer or 1 1/2 days in winter--because the Casanarito, which is deep, must be crossed with a raft--from community no. 7, the spot on the Capanaparo which is closest to it.
S	?	?	Near R
T	?	?	

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
U	?	Lagunota	Traversed by Raymond Fiasson (36) in 36. See "infra" IV List...21 and 22. Nov./Dec. 1946. At sources of the Náure.
V	?	?	On the Caño Amarillo
W	Alfonso (reputed a thief)	Ceiba	At sources of the Macanillita
Between the Capanaparo and Riecito Rivers:			
X	Nicolás	?	On the right bank of the Capanaparo between communities No. 22 and 23.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Y	Padrón (reputed a thief)	?	At the sources of the Caño Perro de Agua.
Z	?	Moriche	Near a lagoon and not far from community no. 28.
Between the Riecito and Cinaruco Rivers:			
AA	Pablo and José Losa Cardona (other name cited: Leyi).	Reicero	On a dune located at the sources of the Cinarucquito, the Cinaruco, or the Riecito, or near the Cinaruquito and 1/2 day's travel on foot from the right bank of the Riecito or one day by canoe (up to the Paso Reicero) from the Boca del Riecito.
AB	Nicolás	?	

6:Le Besneraïs--13L E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
AC	Basilio	?	On the Cinaruquito, to the South of the Venezuelan farm Sol y Sombra.
On the Cinaruco River:			
AD	Pablo Emilio	?	At the Paso Mina
AE	?	Santa Rosa	
AF	Julio	?	South of the Venezuelan farm Sol y Sombra
AG	José Lopez Paez	?	

13:Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

181 up and down the rivers in their canoes, or lying on the sand, feasting on crocodile or turtle. He would see stolid fixed faces, uncommunicative, affrighted. But if this traveler were to stay he would discover that from sundown to sunrise the Yaruro lives in an intensive romantic world which he cannot and rarely would care to share with anyone else.

576 787 821 We returned from the trip to La Urbana at sundown when bars of yellow, blue, and white light streaked the western sky. The Yaruros were sitting on the sands watching this phenomenon with a certain rapture. They sat quietly and in silence facing the west until the lights had faded and merged into a subdued golden glow. Then Landaeta came and greeted me affectionately. He spoke of what we had just seen in the western sky, explaining that it represented a greeting from the mother goddess Kuma, to her children the Yaruros and to me. The other men came also, and the women too put their arms about me, but the latter kept their faces averted as is proper in Yaruro culture. We settled ourselves on the sands. Small fires were burning with remnants of turtles and crocodiles broiling over them. The sands glistened in the moonlight that soon came upon us. Araguato monkeys roared in the distance. An occasional bird sang. Insects hummed. Toninos frolicking in the water came up to blow lustily. And Landaeta explained that these animals were also children of Kuma and that everyone in Kuma's world was glad that I had returned.

553 123 We smoked and Landaeta talked, recounting what his gods had told him about me; that now I was one of their family, and he affectionately called me "adjimai oteh" (elder brother), which became the standard form of address by all of his people. In return I was asked to call them little brother and little sister.

790 791 533 At a point Landaeta rose and walked away into the darkness. His son and nephew followed him soon afterwards. He returned after an absence of half and hour, wearing his shaman's ceremonial cap and breechclout. He went to sit on the clean white sands to the east of the camp, where he remained still and quiet for a long time. His wife went to him with a lighted cigarette. He smoked this in silence and alone. Finally he made a sign and his son and nephew rose immediately to plant a pole a few feet in front of him, and then retired again into the darkness. After some time Landaeta rose, and facing the east in front of the pole, continued to smoke in silence. It seemed a long time before he began to sing, softly and hesitantly, which time was measured by the rising of the stars. After he had finished two songs his wife approached him again, thrusting into the ground, close to the pole, a stick from which hung a small basket. Landaeta continued standing, facing the east and singing, pausing briefly between

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

251 During the rainy season the seed of the chigua is gathered. It is crushed, toasted, and stored in small quantities in the same way as the changuango, provided, of course, that a spot is found high enough to keep it dry.

Social Organization and Social Customs

596 616 622 791 554 Economically the family hunting group is the basic unit, as has been shown in the previous chapter. In social matters, however, it is the moiety. Each family hunting group recognizes a headman and each moiety recognizes a chief who in all cases is the shaman. Both of these positions of authority are acquired only through personal merit. There is no inheritance of chieftainship or shamanism. If the nephew of a headman shows ability he may inherit his uncle's position, and theoretically this is the scheme. In natural practices we find that not only the Yaruros but perhaps a great many other primitive peoples are very realistic and are loath to give authority to an individual whose personality does not stand for leadership.

616 428 Every Yaruro is born in either the "Itciai" or "Puaná" moiety. Descent, with its social affinities, prerogatives, and obligations, being traced through the female line, the child belongs to its mother's moiety. Nothing is inherited from the father, who belongs to the other moiety, except obligations.

616 773 There is a legend among the Yaruros that two young men not finding any marriageable girls among their own people mated with the Jaguar and with the Snake. From these two unions are descended the two moieties. Since only among animals do brothers and sisters mate it has become a rule that two descendants of the Jaguar, "Itciai", cannot marry with each other; nor can two descendants of the Snake, "Puaná", marry with each other. They must seek a mate from the other group. Thus an "Itciai" must always marry a "Puaná", and vice versa. Cross-cousin marriage solves this problem.

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In this system, therefore, a man's children belong to his wife's moiety, from which he is socially excluded. His sister's children, on the other hand, are socially close to him since they too inherit moiety membership from their mother which is the same as his own. Deprived of his own children to carry on his traditions, a man looks to his sister's children to take their place. It is his nephews who will help him in hunting, who will come to his defence, who will take care of him in old age. As if in payment of such attention he gives them his daughters in marriage. Thus his sisters' sons become his sons-in-law.

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621 596 Yaruro society is built around the hunting group, which in numbers is never stable. The hunt and the gathering of food such as roots and fruits calls for a certain amount of cooperative effort, but

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

SHAMANISM

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Prerequisites to successful shamanism are temperament, knowledge, and experience. It has often been stressed by field investigators that in matters of religion, as in matters of artistic expression, only certain types of personalities can achieve any success. In the case of the Yaruros, by temperament is meant the inclination and desire to become a shaman which perhaps is reducible to other factors of personality, and a neurotic make-up which will permit the tyro to experience religious phenomena. Since there is no set test which has to be passed in order to be recognized as a shaman the pretender can try to achieve recognition by his people until his very death, but if he lacks the necessary temperament his attempt is hopeless. A

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shaman must have knowledge above that of his fellow tribesmen. He must know and understand thoroughly the history of his people and their mythology, he must be able to solve and settle ethical points that may come up on the basis of ancestral customs, he must know all the medicinal practices of his people, and the magical also. In short, he must be a savant and a leader, a person who will be morally respected. This knowledge he can acquire only through experience. The Yaruros say that he must acquire it through personal teaching from the gods, not through an intermediary but in actuality he learns, of course, from the older shamans whose place he will take eventually and from the rest of his people. He is supposed to sing behind a shaman for many years before he can hold performances of his own.

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He must, of course, learn all the tricks of the trade, though by this is not implied that the shaman is conscious of practicing any legerdemain among his people, but there is a certain ceremonial pattern which must be mastered by the neophyte and which can only be mastered by practice over a long period of time. For instance, in singing there are undoubtedly a number of standardized songs, but what is more important is to learn the musical pattern and the pattern of phraseology that must be fitted to the music. Since in a shamanistic performance the shaman does not sing set songs but spontaneous ones which he composes, or as the Yaruros claim the gods compose, and sing through the shaman, it is essential that he have many years of experience. The importance of this is fully understood when it is considered that the shaman must sing without any pause or hesitation some six thousand stanzas in the course of a night's performance, varying his tune and words again and again. It seems reasonable to suppose that there must be form given to such performances which can be mastered by one following closely the performances of a particular shaman.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

791 Shamanism is not socially inherited, but we may suspect that biologically it is in many cases. There is no attempt made to train any particular child for shamanism except that naturally those children who stand in a close relationship to the current shaman, such as sons, daughters, neices, and nephews, have a better chance to take up the profession than others, from their daily close association with the only person from whom they can learn. The performances are never secret and the children are permitted to be present until they are too tired and go to sleep. As they grow older they will tend to participate in the performances to a greater extent until they are able to stay up all night and take their proper place in adult society. Naturally among the children some will be attracted to singing and dancing with their elders more than others and these will tend to place themselves as close to the shaman as they can until they are of such age that they can be of actual assistance to him, when, if they make known their interest in becoming a shaman they may even become his understudies or disciples. One of them who shows the greatest interest and the greatest ability in singing, in remembering details and dancing, and a shamanistic temperament will always take his place behind the shaman and will take the lead in repeating the stanzas of the songs composed by him. Gradually he may attempt 791 554 shamanistic performances of his own and gather followers as he is successful in obtaining religious experience. It is not uncommon to see a young man sitting on the sands facing east and to the east of the camp, at night, singing to himself and alone. Sometimes he has one or two others singing behind him, depending on his prestige. It is, of course, his great hope that some day he will be so successful as to win the approbation and confidence of the people, which will depend on his success with the gods themselves.

791 787 157 The shaman must be a rather highly imaginative type. The only way he can impress his people with his knowledge and experience is to visit and see the abode of the gods and ancestors and to be able to describe these in words and in song and graphically with etchings on gourd rattles, so that unless the performer is of such a temperament that he can live through such experiences he can never become a shaman. Nor is there any opportunity for the one who will pretend having had such experiences, for naturally tribal tradition patterns are a constant check on him and his visions must necessarily conform to those had by other shamans; nor can he pretend to have visions of the particular type since he has the entire body of people as his severe critics and any inconsistency will be immediately seen to his discredit. Actually, I do not think there is ever any pretense. In the first place, we must remove the suggestion that there is material gain to flow from attaining the position of shaman. The shaman is an

1: Petrullo E-8 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

ordinary citizen, receiving no compensation except the respect given to an old man and a moral teacher. In the second place, shamanism is a lifetime activity, and it would seem improbable that one would create such a life for himself which he would have to live until death if he were not suited to it. I saw cases of men who were striving to be shamans, some young and some old, with great regret admitting that they could not see the religious visions that others more successful had seen. In a primitive society such as that of the Yaruros, where life values are simple and evident to every one, where the intimacy existing between its members is thorough, there is very little incentive and very little opportunity for pretense.

Landaeta, my chief informant among the shamans, claimed that he did not remember the specific events that he "dreams" when he sang and that he could not sing during the day, nor could he remember the songs. He himself had to be told by the others what happened during a shamanistic performance. Thus he could tell me neither the words nor the tunes. I had to wait for another performance to try to take down both. Since the words were conversations between the shaman and the spirit forces, and thus varied at each performance, he was right. Yet there is a musical pattern and undoubtedly a word pattern also.

In the matter of making the sacred objects, he claimed that only those who have "dreamed", have had religious experience, can make them. Thus he himself was carving the rattles, and claimed that no one else among his people could carve them. Some, like his nephew and son-in-law Juan Garcia, were learning.

At Landaeta's death probably the shaman will be either Brigido Tovar, his son, or Juan Garcia, his nephew and son-in-law. Legend favors the son, but Landaeta looks to Garcia. However, it is the son who sang behind the shaman in this case, but Garcia has had religious experiences already.

Landaeta himself claims that he sang behind his uncle for a long time without a moracca. Finally he had a "dream" and he was permitted to use a moracca. This religious experience is absolutely necessary to a future shaman.

That the shaman follows certain patterns of song, ritual, dream, and revelation is quite certain, and it is these patterns that are transmitted to the neophyte. Both dreams and revelations always have some bearing on current problems, and in fact attempt to solve these problems.

During a shamanistic performance the first songs describe the journey of the shaman's soul to the Land of Kuma. Upon reaching the desired land the shaman shakes his rattle violently and the songs

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 791 with the stamping of the right foot on the off-beat, but whenever the shaman is giving a really good performance his whole body responds to the dance and he may shake as violently as the rattle in his hand. His people may also throw themselves into a dance, making a series of jerky movements, bending from the waist downward and up again.

533 539 One of the typical songs of Kuma was a greeting to me. She said:

> Greetings, man, greetings. Your wife is waiting. She is not dead, nor is she sick, but she is thinking that her husband has been away so long that perhaps he is dead. She is good and loves her husband who is sick, which is good. But it is good that he is with me (Kuma speaking) and with my people. He is a good man. He gives me a cigar. I shall give him a horse when he is born again in my (Kuma) land. I shall give him much silver when he is born again in Kuma Land. I love him, the good man, and I shall love him in my land. In the other land, my land, he gave me drink like you my people. Like you my people, everyone will come to my land, the Yaruro land.

FEMALE SHAMANISM

791 787 554 776 It proved impossible to learn much about those things in which the women are chiefly or exclusively interested. The shamans seem to be as influential among both sexes as the men are, and they seem to acquire their power and prestige through dreams or revelations in the same way as the male shamans do. In the case of the women it seems that India Rosa must appear in a dream rather than Kuma. In the legends it is India Rosa who taught the women the various arts and crafts, so in shamanism she is the chief spiritual power. During the day, both Kuma and India Rosa are pictured as resting in their hammocks. Because of that the women shamans sing sitting in their hammocks, swaying back and forth, during the day. Apparently it is believed that by imitating the picture of Kuma and India Rosa they can reach the two spiritual forces more easily. These shamans never perform at night, although they will sing with the male shaman when the latter is giving a performance.

535 791 534 The gourd rattle seems to be an instrument which only the shamans can use with immunity and as a means of conversing with Kuma. The women do not have these rattles. Their singing is done unaccompanied by any musical instrument or by any dancing. Dancing is performed only at night, when it is led by the male shaman.

609 123 The nature of the visions experienced by the female shamans remained unknown to me. As has been mentioned before, social intercourse between man and woman, unless closely related by blood or marriage, is prohibited. It is a social taboo which apparently is never violated and which no amount of bribery could break down. It seemed best to respect this custom, even though it were at the expense of remaining ignorant of many phases of Yaruro culture practiced by the women. So, in the case of shamanism, although the

622 [191 177] Most direct commands, in so far as I was able to observe, were made in Spanish![4] — essentially in acculturation contexts. In general, they concerned village care, small services, and the like. No occasion was observed of commanding older men, except for a married youth of 19, who was the youngest adult male in the village. The two or three commands [illegible] received during my stay went unnoticed, and, in one or two instances, were even directly contravened. The capitans of the Cinaruco river group and of Palmarito de Guachara both consistently complained that no one paid enough attention to them, and the Palmarito chief complained that he never was kept [571] sufficiently informed of events by his people. The fact is that people do pretty much as they choose in all important decision-making situations which do not involve the community at large, or the relationship of some member of the community or the entire group to outsiders.[5] In the former situation, the chief serves as a consultative funnel through which the community discussion pours back and forth until the community achieves some clear but unstated consensus upon which 622 community members can act, individually of course. Only in the situations dealing 648 with outside groups does the Yaruro capitanship emerge as a more developed [554] status which might metaphorically be described as a position similar to that of a minister of foreign relations. In behalf of his group, he talks with any representatives of outside groups, especially if they are non-Yaruro, and acts as gatherer of information and as channel of communication between the community and the outside entity. Even this is weakened, however, since it applies more by courtesy than by fact among the Yaruro themselves, and other members of the community may perform the same function even if to a somewhat smaller degree. It is also weakened in that no Yaruro is prevented from acting on his own with respect to non-Yaruro outsiders, and, in fact, many Yaruro do establish their own relationships with outsiders as a number of instances attested. Indeed, the rights of the individual members of the society to make their own decisions, at least internally if not also [682] externally, is insisted on. In one instance, a chief who took it upon himself to

[4] Commands and other stress situations, which generally appear to be uncongenial to the Yaruro and more overt as the people have been more subject to acculturation, seem to elicit from the Yaruro Spanish responses rather than Yaruro ones. It is as though it [578] were not fitting to utter commands or express anger in Yaruro. Thus, the few times [152] noisy altercation was heard among the Cinaruco Yaruro, the language used was Spanish. [191] The chief's commands and his overt anger were always expressed in Spanish, even if he had just before been speaking in Yaruro. Though anger may often be felt, it is not shown if the participants are expressing themselves in Yaruro. Thus, the chief scolded one of the village boys for riding one of the recently acquired burros — in Spanish; he ordered a 19-year old young man to do some task — in Spanish; he complained of the actions of one of the village elders in taking on the job of guide without first consulting him (though he would certainly have permitted it) — in Spanish.

[5] Cf. Leeds, 1960 a, with respect to the place of individual action in Yaruro society. [181 114] Though there is individual action, choice, and responsibility, these are all carried out as an aspect of community organization and essentially with community affirmation. A person is not an individual set in counterpoint to his society — there is no polarity of individual-society, as we, in our culture, generally seem to conceive. Individualism in the latter sense does not exist among the Yaruro. The Yaruro should not be mistaken for an individualistic culture, as, I suspect, several of the cultures described as individualistic in Mead, 1937, should not have been.

represent his people to the outside world without consultation and to make arbitrary decisions for them inside the community — mainly in his own interest — was, with the consent of the community, assassinated by one of the members, now in excellent standing in that community as a respected shaman. The chief in question had stepped beyond the bounds designated for his status. In sum, the position of chief, even though formally recognized by Yaruro society and reinforced by formal recognition and appointment by Venezuelan authorities, is feeble as an institution and as a status.[6] It is our hypothesis that ecological conditions of Yaruro life determine the form of the chieftainship in such a way that its stronger institutionalization would be impossible, and we turn to this question now.

III

Yaruro subsistence activities[7] comprise swiddening, gathering, pig herding, hunting and fishing, mentioned in the order of their importance as contributors to the total food supply as measured in calories.[8] Horticulture probably provides 60—70% of the total annual food supply. The horticulture practiced is characteristic of tropical forest slash-and-burn gardens, with a slow rotation of plots in order to permit soil renewal and weed control. Trees are cut, at present with steel axes and formerly, apparently, with axes of bone or shell, and then burnt. Occasional fences are roughly made of the logs to keep out pigs. Bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*),[9] in several varieties, is the main crop, though sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*), also in several varieties, is planted too, as are corn, bananas, sugar cane — each in several varieties — and a number of lesser crops such as melons, squashes, pumpkins, pineapples, sweet potatoes, and yautia or ocumo (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*). Crops are planted with a digging stick which may also be used in harvesting. Gardens are weeded, once only, early in the growth of the crops. Other than clearing, the only soil preparation is the construction of hills for planting bananas. This is done by burning hills made by a certain species of ants (*huachaquero*). The hills, which are quite wide and low, are filled with organic matter enriching the soil.[10] Harvesting is aided with baskets for carrying the crops. Baskets contain about half a bushel or less. No fertilization, no terracing, no drainage, no irrigation, no extensive turning of the soil is done.

The gathered resources include a number of roots, particularly changuango, changuanito, and guapo (*Maranta arundinacea*);[11] varied fruits, especially that of

[6] Professor Benjamin N. Nelson informs me that in medieval Spain, village communities had an official, also called *capitan*, whose function was to treat with state functionaries representing the world beyond the village community's frontier. It is possible that the Yaruro capitan, and many others in Venezuela, are an acculturative transfer of this office to tribal groups. In the case of the Yaruro, this would have happened some 250—300 years ago.

[7] The use, here, of the terms 'activity', 'tasks', 'techniques', 'tools', 'resources', and 'habitat' corresponds to the definitions given in Leeds, 1960 b.

[8] Cf. Leeds, 1961, which gives this data in detail and describes the habitat and horticulture *in extenso*.

[9] Native terms for these crops are given *ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, note 9, contains data on soil values.

[11] Identifications are from Pittier, 1926.

and then shooting into the still side pools of a stream into which he has driven a post with bait attached. He may also stand in a canoe to shoot. It is reported, though I have not myself seen it, that barbasco (*Jacquinia revoluta* or *mucronulata*) poison is used by some Yaruro.[12] No nets, weirs, traps, sweeps, or artificial fish pools are used.

Given the techniques and tools of the Yaruro, all the subsistence activities described can conveniently be done by one person. Some *must* be done by one person only, since the tools and techniques themselves do not permit two or more persons to operate jointly. As it were, the logic of the tools and techniques concerned demands utilization by single persons.[13] Some of the tools and techniques might conveniently involve two or more persons, e. g. lashing tree trunks together to make a fence or cornering a capybara, but do not definitively *require* more than one person. Activities of all sorts may be done by aggregates of persons, each utilizing his own tools and techniques individually but neither the activity, the tools nor the techniques entail the aggregation of individuals. Thus, from the point of view of human organization, the technology, by itself, entails no managerial functions, no coordination of tasks which must be overseen by someone occupying an appropriately defined status.[14] That is, there are no technologically determined positions of leadership in Yaruro society. Further, the technology as such entails no significant cooperation in work organization, even when this is convenient, and correspondingly, no standard work groups or management functions, as represented in some defined status, for facilitating cooperation are to be expected or to be found. In fact, Yaruro technology and resource distribution are such as to elicit considerable dispersion of activities and actors at any given time of work, and to inhibit the development of rank and the personal acquisition of superordinating prestige.

IV

We may now examine the habitat aspect of the ecological relationship. A clearly marked annual cycle occurs in the Yaruro habitat.[15] However, despite a sharp seasonal change from heavy rains up to 60 inches in one half of the year to almost

[12] Personal communication from Mr. Thomas Rootes who has studied Yaruro linguistics for a number of months, having visited several groups.

[13] Different kinds of tools require different kinds of organization. A simple hand saw can be used by only one person at a time. A logging saw, though it can awkwardly be used by one person, is surely best used by two persons. Certain other saws, e. g. jig saws, make up one of a series of machine processes on a single part of a product, the entire series being the unit of operation which requires a still more complex level of organization. Cf. Leeds, 1960 b.

[14] For the structure of argument which is involved here, see Leeds, 1960 b.

[15] 'Habitat' here refers to all physical objects and conditions of the environment which are relevant to the existence or production of resources as defined by the culture. For the most part, then, 'habitat' refers to those environmental conditions such as humidity, temperature, insolation, rainfall, etc., which affect the food supply, as well as the food and water available for animals and plants and other culturally relevant physical objects. By extension, it refers to daily, seasonal, annual, and long-term variations and cycles in the various relevant factors of the environment, whether climatic, geologic, or biotic, which affect any of these supplies.

Gathered resources are found near the streams in marshy places where the moriche palm grows, and to a lesser extent in the savannas.[17] The dry season resources are also distributively located though the pattern is somewhat different. Quanta of production from these resources at any one time are rarely great. The larder, as it were, must be filled from a number of sources at once, even though one crop, particularly bitter manioc, and occasionally sweet manioc and corn, may rise briefly to as much as 50 or 60% of the food supply. Thus the available quanta of resources and their distribution at given moments in time are such as to demand a distributive form of labor organization: workers, as individuals or in very small groups, must go off in different directions at the same time. The obverse of this, of course, is that no sizable or permanent working groups are to be expected and none in fact occur. Further, because a dispersion of the labor force and a constant flux in the constitution of work groups is entailed by the relationships between the technology and the habitat, organized and permanent managerial functions can scarcely occur, and no fixed status with significant managerial powers would be expected. The observed data of leadership among the Yaruro and many other tribes in South America and other parts of the world, such as Melanesia, having fundamentally similar ecologies, corresponds precisely with what one is led to expect logically from the form of the ecology.

The absolute size of work groups achievable in the Yaruro habitat is limited not only by the dispersed locations and temporal harvest patterns of resources, but also by the absolute productivity of the ecology. If one calculates the distribution per land area of those calories potentially convertible to human energy, the rate of calories per unit of land surface is so low that even at maximum utilization only a very low population density of about 2 persons per square mile would be possible. If concentrated in the center of an effective walking distance for exploiting resources of, say, six miles radius from a village, with a resultant total area of about 110 square miles, there would be about 220 souls. Of these, perhaps 70% (all persons over age 10), at maximum, might constitute the labor force, i. e. 154 adults and older children. The actual conditions are, of course, much more limiting, since the efficiency of the technology is such that it cannot exploit the totality of calories potentially available for conversion to human energy at any one time.[18] The actually harvested calories are considerably less, though I have no estimates as to how much less. Let us estimate half, or enough to support one person per square mile, that is, 110 persons. With a somewhat smaller per cent of the population available for the labor force, say 60% of the 110, the force would have only about 67 persons at most. This appears to be a reasonable number for the Cinaruco Yaruro groups, although due to depopulation from disease and mas-

[17] *Ibid.*, Map I.
[18] *Ibid.*, Map II.
[19] For example, all the fish available in the streams at a given time cannot be caught. More could be caught with an improved technology, such as the use of fish traps, weirs, or fish poisons, which, as we have said, are absent from the technology of the Cinaruco Yaruro. Density of fish, or any other biotic population, can be estimated (cf. Dice, 1952, Ch. IV), and then compared with rates of harvesting. Furthermore, it should be noted that often the totality of an actually harvested resource may not be available. For example, in

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make it usable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses. [461]

Objects used by men are men's property and are inherited by the men; objects used by women are women's property and are inherited in the women's line. Immovable property such as gardens and houses are said to be inherited by the decedent's children of both sexes. Male animals, such as boars and dogs, are owned by men, the females by women. Thus the division of property is as sharp as the division of labor, a fact reflected throughout the ideology. 428 [422] [231]

No two producers produce the same quantity or inventory of goods, especially as each has great freedom to concentrate in the productive activities he prefers to the exclusion of others. Yet each producer contributes to household and community in what is felt to be equivalent value since most foods are considered good and of equal worth. Each household producing unit distributes supplies of raw or cooked foods to other households along the lines of coresidence and kinship. In this way, all villagers, as consumers, receive the same total amount of food and no one goes without. Thus all persons and households in the community are equivalent as producers, distributers, and consumers. All are tied together in a loosely formalized network of coordinate reciprocal exchanges and obligations in which scales of value are not necessary, since each person contributes approximately equally of all values. In this situation, accumulation of wealth by individuals is out of the question and management of production or of wealth distribution is unnecessary. Consequently, there are no economic status differentiations and no effective leadership among the Yaruro. 433 592 621 [435] [556] [554] [622]

Similarly, no purely social differentiations based on status ranking occur in Yaruro society, except by casual deference to those of age and experience like shamans and village spokesmen, called 'capitans'. The status of women is coordinate with that of men. The complementary and coordinate units, a man and a woman, combine into a series of coordinate but semi-autonomous units, the households. A group of these constitute the Yaruro social unit, the neither endogamous nor exogamous (Murdock's "agamous") village. All these units are tied together by links of bilaterally traced kinship, with coordinate relations on both sides, the ultimate tie being the reciprocal marriage of cross-cousins. Marriage is ideally matrilocal, and occurs most frequently within the village. As a consequence, the most immediate kinship ties in the village are matrilateral, whereas kinship among the men is more diffuse. The villages themselves are tied together by kinship ties, real or imputed, as well as by marriage and visiting, but by no other ties of an all-tribal nature. People who are known to any particular village —to 'us'— are considered part of our village's family, since their kinship ties to our members can be discovered or invented freely. Persons recognized as being of our linguistic and cultural stock will be included under the general term *pumé*, but may not be considered 'of our family' unless the kinship ties are recognized. Thus there is a Yaruro people, but no Yaruro tribal unit. Even the persons included in 'our family' do not constitute a unit, since there are no cross village unifying institutions other than real or imputed bilateral kinship ties. Even these vary from 554 621 [562] [592] 621 [612] [602] [619] [612]

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

the community may do the shaman's work if he chooses, just as any can travel to the other-world or commune with the gods, although, because of age, temperament, or individual taste, not every one does so. There were, in fact, two shamans among the nine men of the writer's village, as well as a number of men who cured and who occasionally sang verse intonations in the *tonghés* although they were not shamans. The shamans are no more than respected community members outside the ceremony. Here again we observe the egalitarianism and individual self-determinism which is so much a pattern of this culture.

The *tonghé* also clearly shows the relationships which prevail between men and gods. The shamans and the other adults of the village converse with the gods in great mutual respect. They do not manipulate them nor minister to them, nor implore them. Before the gods, they are in a position corresponding to active and adept junior members of the village before their elders and especially their lineal ascendants. Furthermore, in a very real sense, no individual person, *qua* person, deals with the gods. The community, with its religious catalyst, the shaman, is the unit of action. The only individual relations with the gods occur in dreams, unconsciousness, and death. Dreams about gods are made public by singing aloud in sleep, the experience of unconsciousness is recounted publicly, and death, too, becomes public because the dead man is accessible through the *tonghés*.

The directness of contact between man and gods again emphasizes the unity of cosmos, society, and man. Within this unity, the sharp division of a male sphere from a female sphere is found. These quite coordinate spheres, in the other-worlds as in the hither-world, in religion as in socio-economic life, are linked through the household.

In conclusion, I would like briefly to review the major dimensions of Yaruro ideology. We may state these as a set of propositions, each presenting a major dimension of the ideology.

1. Cosmic structure. *The cosmos is static, limited, concrete, and internally continuous in that no barriers separate man and his society in the physical world from the nonphysical world.* The parts of the universe together form a rather rigid, symmetrical, architectonic structure, although each individual Yaruro may vary the description of the whole to suit his particular taste. All parts are of roughly coordinate importance. The major motions of nature, such as thunder and lightning, the revolutions of sun and moon, are often embodied, personalized, and independently operating entities, moved by semi-human motivations.

2. The good. *Goodness inheres generally in the cosmos as a system. The goodness manifests itself in understood causes and concretely and describably known parts of the cosmos which, whether places, persons, or things, are given exact locations.* Conversely all known and localizable objects, persons, or places and understood causes are generally good.

3. The not-good. *Evil, which is not polar to good, finds its locus in specific persons, things, or events inside or outside the cosmos, and is manifest in specific results. The underlying causes of evil, however, are inac-*

6:Le Besnerais--13k E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
U	?	Lagunota	Traversed by Raymond Fiasson (36) in 36. See "infra" IV List...21 and 22. Nov./Dec. 1946. At sources of the Náure.
V	?	?	On the Caño Amarillo
W	Alfonso (reputed a thief)	Ceiba	At sources of the Macanillita
Between the Capanaparo and Riecito Rivers:			
X	Nicolás	?	On the right bank of the Capanaparo between communities No. 22 and 23.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Y	Padrón (reputed a thief)	?	At the sources of the Caño Perro de Agua.
Z	?	Moriche	Near a lagoon and not far from community no. 28.
Between the Riecito and Cinaruco Rivers:			
AA	Pablo and José Losa Cardona (other name cited: Leyi)	Reicero	On a dune located at the sources of the Cinarucquito, the Cinaruco, or the Riecito, or near the Cinaruquito and 1/2 day's travel on foot from the right bank of the Riecito or one day by canoe (up to the Paso Reicero) from the Boca del Riecito.
AB	Nicolás	?	

6:Le Besnerais--13L E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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mother's and sister's households, nevertheless hunted and harvested for himself, and often cooked for himself meals of the type ordinarily cooked only by women. 462 463

The forms and characteristics of surpluses, as defined by Harris,[16] shed further light on the structure of the ecology. The technological surplus, defined as the difference between total calories annually produced by any definable group and the calories used to produce them, or as the ratio between these two figures, may be estimated at about 8 or 9 to 1 as compared with Harris's estimated figures of 2:1 for the Sirionó or 33:1 for the Pencuyut Maya.[17] Since as Harris remarks, the degree of social stratification in a large number of cases correlates with the size of the technological surplus, we would scarcely expect to find social stratification among the Yaruro, nor even any significant ranking. Where the technological surplus is low, the producer's surplus, defined as the difference between total calories produced by any given group and the total calories used by the producers for all purposes must also be low. Therefore the number of persons other than producers who can be supported by the producers is also limited. The producers' surplus may provide an index of the degrees of specialization which might be expected. In the case of the Yaruro one would expect no, or very low, specialization. Again, with a low producers' surplus, one would expect to find a greater proportion of the group involved in production than where such surpluses are high, for otherwise there would be insufficient calories to support more than a few people other than the producers. With a low producers' surplus, one would expect, in general, to find a greater proportion of both sexes engaged in the food quest. This is, of course, born out in the case of the Yaruro. Finally, Harris's harvest surplus is defined as the difference between the amount produced at any given moment, especially at seasonal maxima, and the amount consumed at that time. The actual amount consumable is governed by the seasonal *minima*, since the population cannot rise higher than the food supply at minimum periods permits unless special technological features such as storage, are present. Where the harvest surpluses are of non-storable goods, the population level is in equilibrium with the absolute minima of the harvests. The greater the degree of storability through a nonproductive season, or the less marked a crop is by seasonality, the higher the level to which the minimum population can be raised as compared with the number of people supportable at levels of production comparable to those at the time of harvest. Storability, however, is only one dimension of the harvest surplus. Absolute size of the peak surpluses, their regularity over the years, their distribution in space and time in the annual cycle, their utility in raw form, and the proportion of labor needed to harvest them relative to the time allotted for the harvest are all important dimensions of the harvest surplus. Thus, manioc, the Yauro's chief food resource has no clear peak, is regular over the years (the Yaruro disclaim any famines), is storable both in raw form and in prepared forms, is, in the case of the Yaruro, so located as not to permit of a concentration of labor at any one time and needs no massive labor for harvesting because of short harvest periods. Thus, in general, the very nature of manioc as a crop, and the labor requisites for

121 433 182 [56] [463] [462] [262] [251] [241]

16, 17 [For footnotes see p. 43, category 116--Analyst]

121 182 433 [241] [22] harvesting it, require no centralized authority and render it possible and even probable that the management of production or distribution be carried on without it. The same may be said, on the whole, for all the hunting, fishing, and gathering harvests, a notable and probably permanent feature of Yaruro ecology. Perhaps the only crop which has a marked seasonality is corn, but its absolute size in the total production, its geographical distribution in production, and its position relative to all other harvests renders it insignificant as an effective promoter of managerial functions and formal arrangements of social stratification. It is unlikely, given Yaruro ecology that the forms of surplus would change; consequently their concomitants in social structure would remain constant. ●[56]

On the basis of the formal characteristics of the ecology and of the surpluses one may deduce an essentially egalitarian social organization, with minimal ranking and leadership and with dispersion of the acts of [56] economic distribution among a number of adult males or females any one of [462] whom may produce a small harvest surplus at any time. With a relatively steady and reasonably comfortable total subsistence base, and with ecological arrangements which are spatially repeated in identical form up 182 and down river, no necessity exists for stringent rules of local exogamy [582] as an institution to regulate the labor force by redistributing its members. One would expect frequent marrying in the village according to the convenience of the contractants, and out-marriages to occur either as economic opportunity offered elsewhere or lack of women at home urged one out. The [562] combined biological and productive role of women, with their particularly important technical roles in gathering and in food preparation, suggest sedentary communities and a matrifocal emphasis in the rules of residence. However, the importance and location of the men's economic contribution [591] might be expected to balance this to a degree so that one might deduce male uxorimatrilocal residence but with other, subsidiary patterns. This in fact occurs, occasional male matrilocality or patrilocality [17] comprising the subsidiary residence rules. Political authority would be vested [623] in the community, mainly among its elders, since little or no ranking or stratification is to be expected. In fact, Yaruro socio-political forms, in general, conform to all of these deduced conditions. They represent a model for any society based on the kinds of ecological conditions or form of ecology we have described. Where the ecology is even more restricted the deduced characteristics should be matched even more closely by the observed data. In this respect, the Sirionó, for example, tend to confirm the hypo- [171] thesis, in that their partial sedentariness which revolves about horticulture is associated with matrifocal social organization: matrilocality and matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. They also possess autonomous local communities. [17] The Apinayé also tend to confirm the hypothesis. [20]

Where our analysis permits us to predict about the course of the ecological conditions, we should also be able to extend this prediction to the social structure. Since, under the given ecology, we can establish a maximum population for each Yaruro socio-cultural unit, and under the given technology we would expect no significant change in the ecology, no significant

[18,19,20 For footnotes see pp. 43-44 category 116 --Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19 sia RC1

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where they believe their gods live. It was only when the sun began to burn our bodies that they approached me to chat. They expressed their concern over my illness and soon busied themselves to make me as comfortable as possible. While I distributed among them a few presents bought for them in Urbana, and turned all of the food over to Landaeta, the younger men were busy building a sun shelter, an arbor of the sweet-smelling guava bush, though for themselves they had only branches thrust into the sands, giving only a thin shade. From now on, I was completely in their care, and they were careful nurses and tender friends. The best of the hunt was mine, and even the women delighted in taking care of my clothing, and in bringing me delicacies.

They were glad to see me, and the women shamans soon began their chants while the men surrounded me and told me in their own language and in broken Spanish what had occurred the previous night. [562] Men are prohibited from singing during the day, but the women sit in swinging hammocks and chant their songs. I learned, too, that Landaeta's daughter had not died, for there she was, grateful and shyly looking at me, completely well. They attributed her cure to me, though I was not at all responsible for it. During the night, they told me, the gods had come among us, and told them that I, too, was one of Kuma's children, and again they insisted that I was related to them.

I learned that Puaná and Itciai are cocreators with Kuma, the mother goddess, and they are directly responsible for the actual creation of the world. Hatchawa, in the form of a litttle boy, is another god who has given mankind fire, the bow and arrow, and many other blessings. Now, when the shaman sings at night his soul leaves his body and travels to the land of Kuma, leaving his body behind. The gods may come then, enter his body in the form of songs, and transmit their messages to the Yaruros. They had come the night before to greet me and to reassure my friends of my goodness and my own powers of shamanism.

We sat, smoked, and talked all day. In the afternoon we feasted on crocodile, turtle eggs, wild roots, palm nuts, and honey. Finishing our dinner, we sat quietly facing the west, watching the skies. As the sun set low again, rays of gold, blue, and white shot into the sky from the horizon, and my friends rejoiced at this certain greeting of Kuma to us.

Darkness came upon us, and in anticipation of a long night of singing and dancing—I could sing but could not dance, since I could not stand up—I lay on the sands to rest before the beginning of the ceremonies. but the skies interested the Yaruros and they came to tell me what they read there. The brightness of the stars and the changing

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

593 The sense of strict inviolability of personal rights carries over to personal services. Never did a husband order his wife to do anything outside of her proper domain. While I lived with them, in spite of the excellent care they gave me, even to the point of anticipating my wishes in a great many cases, never did a husband request his wife to prepare food for me. He asked her if she would, acting merely as my messenger. 604 No closer relationship can exist than between maternal uncle and nephew, yet even he does not feel free to ask any service of his nephew, nor to take the latter's personal property.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 Sexual dichotomy in economic activities is clearly defined. In a general way, it may be said that the rougher, harder, and more dangerous work belongs in the province of male activity and that there is no task which calls for strength or danger that properly belongs in the realm of woman's activity. Should any woman be engaged in a hard or dangerous piece of work and a man happens to be present there is a tacit assumption of the task by the latter. Hunting and fishing and presumably the act of fighting in war are man's tasks. The gathering of roots, fruits, seed, and their preparation belongs to the women. [222] It is interesting to note that the gathering of honey, which entails some risk, is done by the men. The making of canoes, the making of implements, of hammocks, the activities in making camp are all in man's domain. The preparation of food and the making of pottery and basketry are woman's tasks.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 Hunting and fishing are male occupations exclusively. As soon as 868 the young boy is able to toddle about he is made to play with bow 857 and arrow and learns to make these indispensable tools. It is a common sight to see little boys who are too young to be taken along by the men on hunting expeditions playing at the game of hunting; and when a man is in camp busily preparing his hunting equipment his young son is by his side working industriously on miniature bows and arrows.

225 The equipment of the hunter is simple. Bow, arrow, and canoe are 411 indispensable. A Yaruro does not like to roam on land, but there 501 is no need for him to do so since he can get his game in the watercourses or along their banks. So he sets off in the early morning, generally accompanied by his hunting companion, to look for crocodile (*Crocodilus babu*). He will hunt for other forms of life only reluctantly, having a special liking for crocodile meat.

Because of the shyness of crocodile the hunter is most often forced to shoot at it from a distance. Since an arrow will seldom kill one

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

291 177 after I had been among the Yaruros for a time the women often discarded their camisoles, even though I were present.

291 286 462 The men would normally wear a breechclout which originally was woven by the women from the fibers of the moriche palm leaf, but now it consists of a piece of cloth. Formerly the women wove wide belts of the same fiber for the men, but this is no longer done. The breechclout is held in place by a string tied around the waist.

291 287 The women, underneath their camisoles, still wear the old-fashioned Yaruro girdle, which is made from the fibers of the moriche palm. The fibers, which are about 2 feet long, are fastened together at one end. This end is slipped through a hair rope tied around the waist, and the whole mass of fibers passes between their legs and under the waist string. Plate 25, 4, shows a Yaruro woman wearing one of these girdles. It is fastened in such a way that an enormous knot is formed in the rear, and when wearing their camisole the women have the appearance of sporting large tails.

562 291 301 The women on the whole seem to be more conservative than the men in their clothing and body decorations. Below the knees and around the ankles they wear a thin string, and often they have necklaces of carved asabache figures, which are shown in plate 21.

DELOUSING TOOL

412 515 An implement that is in great vogue is the delousing tool shown in plate 20, 2. The serrated end is used as a comb to expose the lice, which are seized between the fingers and crushed between the teeth. The pointed end is employed to crush blisters raised on the body by mosquito bites. These tools, also fashioned by the men, are used exclusively by the women to groom their menfolk and each other.

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CARRYING NETS

482 286 854 Carrying nets, of the knotless variety, are woven and used to carry children and food. When carrying children the net is slung across the chest from one shoulder; when carrying food it is supported by the head.

COOKING

252 462 The culinary art among the Yaruro is poorly developed. Much of the fruit and the eggs are eaten raw. Fish is eaten half raw and the meat of the crocodiles and turtles is merely warmed over the fire. Sometimes the meat is boiled. In the afternoon the women who have gathered firewood are to be found in camp waiting patiently for the men. On the hot coals they will have eggs and chanchango. If the hunt is successful, and no hunt is considered

1 [see category 116, and plate 15, - - - Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Even if there were stronger interest in sex than seemed to exist, there would be little opportunity for the youngsters to indulge in any sexual relations, since their playmates tend to be parallel cousins and very often playmates are lacking altogether. In the small hunting groups often there may be only one or two unmarried young people. Under such conditions a boy would either have to seek sex relations with one of his moiety sisters or practice adultery with a woman of the opposite moiety living with his own hunting group. We may presume that neither incest nor adultery are unknown to the Yaruros. During my stay among them there was no evidence of that.

Another factor which tends to help the Yaruros live a strictly moral life is that upon reaching puberty both boys and girls marry if a mate is available, even though the wife or husband may be considerably older. Premarital romantic love life may be entirely absent on this account, but one suspects that another type of romanticism may be built on what is available. For instance, practically from babyhood the boy or girl knows whom he or she will marry and in waiting for the promised day one would suspect an emotional attitude is built up. It is certain that after marriage strong bonds of affection are developed between husband and wife. Strictly limited in choice, there can be no free play for one's desires.

In the Yaruro society prostitution is probably absent. I believe that today some degree of prostitution has been forced upon them by the peoples with whom they come in contact. Perhaps we should call it purchasing of sexual rights, with the Yaruros playing a docile if not hostile part. After all, they are forced to acquiesce in a great many practices foreign to their ideas.

The above is the sexual ambient. As a result the adults act in the following manner. Sexual intercourse is considered one of the numerous natural acts. It is not exaggerated, little talked or joked about, and judging from the sort of life they lead not over indulged in.

Among the men, woman is not discussed. Neither virtue nor sin is the subject of comment. She is let strictly alone and uncensored. Obscenity is rare.

If any homosexuality exists it must be established by inference. It is common among the hunting tribes for a man to have a companion with whom he hunts, travels, and with whom he spends most of his time. Such companionship seems to be closer before marriage than after.

I have observed two boys, unmarried because no girls were available, engaged in such acts as we are accustomed to impute to love making—holding hands, etc. Yet, lest we jump at hasty conclusions, it must be said that affection between men is demonstrated much more so than

121 182 433 [241] [22] harvesting it, require no centralized authority and render it possible and even probable that the management of production or distribution be carried on without it. The same may be said, on the whole, for all the hunting, fishing, and gathering harvests, a notable and probably permanent feature of Yaruro ecology. Perhaps the only crop which has a marked seasonality is corn, but its absolute size in the total production, its geographical distribution in production, and its position relative to all other harvests renders it insignificant as an effective promoter of managerial functions and [56] formal arrangements of social stratification. It is unlikely, given Yaruro ecology that the forms of surplus would change; consequently their concomitants in social structure would remain constant.

On the basis of the formal characteristics of the ecology and of the surpluses one may deduce an essentially egalitarian social organization, with minimal ranking and leadership and with dispersion of the acts of [56] economic distribution among a number of adult males or females any one of [462] whom may produce a small harvest surplus at any time. With a relatively steady and reasonably comfortable total subsistence base, and with ecological arrangements which are spatially repeated in identical form up 182 and down river, no necessity exists for stringent rules of local exogamy [582] as an institution to regulate the labor force by redistributing its members. One would expect frequent marrying in the village according to the convenience of the contractants, and out-marriages to occur either as ecoomic opportunity offered elsewhere or lack of women at home urged one out. The [562] combined biological and productive role of women, with their particularly important technical roles in gathering and in food preparation, suggest sedentary communities and a matrifocal emphasis in the rules of residence. However, the importance and location of the men's economic contribution might be expected to balance this to a degree so that one might deduce [591] male uxorimatrilocal residence but with other, subsidiary patterns. This in fact occurs, occasional male matrilocality or patrilocality [18] comprising the subsidiary residence rules. Political authority would be vested [623] in the community, mainly among its elders, since little or no ranking or stratification is to be expected. In fact, Yaruro socio-political forms, in general, conform to all of these deduced conditions. They represent a model for any society based on the kinds of ecological conditions or form of ecology we have described. Where the ecology is even more restricted the deduced characteristics should be matched even more closely by the observed data. In this respect, the Sirionó, for example, tend to confirm the hypo- [171] thesis, in that their partial sedentariness which revolves about horticulture is associated with matrifocal social organization: matrilocality and matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. They also possess autonomous local communities. [19] The Apinayé also tend to confirm the hypothesis. [20]

Where our analysis permits us to predict about the course of the ecological conditions, we should also be able to extend this prediction to the social structure. Since, under the given ecology, we can establish a maximum population for each Yaruro socio-cultural unit, and under the given technology we would expect no significant change in the ecology, no significant

[18,19,20 [for footnotes see pp. 43-44 category 116 --Analyst]]

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make it usable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses. [461]

Objects used by men are men's property and are inherited by the men; objects used by women are women's property and are inherited in the women's line. Immovable property such as gardens and houses are said to be inherited by the decedent's children of both sexes. Male animals, such as boars and dogs, are owned by men, the females by women. Thus the division of property is as sharp as the division of labor, a fact reflected throughout the ideology. 428 [422] [231]

No two producers produce the same quantity or inventory of goods, especially as each has great freedom to concentrate in the productive activities he prefers to the exclusion of others. Yet each producer contributes to household and community in what is felt to be equivalent value since most foods are considered good and of equal worth. Each household producing unit distributes supplies of raw or cooked foods to other households along the lines of coresidence and kinship. In this way, all villagers, as consumers, receive the same total amount of food and no one goes without. Thus all persons and households in the community are equivalent as producers, distributers, and consumers. All are tied together in a loosely formalized network of coordinate reciprocal exchanges and obligations in which scales of value are not necessary, since each person contributes approximately equally of all values. In this situation, accumulation of wealth by individuals is out of the question and management of production or of wealth distribution is unnecessary. Consequently, there are no economic status differentiations and no effective leadership among the Yaruro. 433 592 621 [435] [556] [554] [622]

Similarly, no purely social differentiations based on status ranking occur in Yaruro society, except by casual deference to those of age and experience like shamans and village spokesmen, called 'capitans'. The status of women is coordinate with that of men. The complementary and coordinate units, a man and a woman, combine into a series of coordinate but semi-autonomous units, the households. A group of these constitute the Yaruro social unit, the neither endogamous nor exogamous (Murdock's "agamous") village. All these units are tied together by links of bilaterally traced kinship, with coordinate relations on both sides, the ultimate tie being the reciprocal marriage of cross-cousins. Marriage is ideally matrilocal, and occurs most frequently within the village. As a consequence, the most immediate kinship ties in the village are matrilateral, whereas kinship among the men is more diffuse. The villages themselves are tied together by kinship ties, real or imputed, as well as by marriage and visiting, but by no other ties of an all-tribal nature. People who are known to any particular village —to 'us'— are considered part of our village's family, since their kinship ties to our members can be discovered or invented freely. Persons recognized as being of our linguistic and cultural stock will be included under the general term *pumé*, but may not be considered 'of our family' unless the kinship ties are recognized. Thus there is a Yaruro people, but no Yaruro tribal unit. Even the persons included in 'our family' do not constitute a unit, since there are no cross village unifying institutions other than real or imputed bilateral kinship ties. Even these vary from 554 621 [562] [592] 621 [612] [602] [619] [612]

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their attention. The shaman's position as link is emphasized by the fact that his wife invariably sits next to him during the *tonghés* to minister to him and to supply him cigarettes and drink. Thus, the socio-economic link of the household is also the unique link between the sexes in ceremonial life.

The various forms of socio-economic and ceremonial division of the sexes is even more remarkably underscored by the existence of female shamanism. As one might expect, shamanesses behave differently from shamans. Shamanesses sing only in the day-t'me. They, like Ku'man, sing from hammocks whereas men sing sitting on the ground or dancing. Furthermore, messages trasmitted to them from Ku'man are sent only to them, though the men hear and understand them. The men listen to these messages with care and respect and with the air that there are things to be learned from them which they would otherwise not hear. The shamanesses cannot receive male gods or their messages. Female shamanism seems to be an affirmation of the kin-bonds of the matri-centered local group as well as a means of asserting the values and rights pertaining to the women's world. The women's experience ideologically, as well as socially and biologically, is recognized as being systematically distinct from men's experience in life.

Behavior in the *tonghés* is very relaxed. Villagers laugh, joke, sleep, play, get up, walk about. Sometimes persons may even fail to attend if they have chosen to go to work the next day. The only thing explicitly forbidden, because Ku'man would consider it most indelicate, is sexual intercourse. Otherwise, the lack of formalism and freedom of individual behavior so often noted before is again found here.

The importance of the *tonghés* as the foremost way of reinforcing social relations and communal values as well as for curing is seen in several ways. First, when there has been no *tonghé* for several days, one begins to feel and hear a bruiting for *another* tonghé. It is felt that much time has elapsed since the last *tonghé*. Someone asks what's wrong that we haven't had a *tonghé* in so long. Another says we need a *tonghé*. Rumors of *tonghé* begin to be heard. By the fifth or sixth day another *tonghé* is held and community bonds are again reasserted. Again, the sexual division of labor and social life observed in the other- and hither-worlds is systematically carried through into religious observances. We have mentioned the seating of men separate from women and the separate greetings given to the gods. This theme is carried still further in the exclusive women's shamanism and the equally exclusive capacity of men to do curing, either as shamans or as purely private individuals.

The *tonghé* illuminates much about Yaruro ideology. First, shamans both male and female are not considered authorities possessed of special gifts and prerogatives who interpret lore for the entire community. Rather they are considered merely the community religious spokesmen for the public expression of community values and for curing, who, by their own choice, enjoy and are willing to undertake the long, arduous work of training and practice. They reaffirm community bonds by repeating in endless verses the precepts and knowledge contained in the Yaruro ideology. All knowledge and all experience is, at least potentially, open to all members of the community and even the private or personal experience of each is made known to all. Any member of

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

the community may do the shaman's work if he chooses, just as any can travel to the other-world or commune with the gods, although, because of age, temperament, or individual taste, not every one does so. There were, in fact, two shamans among the nine men of the writer's village, as well as a number of men who cured and who occasionally sang verse intonations in the *tonghés* although they were not shamans. The shamans are no more than respected community members outside the ceremony. Here again we observe the egalitarianism and individual self-determinism which is so much a pattern of this culture.

The *tonghé* also clearly shows the relationships which prevail between men and gods. The shamans and the other adults of the village converse with the gods in great mutual respect. They do not manipulate them nor minister to them, nor implore them. Before the gods, they are in a position corresponding to active and adept junior members of the village before their elders and especially their lineal ascendants. Furthermore, in a very real sense, no individual person, *qua* person, deals with the gods. The community, with its religious catalyst, the shaman, is the unit of action. The only individual relations with the gods occur in dreams, unconsciousness, and death. Dreams about gods are made public by singing aloud in sleep, the experience of unconsciousness is recounted publicly, and death, too, becomes public because the dead man is accessible through the *tonghés*.

The directness of contact between man and gods again emphasizes the unity of cosmos, society, and man. Within this unity, the sharp division of a male sphere from a female sphere is found. These quite coordinate spheres, in the other-worlds as in the hither-world, in religion as in socio-economic life, are linked through the household.

In conclusion, I would like briefly to review the major dimensions of Yaruro ideology. We may state these as a set of propositions, each presenting a major dimension of the ideology.

1. Cosmic structure. ***The cosmos is static, limited, concrete, and internally continuous in that no barriers separate man and his society in the physical world from the nonphysical world.*** The parts of the universe together form a rather rigid, symmetrical, architectonic structure, although each individual Yaruro may vary the description of the whole to suit his particular taste. All parts are of roughly coordinate importance. The major motions of nature, such as thunder and lightning, the revolutions of sun and moon, are often embodied, personalized, and independently operating entities, moved by semi-human motivations.

2. The good. ***Goodness inheres generally in the cosmos as a system. The goodness manifests itself in understood causes and concretely and describably known parts of the cosmos which, whether places, persons, or things, are given exact locations.*** Conversely all known and localizable objects, persons, or places and understood causes are generally good.

3. The not-good. ***Evil, which is not polar to good, finds its locus in specific persons, things, or events inside or outside the cosmos, and is manifest in specific results. The underlying causes of evil, however, are inac-***

Most direct

622 commands, in so far as I was able to observe, were made in Spanish![4] — essentially
[191 in acculturation contexts. In general, they concerned village care, small services,
177] and the like. No occasion was observed of commanding older men, except for a married youth of 19, who was the youngest adult male in the village. The two or three commands so received during my stay went unnoticed, and, in one or two instances, were even directly contravened. The capitans of the Cinaruco river group and of Palmarito de Guachara both consistently complained that no one paid enough attention to them, and the Palmarito chief complained that he never was kept
[571] sufficiently informed of events by his people. The fact is that people do pretty much as they choose, in all important decision-making situations which do not involve the community at large, or the relationship of some member of the community or the entire group to outsiders.[5] In the former situation, the chief serves as a consultative funnel through which the community discussion pours back and forth until the community achieves some clear but unstated consensus upon which
622 community members can act, individually of course. Only in the situations dealing
648 with outside groups does the Yaruro capitanship emerge as a more developed
[354] status which might metaphorically be described as a position similar to that of a minister of foreign relations. In behalf of his group, he talks with any representatives of outside groups, especially if they are non-Yaruro, and acts as gatherer of information and as channel of communication between the community and the outside entity. Even this is weakened, however, since it applies more by courtesy than by fact among the Yaruro themselves, and other members of the community may perform the same function even if to a somewhat smaller degree. It is also weakened in that no Yaruro is prevented from acting on his own with respect to non-Yaruro outsiders, and, in fact, many Yaruro do establish their own relationships with outsiders as a number of instances attested. Indeed, the rights of the individual members of the society to make their own decisions, at least internally if not also
[682] externally, is insisted on. In one instance, a chief who took it upon himself to

[4] Commands and other stress situations, which generally appear to be uncongenial to the Yaruro and more overt as the people have been more subject to acculturation, seem
[578] to elicit from the Yaruro Spanish responses rather than Yaruro ones. It is as though it
[152] were not fitting to utter commands or express anger in Yaruro. Thus, the few times
[191] noisy altercation was heard among the Cinaruco Yaruro, the language used was Spanish. The chief's commands and his overt anger were always expressed in Spanish, even if he had just before been speaking in Yaruro. Though anger may often be felt, it is not shown if the participants are expressing themselves in Yaruro. Thus, the chief scolded one of the village boys for riding one of the recently acquired burros — in Spanish; he ordered a 19-year old young man to do some task — in Spanish; he complained of the actions of one of the village elders in taking on the job of guide without first consulting him (though he would certainly have permitted it) — in Spanish.

[5] Cf. Leeds, 1960a, with respect to the place of individual action in Yaruro society.
[181 Though there is individual action, choice, and responsibility, these are all carried out as an
114] aspect of community organization and essentially with community affirmation. A person is not an individual set in counterpoint to his society — there is no polarity of individual-society, as we, in our culture, generally seem to conceive. Individualism in the latter sense does not exist among the Yaruro. The Yaruro should not be mistaken for an individualistic culture, as, I suspect, several of the cultures described as individualistic in Mead, 1937, should not have been.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

838 572 among ourselves. Also, it is true that these acts are never to be seen between man and woman. For instance, I remember young men loafing at my camp with their arm around each other's necks, and even clasped in a tight embrace face to face in each other's arms, though standing up. I never observed any physical sexual excitement, though.

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

861 858 There is no direct and organized teaching of the children. They learn from example and from the precepts laid down by the adults in discussions, generally held at night. Certainly the child is not made to feel that he is the center of attraction; rather he is tolerated, though watched with fond eyes by the adults. The children are never admonished to do this or that or negatively. It may be said that they are put into a pattern of behavior, and the bonds of this pattern are indeed close and strong. There is no breaking them as long as life lasts. It must not be thought that these bonds are felt and 181 that there is resentment toward them. The Yaruro is in a sense tremen- 156 dously individualistic, in that each individual is forced to depend on his own resources, but when it comes to group life he is merely a part of the whole.

861 851 The children are free to play, but from infancy they also share in the adult activities. A mother may make a basket, with the little daughter constantly beside her. As soon as the child is able she will help in the digging of roots, or placing them in the basket, or will help in the making of a basket, or the cooking, her share of the work gradually increasing as she grows older. However, a child is never told to do any work, but does so entirely imitatory of the adults and the older children, with complete freedom as well as free desire.

The boy in like manner imitates the older boys and the men. His games consist of constant practice with bow and arrow, but this play is done only in the late afternoon and in the evening. During the day, as soon as the child is able to do so it will accompany the mother or father in hunting for food, doing its share of the paddling, loading and unloading of the canoe, helping to carry the food, taking care of the dogs, and watching and trying to make bows and arrows, string, etc.

GROOMING

Yerkes writes of grooming as follows:

182 515 Grooming is used in this report to designate a pattern of social behavior whose essential features are visual examination, search and manipulation of the skin and hair of a companion with fingers and lips, removal of dirt, dandruff, scabs, parasites, and other extraneous materials, and their conveyance to the mouth of the groomer, whose lips, tongue, and jaws meanwhile may have

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

512 rejoice, for they know that Kuma, the goddess creator of all things,
519 is content with them and is sending them a greeting in token thereof.
796 On the wings of the wind comes the roar of the araguatos.

But life starts in the east and ends in the west. The day is done and the night comes on. The Yaruros turn to face the east to watch
821 the beginning of star travel and also the fiery appearance of the
796 moon and its transformation to a chaste white. The sands glisten and above flash "falling stars", but the Yaruros say that these are messengers of Kuma doing their errands.

512 Then the women roll cigars, light them, and pass them to their men.
276 Everyone smokes and there is great contentment. There is reluctance
462 to stand up, so if a woman has to fetch some object, say a firebrand,
● [576] she will crawl on all fours, looking not unlike some large but indescribably graceful ape.

When several stars of the big dipper have appeared the women
512 rise in a body and walk into the darkness west of the camp. They
462 disappear from sight and hearing. What mysteries they perform they only know. The men are left alone and they talk about heaven. The children play merrily.

The women return and quietly take their places, ready to prepare more cigars. It is good to lie naked on the sand looking at the sky,
000 listening to nature's symphony. With the same persistent effortless rhythm of the pulse beat the world outside of the individual is felt. There is the merry laughter of the children and the soft, deep, contented gurgle of the women; the soft voice of the shaman painting religious pictures, explaining existence; the murmur of the wind as a background to the calls of night birds, and the blowing of toninos, the splash of frolicsome fishes, the intermittent howl of the monkeys, the bark of the wolf, the roar of the jaguar; and the warmth of a full stomach.

512 A figure may detach itself from the camp shadows and disappear
796 in the darkness of the west. Several young men may afterwards take the same path—to join the shaman in his preparations for communion with the gods. They leave behind them a feeling of expectation but nothing is said. Someone has put up a bare pole where the sand is hard packed.

796 The shaman returns and goes to sit in front of the pole facing the
791 east. He sits quietly and alone in deep reverie. Later he may ask for a cigar. His wife will supply him with one.

After a period of contemplation he may begin to sing and dance. His people will join him. The music will become more and more animated, the singing and dancing will be done with increasing abandon. The stars and the moon will go their ways to rest in the west.
512 It is only when the sun peeps over the eastern horizon that they will

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

up and down the rivers in their canoes, or lying on the sand, feasting on crocodile or turtle. He would see stolid fixed faces, uncommunicative, affrighted. But if this traveler were to stay he would discover that from sundown to sunrise the Yaruro lives in an intensive romantic world which he cannot and rarely would care to share with anyone else.

We returned from the trip to La Urbana at sundown when bars of yellow, blue, and white light streaked the western sky. The Yaruros were sitting on the sands watching this phenomenon with a certain rapture. They sat quietly and in silence facing the west until the lights had faded and merged into a subdued golden glow. Then Landaeta came and greeted me affectionately. He spoke of what we had just seen in the western sky, explaining that it represented a greeting from the mother goddess Kuma, to her children the Yaruros and to me. The other men came also, and the women too put their arms about me, but the latter kept their faces averted as is proper in Yaruro culture. We settled ourselves on the sands. Small fires were burning with remnants of turtles and crocodiles broiling over them. The sands glistened in the moonlight that soon came upon us. Araguato monkeys roared in the distance. An occasional bird sang. Insects hummed. Toninos frolicking in the water came up to blow lustily. And Landaeta explained that these animals were also children of Kuma and that everyone in Kuma's world was glad that I had returned.

We smoked and Landaeta talked, recounting what his gods had told him about me; that now I was one of their family, and he affectionately called me "adjimai oteh" (elder brother), which became the standard form of address by all of his people. In return I was asked to call them little brother and little sister.

At a point Landaeta rose and walked away into the darkness. His son and nephew followed him soon afterwards. He returned after an absence of half and hour, wearing his shaman's ceremonial cap and breechclout. He went to sit on the clean white sands to the east of the camp, where he remained still and quiet for a long time. His wife went to him with a lighted cigarette. He smoked this in silence and alone. Finally he made a sign and his son and nephew rose immediately to plant a pole a few feet in front of him, and then retired again into the darkness. After some time Landaeta rose, and facing the east in front of the pole, continued to smoke in silence. It seemed a long time before he began to sing, softly and hesitantly, which time was measured by the rising of the stars. After he had finished two songs his wife approached him again, thrusting into the ground, close to the pole, a stick from which hung a small basket. Landaeta continued standing, facing the east and singing, pausing briefly between

1: Petrullo E-S (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

captive turtles; and a few human beings were sitting or lying in the midst of all this, and exposed to all of the elements.

Among primitive people news travels rapidly. Landaeta, in this case, received me with the air of one who was expecting a visitor and it turned out that my reputation had preceded me. Not only did he know that I was in the country, but also why I was there. He was expecting me in order to teach me his ways and the ways of his people, and to learn my ways and the ways of my people. To him I was a shaman, no different than himself, who knew their mother goddess intimately and who was perhaps related to the gods themselves. He asked me for pictures of Kuma and Kuma's land. I soon discovered that he was under the illusion that in some way I was on intimate terms with the Yaruro's god.

A little to one side a branch was planted in the sand, and lying in its thin shade a girl was waiting to die. She was burning with fever and delirious. Her people were hovering over her, without being able to alleviate her sufferings or to help her to the end of life. Her malady was a new one to them, passed on by the newcomers to their world, and therefore they had no remedy for it.

The sick girl was Landaeta's daughter and as one physician to another, he came to me requesting that I save his daughter from death. Being neither physician, magician, nor priest, I responded to his plea the best way I could. Lest I be drawn into a situation of attempting to cure a sick person without adequate knowledge of the sickness or its remedy, I moved off the same day to seek other Yaruros; but only after Landaeta had promised that he would commence his journey in the cool of the evening and rejoin me several days later.

It has often been said that to accept the promise of a primitive Indian is to abandon all thought of its being remembered. Perhaps it would seem that I put too much faith and trust in my friends in sitting down to wait for them to join me. But a promise made and accepted without coercion is to the Indian one that has to be kept; and, as in many other cases of my experience with primitive people, this one was kept.

That the feeling of suspicion had not disappeared completely was proven by the attitude of another hunting group which I visited. I went alone among them, and unarmed. On my arrival in a canoe, carrying no equipment, they sullenly warned me to keep away from them and their camp. However, good will is never unproductive, and when they saw that I merely squatted on the sands, shared my tobacco with them, said nothing, and then cheerfully paddled away, their hearts must have melted, for several days later they too had joined my band of friends, later becoming among those most deeply attached to me.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

841 piece of cloth. (Among the peoples of the Xingu in Brazil she is made to wear her hair over her face, and she is kept from the sight of men.) Whether during this period special initiatory rites are performed I was not able to find out. This part of Yaruro culture is considered to be in the women's domain, and, being a man, I was kept from delving into it.

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MARRIAGE

527 The Yaruros are poor in social ceremonies. Anciently they may have practiced a great many of them but today social life is comparatively simple.

885 When a boy is ready to marry he may approach his father, or as
791 a matter of fact, the father may approach the son. In any case he is
584 sent to the shaman, who informs him that now he should be ready to assume the duties of a man, and proceeds to instruct him in the nature of those duties. He is told that he must love and cherish his
[183] wife; supply her plentifully with food, clothing, ornaments, and children; that he must never use harsh words toward her and that
[577] he must take care of her when she is sick; that he must never quarrel with her family, with whom he is expected to live; and of particular importance, that he must remember to take care of his father-in-law and mother-in-law. All of this is ordained by Kuma.

584 The shaman will then approach the boy's uncle who has a marriage-
585 able daughter. No special ceremony seems to take place. The boy
791 simply goes to live with the wife's family and assumes his duties of taking care of her as well as of his parents-in-law.

SICKNESS AND DEATH

751 Not much material was available on sickness. It must be remem-
757 bered that the Yaruros have been in contact with European ideas for several centuries and that they understand the use of medicine for the cure of a specific illness.

753 Nevertheless, Kiberoh, the evil night spirit, is in some fashion asso-
756 ciated with illness. If Kiberoh enters the body of a person, the latter will become ill. In such cases the only cure is the intercession of Kuma, who can be called upon to help by the shaman or musico, a term adapted from the Spanish to describe the singing shaman.

755 The sick person is laid on the ground with his head pointing to the east. At sundown the shaman will stand to the north of the sick person and will proceed to sing, accompanying himself with the
[841] rattle. The rest of the people, with the exception of any woman in her menstrual period, line up behind the shaman and sing and dance as they generally do during any of the shamanistic performances. If they indulge in any dancing, however, they do not go around a

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

a pole. In general, therefore, organized play for child or adult is hardly present.

WAR

The Yaruros did not speak much of war. None of their legends make any reference to it except in one case which says that they were killed by the "Racionales" and that they retaliated.[6] The known historical sources say nothing except Father Gumilla's account, which makes reference to the pacification of the "Saruri."

MORAL ATTITUDES

On the subject of conduct, the outlook on life and the organization of life values, we must distinguish between theory and practice. The former grows out of reflection and represents the intellectualization of the universe as seen without much reference to practical life. The second springs from the social and economic relationships and the fusing of individual ends and purposes into the purposes and ends of the group, whereas the first is not strictly controlled by custom and practical needs. Both exist among the Yaruros. For the first we have to turn to the shaman, who in addition to being a religious leader, a savant, is also a moralist; and for the second we turn to the entire social group and need to watch it in its behavior.

In reading over the early account of the aborigines of the region, among which we must presumably include Yaruros, we gather that their moral concepts were different from those of the Christians, but perhaps neither better nor worse in practice. It must be doubted, however, whether a number of practices attributed to the Yaruros are authentic. We read, for instance, that a number of the aborigines were patricides, and we are given a picture of the male children, on reaching adolescence, rising against the fathers through lust for the mother. Patricide is an abhorrent crime and the motive behind it is equally abhorrent. It is to be doubted whether patricide, or even lesser acts, such as beating the father, were ever practiced, except in sporadic cases such as may occur in any society. It hardly seems possible that women were the cause of it when it is known, as it is known today, that mating and extramarital relationships are very strictly controlled by tradition and social training. Disregarding, therefore, such allusions to the moral life of the primitive peoples of the Orinoco, let us turn to our informants for an understanding of their present mode of life. The

[6] It would appear probable that the nomadic Yaruros were too weak to ever develop any warlike spirit.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

The first fact that holds our attention is that Yaruros are strongly ethically conscious. Every shamanistic performance is the means for the propagation of ethical teachings. The shaman, or as the Yaruros believe, the gods and their dead ancestors speaking through the shaman, admonish various individuals and lay down the law for proper conduct. They hold the threat also that misconduct will be displeasing to the mother goddess and as a result life with her will not be as pleasant as it would be if they followed her precepts in this world.

According to the Yaruro philosophy the world is, by its nature, good and it was created by Kuma as a good thing. If any evil exists it has been introduced by men, who have forgotten or come to disregard the laws laid down by the goddess. The world, if unsullied by men, is a perfect integration of the elements which function for the good of mankind. Unfortunately, at times men will disturb the structure. There is implied in this the existence of free will for mankind, since it can change or disturb what was created by Kuma. And if we have recourse to the legends, we find that perhaps the lower animals have free will also, although it is exercised by them much more rarely than by mankind.

Kuma appears also as the teacher of ethical laws. She told the people, told Hatchawa, and now tells the shamans: to live in peace with each other; to respect each other; to help each other; to live good lives; to take care of the parents-in-law and the children-in law. When the wife is ill or otherwise the mother-in-law should look after the needs of her son-in-law, although they do not speak to each other. The Yaruros will find recompense for such moral living after death. They are poor on this earth but will be rich like Kuma in the other world.

During my stay the women remained bashful, never speaking directly to me, and when I approached generally looking away. In the latter days they would laugh merrily as they fled. Their culture does not permit free social intercourse with men, but any request on my part relayed to them through their husbands or brothers was eagerly complied with, and with better than good humor.

All were helpful toward each other and there did not appear to be any dissension. Extreme care was taken that a person's rights and prerogatives were not infringed upon. The husband never seemed to request anything of his wife that did not lie in her province, and when strange demands were made to please me, entire freedom was given to the wife, or daughter, to do as it pleased her. Any misfortune, however slight or serious, that would produce some expression of anger among white people was met by the Yaruros with merry laughter. At night each family group lay on the sands

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

marriage she called also "nyowuh", are referred to as "keramai". The father-in-law calls his son-in-law "haiméma'", which means "the one my daughter married", and the son-in-law calls his father-in-law "huíteh". His mother-in-law, whom he never addresses directly, he refers to as "kaikamúe". The girl refers to her father-in-law as "kuinté". Before marriage the boy would have called his uncle, the brother of his mother, "húidemái".

There do not seem to be any rites or ceremonies from which members of the opposite moiety are excluded. According to my informants, the Puaná clan moiety is preeminent over the Itciai moiety, therefore the person recognized as its head is considered to be the chief of the Yaruros. There is no resentment, as far as I was able to learn, to this arrangement. Primarily, I suppose, because the biological descendants of an individual pass from one moiety to another and therefore share in its prerogatives. The Yaruros' social concepts in respect to moiety membership is best expressed by reciprocal duties, obligations, and prerogatives. Under the elementary local system the son-in-law is almost a guest among his wife's people with whom he goes to live. During the rainy season when more permanent shelters are built, according to my informants, they have more ceremonies, during one of which the unmarried boys of one moiety then sit in the house of the other moiety.

Although there is no exclusion of the members of the opposite moiety in the ceremonies, if the shaman is of the Puaná moiety, those that sit closest to him are members of his own moiety. But even in this case the other moiety is represented, and in fact indirectly serves him. His own wife sits at his right and it is she who assists him when her help is needed by handing to him the various pieces of his paraphernalia and tobacco. It is she, likewise, who prepares the various drinks. The rest of the members of her moiety, if they happen to be present, take their places following the members of the shaman's moiety.

When a man is undertaking a hunt or wishes to build a canoe he calls on his nephews, that is, his sister's sons, for help, and they are obligated to be at his service. This obligation and service, which begins as soon as the boy begins to understand his position in the society, lasts a lifetime. When the uncle or uncles become too feeble to hunt for themselves it is these nephews who supply them with food and everything else they may need. This service may be interpreted as compensation to the uncles for their daughters who become the wives of these youths. But there was no indication that it was so considered by the Yaruro.

h. A man, therefore, does not have the services nor the social life of his children, but has to look to his sister's womb for individuals to educate and to assist him.

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622 [191 177] commands, in so far as I was able to observe, were made in Spanish![4] — essentially in acculturation contexts. In general, they concerned village care, small services, and the like. No occasion was observed of commanding older men, except for a married youth of 19, who was the youngest adult male in the village. The two or three commands he received during my stay went unnoticed, and, in one or two instances, were even directly contravened. The capitans of the Cinaruco river group and of Palmarito de Guachara both consistently complained that no one paid enough attention to them, and the Palmarito chief complained that he never was kept [571] sufficiently informed of events by his people. The fact is that people do pretty much as they choose in all important decision-making situations which do not involve the community at large, or the relationship of some member of the community or the entire group to outsiders.[5] In the former situation, the chief serves as a consultative funnel through which the community discussion pours back and forth until the community achieves some clear but unstated consensus upon which 622 648 [334] community members can act, individually of course. Only in the situations dealing with outside groups does the Yaruro capitanship emerge as a more developed status which might metaphorically be described as a position similar to that of a minister of foreign relations. In behalf of his group, he talks with any representatives of outside groups, especially if they are non-Yaruro, and acts as gatherer of information and as channel of communication between the community and the outside entity. Even this is weakened, however, since it applies more by courtesy than by fact among the Yaruro themselves, and other members of the community may perform the same function even if to a somewhat smaller degree. It is also weakened in that no Yaruro is prevented from acting on his own with respect to non-Yaruro outsiders, and, in fact, many Yaruro do establish their own relationships with outsiders as a number of instances attested. Indeed, the rights of the individual members of the society to make their own decisions, at least internally if not also [682] externally, is insisted on. In one instance, a chief who took it upon himself to

[4] Commands and other stress situations, which generally appear to be uncongenial to the Yaruro and more overt as the people have been more subject to acculturation, seem to elicit from the Yaruro Spanish responses rather than Yaruro ones. It is as though it were not fitting to utter commands or express anger in Yaruro. Thus, the few times noisy altercation was heard among the Cinaruco Yaruro, the language used was Spanish. The chief's commands and his overt anger were always expressed in Spanish, even if he had just before been speaking in Yaruro. Though anger may often be felt, it is not shown if the participants are expressing themselves in Yaruro. Thus, the chief scolded one of the village boys for riding one of the recently acquired burros — in Spanish; he ordered a 19-year old young man to do some task — in Spanish; he complained of the actions of one of the village elders in taking on the job of guide without first consulting him (though he would certainly have permitted it) — in Spanish.

[578] [152] [191]

[5] Cf. Leeds, 1960 a, with respect to the place of individual action in Yaruro society. Though there is individual action, choice, and responsibility, these are all carried out as an aspect of community organization and essentially with community affirmation. A person is not an individual set in counterpoint to his society — there is no polarity of individual-society, as we, in our culture, generally seem to conceive. Individualism in the latter sense does not exist among the Yaruro. The Yaruro should not be mistaken for an individualistic culture, as, I suspect, several of the cultures described as individualistic in Mead, 1937, should not have been.

[181] [114]

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3 This one has six type II 1a habitations laid out, at the end of our observations, along the bank as plan No. 1 shows.[1] At the beginning of our observations the habitation of the chief -- and at the time shaman -- of the community was located to the side and approximately 100 meters to the east of the other habitations.

5 Community No. 5 formerly formed one and the same community, No. 7. It was created at the beginning of our observations by Ramón Beltran, who no longer wanted to accept the authority of Pedro Ramón Camacho, capitán mayor.

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6a and b In each of its successive sites -- (a): a sand dune on the right bank of the Capanaparo about 30 meters from the water and (b): a sandy shore on the island facing it -- the community has no permanent shape except for three type II 1a habitations (plans No. 2 and 3). The fourth, shown on plan No. 2, was built by the inhabitants of community No. 8 for a temporary stay. Habitation No. I, for the chief and shaman of the community, is larger than the others.

8 This community has two large type I habitations, the base and roofing of which, however, are rectangular at one end and rounded at the other.

9 The three large type I habitations of this community are more comfortable in appearance than the normal, but their deficient height does not allow a man to stand up in it.

11 The chief of the community lives in Vuelta Mala 2.

[1] [see p. 130. -Author]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

781 Puaná stayed with us for about an hour and a half, talking most of the time about me.

787 And finally at about 5 o'clock Kuma herself came to visit me and, like Hatchawa, urged me to drink of the shaman's drink. I had to
791 drink a gourd full of it, since it was held to my lips until I finished it. She gave me messages similar to the others. Finally other Yarures came, and the shaman eventually returned, being greeted with affection by all. We stopped when the sun rose and began another day of primitive life. We had danced and sung almost continuously for 36 hours.

This was my reception among the Yaruros after my return from La Urbana. We talked day and night about religion, and about
606 the world in which we lived. I learned that a mother-in-law and
● 582 son-in-law must never look upon each other and never talk to each
604 other, though they must be careful to do each other service; that a man must marry his first cousin, and that socially he is under obligation to his maternal uncle who later becomes his father-in-law. Under Landaeta's tutelage the material in this report was compiled. In a sense, therefore, this is his report.

124 One day I announced to Landaeta that I would have to leave in the
123 near future, giving as a reason that my wife and child needed me at home. Actually, there were other considerations; my physical condition was becoming worse, though the sores on my feet were a little better; and for the time being I had quietly exhausted the possibilities of obtaining fresh material from my friends. After all, we had been in contact with each other for six weeks, the major portion of it living communely and conversing with the shaman continuously day after day, sometimes even from sunrise to sunrise. My daily schedule consisted of rising at sunrise, drinking a little coffee sometimes brought to me by Landaeta, and immediately plunging into discussions of religious themes. This would last up to about 10 o'clock when Landaeta would withdraw and busy himself making string or carving gourds for several hours. During this period I would seek clarification of some points from whomsoever was present, or work on social organization, or on genealogy. In the early afternoon Landaeta would be back with new material, new ideas, having thought over what he had said, what I had said, and what still needed to be said. This would continue until sundown.

521 Then there was a short intermission for dinner, but soon afterwards I was hurried over to the eastern edge of the camp, where Landaeta and his people sat after dinner, and there we would sit while the women made cigars for us, talking about mythology, religion and general philosophical concepts. These discussions would last until 10 or 11 o'clock, and often much later, and not rarely shamanistic

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

251 During the rainy season the seed of the chigua is gathered. It is crushed, toasted, and stored in small quantities in the same way as the changuango, provided, of course, that a spot is found high enough to keep it dry.

Social Organization and Social Customs

596 616 622 791 554 Economically the family hunting group is the basic unit, as has been shown in the previous chapter. In social matters, however, it is the moiety. Each family hunting group recognizes a headman and each moiety recognizes a chief who in all cases is the shaman. Both of these positions of authority are acquired only through personal merit. There is no inheritance of chieftainship or shamanism. If the nephew of a headman shows ability he may inherit his uncle's position, and theoretically this is the scheme. In natural practices we find that not only the Yaruros but perhaps a great many other primitive peoples are very realistic and are loath to give authority to an individual whose personality does not stand for leadership.

616 428 Every Yaruro is born in either the "Itciai" or "Puaná" moiety. Descent, with its social affinities, prerogatives, and obligations, being traced through the female line, the child belongs to its mother's moiety. Nothing is inherited from the father, who belongs to the other moiety, except obligations.

616 773 There is a legend among the Yaruros that two young men not finding any marriageable girls among their own people mated with the Jaguar and with the Snake. From these two unions are descended the two moieties. Since only among animals do brothers and sisters mate it has become a rule that two descendants of the Jaguar, "Itciai", cannot marry with each other; nor can two descendants of the Snake, "Puaná", marry with each other. They must seek a mate from the other group. Thus an "Itciai" must always marry a "Puaná", and vice versa. Cross-cousin marriage solves this problem.

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In this system, therefore, a man's children belong to his wife's moiety, from which he is socially excluded. His sister's children, on the other hand, are socially close to him since they too inherit moiety membership from their mother which is the same as his own. Deprived of his own children to carry on his traditions, a man looks to his sister's children to take their place. It is his nephews who will help him in hunting, who will come to his defence, who will take care of him in old age. As if in payment of such attention he gives them his daughters in marriage. Thus his sisters' sons become his sons-in-law.

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621 596 Yaruro society is built around the hunting group, which in numbers is never stable. The hunt and the gathering of food such as roots and fruits calls for a certain amount of cooperative effort, but

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

603 604 educate and to assist him. However, his grandchildren belong to his own moiety and the children of his daughters will be born in this camp and will live with him until the boys are old enough to seek wives in the other moiety. The bonds linking these nephews, uncles, grandparents, and grandchildren are morally strong and perhaps it explains why Kuma herself is thought of as being the grandmother of Hatchawa, rather than the mother. Several myths illustrate this uncle, nephew, grandfather, and grandchild relationship. It is curious to note that occasionally the uncle in these myths plays tricks on the nephew and may even be represented as being exceedingly wicked, but the grandfather is always benevolent.

[591] The children of a man's sons are brought up in a different hunting group, since the boys will live with their wives' groups, and although these grandchildren belong to the same moiety, the old man's contact with them is rather limited. It is different with the children of his daughter.

182 582 The basis of Yaruro social organization is cross-cousin marriage. Each hunting group tends to consist of one family and other groups hunting nearby are probably closely related to it. The chance of a member of one group meeting members of a group hunting far away from his hunting grounds would be quite insignificant. It would appear, therefore, that a Yaruro man would have the option to marry [584] his sister's cousins, aunts, grandchildren, and grandparents. Of these it is considered incest to marry his sisters, his mother, and the sisters of his mother, whom he calls mother also, the children of his father's brothers, whom he calls father, and the children of his mother's sisters, whom he calls sister also. The only two classes of women whom he can legitimately marry are the daughters of his mother's brothers and the daughters of his father's sisters. [616] The latter, however, belong to the same moiety as himself and are therefore excluded. His choice is restricted to the daughters of his mother's sisters.

However, a number of factors may enter to allow a man a wife other than his cross cousins on his mother's side, and in fact in some cases he is forced to marry others than his cross cousins on his mother's side, who may not be available. Theoretically he may marry any of the following: His father's sisters, his father's mother's sisters, his daughters' daughters, his wife's sisters, his wife's mother's sisters, and his wife's mother's mother and her sisters. We find in actual practice that this is done. At Landaeta there was one young man married to a woman of about 40 whom we would call his aunt-in-law, that is, his wife's mother's sister.

587 This class of women whom he is allowed to marry he is also obligated to look after should their husbands die. For instance, should

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

any of his brothers die he falls heir to the brother's wife or wives, who may be sisters or sisters of his own wife; likewise, should his mother's brother die his wife or wives, who is one of the group of his wife's mother's sister, would also become his wife. This system can be made plainer by examining figure 24. By following the moiety relationship one can see just whom the individual is allowed to marry. If it is considered that any of these individuals may actually become his wife, either because there are no other women of his own age group available, or because they have lost their own husbands, and therefore need a protector, the system becomes clear.

IN-LAW RELATIONS

Cross-cousin marriage being the prevalent type, it means that the son of a man's sister will marry his daughter and come to live with him. As soon as that happens a number of social taboos are imposed on the in-laws. The son-in-law from the time that he marries is prohibited from speaking to his mother-in-law, although he lives with the same hunting group and may even travel in the same canoe with her; he cannot eat before her or even near her; he cannot go close to her, even though his bows and arrows may be lying there; he cannot hand her any object; he cannot make his personal toilet in front of her; he cannot sing or dance close to her; he cannot travel alone with his mother-in-law, and if they are forced to travel together in a canoe with the wife of the son-in-law as one of the party, he takes his position in the bow and the mother-in-law sits in the stern. These taboos are reciprocal. If the two meet in a path they turn aside and go in opposite directions.

These taboos are the more remarkable since there are positive duties owed one in-law to the other. The son-in-law is obligated to supply food and protection to his mother-in-law. It is his duty to prepare firewood and bring her materials which she may need to make basketry. It is expected that he will gather delicacies for her, such as honey. On the other hand, his mother-in-law will often prepare food for her son-in-law, will make pouches for him, and show him favors in other ways. But these favors must be transmitted through the wife and daughter, or through other persons. In camp I have seen mother-in-law and son-in-law sitting with backs to each other hour after hour, day after day, never exchanging a word, always averting their eyes from the other's person.

Similar taboos are practiced between the father-in-law and daughter-in-law, but because the girl lives with her parents they weigh less heavily upon her and her father-in-law, since they rarely meet. The taboos, though, are more strictly observed, probably on account of the sexual temptation.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

INHERITANCE OF WIVES

583 Monogamy is the usual rule, but occasionally both polygyny and polyandry exist. If no women are available, a man may share his young wife with his brother or parallel cousin whom he calls brother also. I saw two such cases. In a tribe whose total membership may not exceed 150 such situations may easily arise.

587 589 The more common situation is the inheritance of wives. If a man dies, his wife may be taken care of by her father, but more often by her former husband's brother. She takes her place as wife number two, especially if he is a good hunter. Other women whom a man may inherit as wives are his aunts on his father's side and even his paternal grandmother. I saw one case in which a man had inherited his daughter's child. Whether these cases represent the results of [616] deculturation of the Yaruros in recent years, or pure necessity, it is impossible to say. It is worth noting that the taboo on marrying a member of one's moiety is strictly observed.

512 605 Another relationship common among South American Indians which is present among the Yaruros is the hunting friendship between two men. Seldom does one meet a young Yaruro who does not have a hunting companion. Upon marriage this relationship may be weakened, though often the companionship persists. Generally the men are two parallel cousins. They show much affection toward each other, even in camp. For instance, such a pair standing with arms around each other's necks is a common sight. I have no reason to suspect any abnormal sexual relations between such couples.

124 582 [165] An attempt was made to collect genealogies, but no satisfactory results were obtained, due to the confusion that exists among the Yaruros. So many have suffered premature death, especially men, that the genealogies show a tremendous complexity. This complexity exists, of course, only for us. The Yaruro has his system, which is to guard against incest as he defines it. So long as members of the same moiety do not marry, everything else is permissible. One's cross cousin of the same, or nearly the same, age is the preferential choice, but the Yaruros cannot control birth and death, so that the preference is purely theoretical. I saw young boys married to old women and young girls married to old men. The answer was that there weren't any others to marry.

However, enough was gathered from the genealogies to verify the system as described: Members of the same moiety do not marry. Every one else can, except father and daughter, and, of course, father's brothers and daughter, whom she addresses as father anyway.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

602 "sweetheart", "potential wife". At any rate, the boy learns that
• [582] members of the former class he can not marry, and that one, a particular one of the second class, will become his wife. Thus on those who stand in the familiar relationship he cannot cast sexual thoughts.

836 Intersexual activity before marriage was not observable and it seemed as if there would be little opportunity for it. Boys and girls are kept separate, the girls staying with their mothers, the boys with the men. At night there seemed to be the same division.

854 During infancy there is no organized play for the girl. Her
861 parents do not play as we are wont to do. She is not teased into
[865] laughter, but tender care is given to her. She is fed, cleaned, kept in the shade, and made to wear ornaments. Dolls of clay may be made for her. During this period she is taken everywhere by the mother. From babyhood she participates in the collection of food, in its preparation and cooking, in the making of basketry, pottery, making and breaking camp, traveling in canoes, but always with her mother.
868 Gradually she learns to take a more active part in the female tasks. The important point is that the proper decorum for her is to keep to members of her own sex. She does not become a tomboy. If she learns to perform tasks it is only because the women are supposed to have a smattering of them anyhow. Paddling is one of these.

854 The boy's life is first shared with his mother, and although fondled
593 by the father, he remains with the mother until he is able to walk and paddle. Thus, whereas the girl never comes under the direct influence of her father, the boy is under the direct influence of the mother during his infancy and babyhood. Gradually he participates more and more in manly tasks, but as a matter of fact he never entirely disassociates himself from his mother. As long as he is unmarried he performs tasks for his mother and she takes care of him, performing such acts as cooking, delousing, etc. He gathers wood, lights fires, etc.

864 The children are not kept in sexual ignorance. At least the boys
831 seem to learn something of the sexual functions at an early age. From what I observed of Yaruro camp life, it seems that no attempt was made to keep knowledge of sex and sexual functions away from the children. In the first place, there is no sense of modesty so far as the sexual parts are concerned, and therefore there is no ignorance on the part of the children. There is very little, if any, sexual play among the adults during the day. Since the attitude toward the sexual parts of the body is one of indifference there is very little that may happen which would indicate any interest in those parts. Any knowledge that the children may have of sex must, therefore, be gathered from observation of their parents.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Even if there were stronger interest in sex than seemed to exist, there would be little opportunity for the youngsters to indulge in any sexual relations, since their playmates tend to be parallel cousins and very often playmates are lacking altogether. In the small hunting groups often there may be only one or two unmarried young people. Under such conditions a boy would either have to seek sex relations with one of his moiety sisters or practice adultery with a woman of the opposite moiety living with his own hunting group. We may presume that neither incest nor adultery are unknown to the Yaruros. During my stay among them there was no evidence of that.

Another factor which tends to help the Yaruros live a strictly moral life is that upon reaching puberty both boys and girls marry if a mate is available, even though the wife or husband may be considerably older. Premarital romantic love life may be entirely absent on this account, but one suspects that another type of romanticism may be built on what is available. For instance, practically from babyhood the boy or girl knows whom he or she will marry and in waiting for the promised day one would suspect an emotional attitude is built up. It is certain that after marriage strong bonds of affection are developed between husband and wife. Strictly limited in choice, there can be no free play for one's desires.

In the Yaruro society prostitution is probably absent. I believe that today some degree of prostitution has been forced upon them by the peoples with whom they come in contact. Perhaps we should call it purchasing of sexual rights, with the Yaruros playing a docile if not hostile part. After all, they are forced to acquiesce in a great many practices foreign to their ideas.

The above is the sexual ambient. As a result the adults act in the following manner. Sexual intercourse is considered one of the numerous natural acts. It is not exaggerated, little talked or joked about, and judging from the sort of life they lead not over indulged in.

Among the men, woman is not discussed. Neither virtue nor sin is the subject of comment. She is let strictly alone and uncensored. Obscenity is rare.

If any homosexuality exists it must be established by inference. It is common among the hunting tribes for a man to have a companion with whom he hunts, travels, and with whom he spends most of his time. Such companionship seems to be closer before marriage than after.

I have observed two boys, unmarried because no girls were available, engaged in such acts as we are accustomed to impute to love making—holding hands, etc. Yet, lest we jump at hasty conclusions, it must be said that affection between men is demonstrated much more so than

121 182 433 [241] [22] harvesting it, require no centralized authority and render it possible and even probable that the management of production or distribution be carried on without it. The same may be said, on the whole, for all the hunting, fishing, and gathering harvests, a notable and probably permanent feature of Yaruro ecology. Perhaps the only crop which has a marked seasonality is corn, but its absolute size in the total production, its geographical distribution in production, and its position relative to all other harvests renders it insignificant as an effective promoter of managerial functions and [56] formal arrangements of social stratification. It is unlikely, given Yaruro ecology that the forms of surplus would change; consequently their concomitants in social structure would remain constant.

On the basis of the formal characteristics of the ecology and of the surpluses one may deduce an essentially egalitarian social organization, [56] with minimal ranking and leadership and with dispersion of the acts of economic distribution among a number of adult males or females any one of [462] whom may produce a small harvest surplus at any time. With a relatively steady and reasonably comfortable total subsistence base, and with eco- 182 logical arrangements which are spatially repeated in identical form up ● [582] and down river, no necessity exists for stringent rules of local exogamy as an institution to regulate the labor force by redistributing its members. One would expect frequent marrying in the village according to the convenience of the contractants, and out-marriages to occur either as ecoomic [562] opportunity offered elsewhere or lack of women at home urged one out. The combined biological and productive role of women, with their particularly important technical roles in gathering and in food preparation, suggest sedentary communities and a matrifocal emphasis in the rules of residence. However, the importance and location of the men's economic contribution [591] might be expected to balance this to a degree so that one might deduce male uxorimatrilocal residence but with other, subsidiary patterns. This in fact occurs, occasional male matrilocality or patrilocality [18] comprising the subsidiary residence rules. Political authority would be vested [623] in the community, mainly among its elders, since little or no ranking or stratification is to be expected. In fact, Yaruro socio-political forms, in general, conform to all of these deduced conditions. They represent a model for any society based on the kinds of ecological conditions or form of ecology we have described. Where the ecology is even more restricted the deduced characteristics should be matched even more closely by the observed [171] data. In this respect, the Sirionó, for example, tend to confirm the hypothesis, in that their partial sedentariness which revolves about horticulture is associated with matrifocal social organization: matrilocality and matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. They also possess autonomous local communities. [19] The Apinayé also tend to confirm the hypothesis. [20]

Where our analysis permits us to predict about the course of the ecological conditions, we should also be able to extend this prediction to the social structure. Since, under the given ecology, we can establish a maximum population for each Yaruro socio-cultural unit, and under the given technology we would expect no significant change in the ecology, no significant

[18,19,20 [for footnotes see pp. 43-44 category 116 --Analyst]

/12 cont./

budare (24), of tinaja (25), etc...which are found there are

24. Dish to cook flat manioc cakes, in Venezuelan.

25. Jar, in Venezuelan.

from the Otomaco women. But they often came this way--sometimes to dance or to buy canoes--to meet with the ancestors of the Yaruro of today. Like the former they were themselves good people. Yaruro and Otomaco each spoke in their dialect, which they mutually understood, which was not difficult. "Today," he added, "not a person remembers it."

Their relations must even have extended further, since they married among themselves without any obstacle /13/ placing itself in the way. Ijiai in fact approved of these unions, as opposed to those with other Indians, the Piquero and Taparito included, Pedro Ramón Camacho specified, or with the Racionales, of which he disapproved.

They fed themselves, it appears, not only on fish, tortoise, deer, and vegetable produce grown in the conucos, but also on guiriguiri duck (26), a bird little in demand among the

26. Venezuelan name of the Dendrocygna automnalis.

present Indians because of the fishy taste of its meat. In addition, like the Yaruro, they appear to have lived in round huts built on the dunes, practiced a ball game, and made their pottery with the same technique and not with the aid of basketwork molds, contrary to what the remains with basketwork impressions which abound in the region where they apparently lived would lead us to suppose.

7: Leeds E-4, 5. (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

constitute incest. I believe one can show from Petrullo's own genealogies that either incest occurred, possibly as a result of the process of depopulation, or that clan exogamy did not exist at all, since there were no clans, and the marriages concerned were not incestuous.

A third important feature that Petrullo asserts existed among the Yaruro is matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. Aside from the fact that, associated with the matriliny Petrullo's matriclans would possess, one would theoretically expect patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, if preferential cross-cousin marriage existed at all, I was unable to confirm unilateral cross-cousin marriage preferences but got statements of preference for bilateral cross-cousin marriage as well as reports of bilateral cross-cousin marriage and bilateral marriages between an ego and a parallel cousin's offspring.[2]

A fourth important feature discussed by Petrullo is totemism. The clans are assertedly connected respectively with the snake god Poanã and the jaguar god, Tió. Not only was I unable to confirm this, but the ethnographic evidence, on the whole, appears to contradict it directly. Totemism, for example, would be quite inconsistent with the social organization of the *toŋ'be* ceremony, the central socio-religious institution of the Yaruro which I have described elsewhere (1960, 1961 *b;* cf., also, Le Besnerais, 1951, 1950 *b,* and, with Dreyfus-Roche, 1954).

Thus we have not only ethnographic disagreement among three observers, but also the theoretical improbability of the original description which attaches matrilineal clanship to hunting and gathering nomadism, and to matrliateral cross-cousin marriage. Virtually all further published anthropological material on the Yaruro has taken the Petrullo report at face value. Some of these publications include a caveat about the report, but, unfortunately, others have, explicitly or implicitly, assumed its correcteness since they have used it as the starting point for historical, functional, or evolutionary reconstructions.[3]

Specifically the assertion is repeatedly made by Steward, Kirchhoff, and Steward and Faron that the Yaruro are one of a series of marginal tribes left over from an earlier wave of settlement and occupying interstitial areas among more advanced peoples. Steward (1946-1950, in various passages, esp. Vol. 5, pp. 678 *ff.*) tries to justify the marginal classification generally by designating characteristic traits present as well as those that should be absent. The Yaruro possess a large number of the latter, including horticulture, basketry, canoes,

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[2] The theoretical expectation of *patrilateral* cross-cousin marriage with matriliny is discussed in Homans and Schneider (1955, especially pp. 56-57) and elsewhere. The preference for bilateral marriage with cross-cousins or with offspring of parallel cousins is also found among the Jivaro (cf. Steward and Métraux, 1948, especially p. 626). This fact, with a great many similar traits of social organization and world view shared by the two cultures, is of considerable interest to the cultural origin of the groups discussed later in the paper where other parallels are mentioned.

[3] Cf. Kirchhoff, 1948, *a:* Steward, 1946-1950; Vol. 3, pp. 827-899; Vol. 5, pp. 669-679, *et passim;* Steward and Faron, 1959; Layrisse, *et al.,* 1961; Needham, 1960; Murdock, 1957.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

and warfare as supra-tribal distribution mechaniams. It is interesting to note that the cultural characteristics ascribed to each of the peoples — "warlike," "peaceable," "brabo" — are ecologically funcional, in that they mirror value orientations which tend to drive people to maximize the food resources in ways appropriate to their socio-ecological environments.

Fourth, the evidence seems to me at present to point to the existence throughout the area, of pre-hispanic horticulture, enjoyed by at least some groups within each tribe, if not by all groups in part of every year. The evidence comes from the reports of travellers, missionaries, and from the archeological remnants, such as they at present are. The main Spanish and Venezuelan acculturational effects with respect to subsistence appear to have been the introduction of iron tools; seeds and plants not of native origin, such as sugar cane and bananas; and, here and there, cattle, pigs, or chickens.

Fifth, the evidence suggests a steady deculturation in an area capable of maintaining a more elaborate level of culture. One may hypothesize either that groups like the Yaruro came into the area with a level of culture reflected by the Arauquín-style remants and then gradually deculturated both pre-hispanically and in post-conquest times, to their present level, or that they intruded into such a culture at a time when they themselves were at a more elaborate level, and then deculturated largely under Spanish influence. It will probably be possible to shed light on this question with the historical data.

In summary, if these hypotheses are correct, the entire interpretation of the llanos area between the Andes and the Orinoco highlands, as well as of other nearby areas assertedly inhabited by so-called marginal tribes, is quite different from that presented by the *Handbook of South American Indians*. The marginals of northern South America seem to evanesce, and a picture of a highly complex ecological system in which horticulture is of central importance, even if not quantitatively predominant in this ecologically restricted area, appears. This picture seems to conform better to the recent archeological hypotheses of Cruxent and Rouse (1958-1959), to the historical mentions of horticulture, to the presently scanty archeological and linguistic materials, and to more recent ethnological data.

I have not, as yet, been able to make any determination whatever with respect to clanship, totemism, or matricross-cousin marriage. I hope that with a study of the word lists discovered and with possible older ethnographic data that this problem may be resolved. My own field data suggests an organization into demes with bilateral marriages between cross-cousins or between an ego and his parallel cousin's offspring. This interpretation incidentally tallies with, or at least does not contradict, the data, such as the genealogies, kin terminology, and locality features described by Petrullo in all pasages where inferences and assertions as to the existence of these institutions do not occur.

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However, enough was gathered from the genealogies to verify the system as described: Members of the same moiety do not marry. Every one else can, except father and daughter, and, of course, father's brothers and daughter, whom she addresses as father anyway.

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841 piece of cloth. (Among the peoples of the Xingu in Brazil she is made to wear her hair over her face, and she is kept from the sight of men.) Whether during this period special initiatory rites are performed I was not able to find out. This part of Yaruro culture is considered to be in the women's domain, and, being a man, I was kept from delving into it.

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MARRIAGE

527 The Yaruros are poor in social ceremonies. Anciently they may have practiced a great many of them but today social life is comparatively simple.

885 When a boy is ready to marry he may approach his father, or as a matter of fact, the father may approach the son. In any case he is sent to the shaman, who informs him that now he should be ready to assume the duties of a man, and proceeds to instruct him in the nature of those duties. He is told that he must love and cherish his wife; supply her plentifully with food, clothing, ornaments, and children; that he must never use harsh words toward her and that he must take care of her when she is sick; that he must never quarrel with her family, with whom he is expected to live; and of particular importance, that he must remember to take care of his father-in-law and mother-in-law. All of this is ordained by Kuma.

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[577]

584 The shaman will then approach the boy's uncle who has a marriageable daughter. No special ceremony seems to take place. The boy simply goes to live with the wife's family and assumes his duties of taking care of her as well as of his parents-in-law.

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SICKNESS AND DEATH

751 Not much material was available on sickness. It must be remembered that the Yaruros have been in contact with European ideas for several centuries and that they understand the use of medicine for the cure of a specific illness.

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753 Nevertheless, Kiberoh, the evil night spirit, is in some fashion associated with illness. If Kiberoh enters the body of a person, the latter will become ill. In such cases the only cure is the intercession of Kuma, who can be called upon to help by the shaman or musico, a term adapted from the Spanish to describe the singing shaman.

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755 The sick person is laid on the ground with his head pointing to the east. At sundown the shaman will stand to the north of the sick person and will proceed to sing, accompanying himself with the rattle. The rest of the people, with the exception of any woman in her menstrual period, line up behind the shaman and sing and dance as they generally do during any of the shamanistic performances. If they indulge in any dancing, however, they do not go around a

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603 604 educate and to assist him. However, his grandchildren belong to his own moiety and the children of his daughters will be born in this camp and will live with him until the boys are old enough to seek wives in the other moiety. The bonds linking these nephews, uncles, grandparents, and grandchildren are morally strong and perhaps it explains why Kuma herself is thought of as being the grandmother of Hatchawa, rather than the mother. Several myths illustrate this uncle, nephew, grandfather, and grandchild relationship. It is curious to note that occasionally the uncle in these myths plays tricks on the nephew and may even be represented as being exceedingly wicked, but the grandfather is always benevolent.

[591] The children of a man's sons are brought up in a different hunting group, since the boys will live with their wives' groups, and although these grandchildren belong to the same moiety, the old man's contact with them is rather limited. It is different with the children of his daughter.

182 582 The basis of Yaruro social organization is cross-cousin marriage. Each hunting group tends to consist of one family and other groups hunting nearby are probably closely related to it. The chance of a member of one group meeting members of a group hunting far away from his hunting grounds would be quite insignificant. It would appear, therefore, that a Yaruro man would have the option to marry his sister's cousins, aunts, grandchildren, and grandparents. Of these [584] it is considered incest to marry his sisters, his mother, and the sisters of his mother, whom he calls mother also, the children of his father's brothers, whom he calls father, and the children of his mother's sisters, whom he calls sister also. The only two classes of women whom he can legitimately marry are the daughters of his mother's brothers and the daughters of his father's sisters. The latter, how- [616] ever, belong to the same moiety as himself and are therefore excluded. His choice is restricted to the daughters of his mother's sisters.

However, a number of factors may enter to allow a man a wife other than his cross cousins on his mother's side, and in fact in some cases he is forced to marry others than his cross cousins on his mother's side, who may not be available. Theoretically he may marry any of the following: His father's sisters, his father's mother's sisters, his daughters' daughters, his wife's sisters, his wife's mother's sisters, and his wife's mother's mother and her sisters. We find in actual practice that this is done. At Landaeta there was one young man married to a woman of about 40 whom we would call his aunt-in-law, that is, his wife's mother's sister.

587 This class of women whom he is allowed to marry he is also obligated to look after should their husbands die. For instance, should

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

any of his brothers die he falls heir to the brother's wife or wives, who may be sisters or sisters of his own wife; likewise, should his mother's brother die his wife or wives, who is one of the group of his wife's mother's sister, would also become his wife. This system can be made plainer by examining figure 24. By following the moiety relationship one can see just whom the individual is allowed to marry. If it is considered that any of these individuals may actually become his wife, either because there are no other women of his own age group available, or because they have lost their own husbands, and therefore need a protector, the system becomes clear.

IN-LAW RELATIONS

Cross-cousin marriage being the prevalent type, it means that the son of a man's sister will marry his daughter and come to live with him. As soon as that happens a number of social taboos are imposed on the in-laws. The son-in-law from the time that he marries is prohibited from speaking to his mother-in-law, although he lives with the same hunting group and may even travel in the same canoe with her; he cannot eat before her or even near her; he cannot go close to her, even though his bows and arrows may be lying there; he cannot hand her any object; he cannot make his personal toilet in front of her; he cannot sing or dance close to her; he cannot travel alone with his mother-in-law, and if they are forced to travel together in a canoe with the wife of the son-in-law as one of the party, he takes his position in the bow and the mother-in-law sits in the stern. These taboos are reciprocal. If the two meet in a path they turn aside and go in opposite directions.

These taboos are the more remarkable since there are positive duties owed one in-law to the other. The son-in-law is obligated to supply food and protection to his mother-in-law. It is his duty to prepare firewood and bring her materials which she may need to make basketry. It is expected that he will gather delicacies for her, such as honey. On the other hand, his mother-in-law will often prepare food for her son-in-law, will make pouches for him, and show him favors in other ways. But these favors must be transmitted through the wife and daughter, or through other persons. In camp I have seen mother-in-law and son-in-law sitting with backs to each other hour after hour, day after day, never exchanging a word, always averting their eyes from the other's person.

Similar taboos are practiced between the father-in-law and daughter-in-law, but because the girl lives with her parents they weigh less heavily upon her and her father-in-law, since they rarely meet. The taboos, though, are more strictly observed, probably on account of the sexual temptation.

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587 589 The more common situation is the inheritance of wives. If a man dies, his wife may be taken care of by her father, but more often by her former husband's brother. She takes her place as wife number two, especially if he is a good hunter. Other women whom a man may inherit as wives are his aunts on his father's side and even his paternal grandmother. I saw one case in which a man had inherited his daughter's child. Whether these cases represent the results of [616] deculturation of the Yaruros in recent years, or pure necessity, it is impossible to say. It is worth noting that the taboo on marrying a member of one's moiety is strictly observed.

512 605 Another relationship common among South American Indians which is present among the Yaruros is the hunting friendship between two men. Seldom does one meet a young Yaruro who does not have a hunting companion. Upon marriage this relationship may be weakened, though often the companionship persists. Generally the men are two parallel cousins. They show much affection toward each other, even in camp. For instance, such a pair standing with arms around each other's necks is a common sight. I have no reason to suspect any abnormal sexual relations between such couples.

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50% of the diet or a little less. The ideal figures would again be reduced, on the other hand, by allowing for the predations on gardens of animals, especially the pigs, which eat manioc and corn, the Guahibo Indians who allegedly steal sugar cane, and insect losses. Our figures, then, will be modified only a few units by the additional sources of foods. We may thus revise our population figure to between 100 and 105 (or, if a 15-year fallow period is assumed, the figure would be 75-80), figures which correspond to the Yaruro's own ideal of what a proper population for this area should be. If the population increased beyond this number of people, the Yaruro would have to exploit their gardens at a rate greater than the rate of land reconstitution, and also expand hunting, fishing, and gathering beyond the average long-term carrying capacity of the savanas and the rivers, thus reducing their potential productivity. Adding together the maximum populations supportable by these food resources, as well as by the recently introduced pigs, a figure approximating 125-150 persons might be reasonable for this particular territory. This gives a density of 2 persons per sq. mile, a characteristic figure for tropical forest tribes.[15]

If the population rose beyond this maximum capacity of the land-technology relationship, groups would either have to fission off, go on the warpath, regulate population by any of a number of internal institutions such as infanticide, or die either from extreme famines or from steady nutritional deficiency. Under present population conditions none of these is necessary, yet both fissioning and population regulation by contraception occur. Fissioning appears to be fostered by the search for settlement locations requiring minimum labor for maximum return and also to establish community authority under the person leading the fissioning group independent of that excercised by the community from which fissioning took place. Contraception appears to be a matter of choice revolving about maintaining a certain freedom from the cares of motherhood until such time as the marriage partners are reasonably convinced that the marriage is permanent. Indirectly, this contributes to the distribution of more effective female producers among the more effective male producers in the most productive areas, since a second marriage often involves shifting to a generally more effective husband whereas a shift to a less effective husband is scarcely to be found. Both fissioning and contraception, however, give evidence of techniques which were developed to handle man-food balance in happier days.

A number of formal characteristics of any ecology may permit us to deduce the form of society which would be expected on the basis of such characteristics. In so far as the ecological forms were to remain essentially unchanged over great periods of time, no changes in the forms of the social order attached to the ecological conditions would be expected. An internal equilibrium is maintained until such time as a dynamic imbalance occurs because of changes from internal or external sources. It is essential to examine to what extent the internal equilibrium prevents or fosters the occurence of dynamic imbalances in any particular ecological setting. We shall return to this question after the following itemization of Yaruro ecological forms.

[15] [For footnote see p. 43, category 116 -- Analyst]

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587 589 The more common situation is the inheritance of wives. If a man dies, his wife may be taken care of by her father, but more often by her former husband's brother. She takes her place as wife number two, especially if he is a good hunter. Other women whom a man may inherit as wives are his aunts on his father's side and even his paternal grandmother. I saw one case in which a man had inherited his daughter's child. Whether these cases represent the results of [616] deculturation of the Yaruros in recent years, or pure necessity, it is impossible to say. It is worth noting that the taboo on marrying a member of one's moiety is strictly observed.

512 605 Another relationship common among South American Indians which is present among the Yaruros is the hunting friendship between two men. Seldom does one meet a young Yaruro who does not have a hunting companion. Upon marriage this relationship may be weakened, though often the companionship persists. Generally the men are two parallel cousins. They show much affection toward each other, even in camp. For instance, such a pair standing with arms around each other's necks is a common sight. I have no reason to suspect any abnormal sexual relations between such couples.

124 582 [165] An attempt was made to collect genealogies, but no satisfactory results were obtained, due to the confusion that exists among the Yaruros. So many have suffered premature death, especially men, that the genealogies show a tremendous complexity. This complexity exists, of course, only for us. The Yaruro has his system, which is to guard against incest as he defines it. So long as members of the same moiety do not marry, everything else is permissible. One's cross cousin of the same, or nearly the same, age is the preferential choice, but the Yaruros cannot control birth and death, so that the preference is purely theoretical. I saw young boys married to old women and young girls married to old men. The answer was that there weren't any others to marry.

However, enough was gathered from the genealogies to verify the system as described: Members of the same moiety do not marry. Every one else can, except father and daughter, and, of course, father's brothers and daughter, whom she addresses as father anyway.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

pole in a circle but merely move forward and backward. During the performance it is prohibited for anyone to pass by the head of the sick person. The shaman will sing all night and if by morning the sick person has not shown any marked improvement the woman shaman will lie in a hammock with her head pointing to the east and will continue the singing. Other women will sit in the hammock with her and sing all day long. I myself underwent such attention. If the wife shows little interest in the welfare of her husband it is concrete proof that she does not love him and it is believed he will die. In this there are two factors to be considered from my observation of these people. The first is that a lack of wifely interest is the equivalent of bad medicine and that the husband himself will feel so disconsolate that all desire to live will be lost.

If the sick person dies during the night nothing is done except to stop the singing and dancing. At daybreak his people will drink vast quantities of chica and prepare for the funeral rites. If the sick person happens to be a woman in her menstrual period it is important to note that she is in the care of the woman shaman. The man shaman does not dare to sing to her.

In the morning the dead person is washed by the women and the body is wrapped in a hammock and taken to the burial place. The brothers and the uncles carry the body. The father and mother do not accompany the body to the grave, but in the case of a married man the widow does. The body is interred in the hammock with the head pointing to the east. The bow and arrows, whatever clothing he may have possessed, and any equipment are buried with him, but neither food nor water is necessary. The night after the burial there is a feast in the camp, but the taboo on fish is observed by everyone. The shaman and the people will sing the equivalent of:

The dead one died here, now he has arrived in the Land of Kuma, and there he has been made young again (if a child dies, it becomes a young man or woman, according to the sex). He will know nothing but joy now and will have everything he may desire.

The widow goes on a strict diet for four days. All fires which were burning at the time of the death of the individual are put out and fresh ones are built. On the fourth day the two men, who have put the dead body into the pit, and the widow, bathe; they fast on the fifth. On the fifth night the shaman sings in order to find out if the dead person has reached Kuma, if he has been given a new name, if he has been made young, strong, and rich. For a month after this the widow keeps a strict diet and she is not married for a long time. It is believed that if a man marries a widow soon after her husband has died he will die soon of the same sickness.

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591 RESIDENCE--prevailing rule governing the place of residence of a married couple (e.g., matrilocal, avunculocal, patrilocal, neolocal); existence of combined rules (e.g., alternating, bilocal, matri-patrilocal); occurrence of alternative rules under special circumstances; extent to which marriage normally involves the removal of bride or groom to another community (e.g., local exogamy, local endogamy); residence changes by children or unmarried adults (e.g., removal to home of grandparents or maternal uncle); residence changes made late in married life; evidence bearing upon former or current changes in residence rules; etc. See also:

Dwellings 342
Settlement patterns 361
Bride-service 583
Postmarital visits 585
Residence readjustments after divorce 586
Organization of the community 621
Residence changes by widows and widowers . . 768

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

603 604 educate and to assist him. However, his grandchildren belong to his own moiety and the children of his daughters will be born in this camp and will live with him until the boys are old enough to seek wives in the other moiety. The bonds linking these nephews, uncles, grandparents, and grandchildren are morally strong and perhaps it explains why Kuma herself is thought of as being the grandmother of Hatchawa, rather than the mother. Several myths illustrate this uncle, nephew, grandfather, and grandchild relationship. It is curious to note that occasionally the uncle in these myths plays tricks on the nephew and may even be represented as being exceedingly wicked, but the grandfather is always benevolent.

• [591] The children of a man's sons are brought up in a different hunting group, since the boys will live with their wives' groups, and although these grandchildren belong to the same moiety, the old man's contact with them is rather limited. It is different with the children of his daughter.

182 582 The basis of Yaruro social organization is cross-cousin marriage. Each hunting group tends to consist of one family and other groups hunting nearby are probably closely related to it. The chance of a member of one group meeting members of a group hunting far away from his hunting grounds would be quite insignificant. It would appear, therefore, that a Yaruro man would have the option to marry his sister's cousins, aunts, grandchildren, and grandparents. Of these [584] it is considered incest to marry his sisters, his mother, and the sisters of his mother, whom he calls mother also, the children of his father's brothers, whom he calls father, and the children of his mother's sisters, whom he calls sister also. The only two classes of women whom he can legitimately marry are the daughters of his mother's brothers and the daughters of his father's sisters. The latter, how- [616] ever, belong to the same moiety as himself and are therefore excluded. His choice is restricted to the daughters of his mother's sisters.

However, a number of factors may enter to allow a man a wife other than his cross cousins on his mother's side, and in fact in some cases he is forced to marry others than his cross cousins on his mother's side, who may not be available. Theoretically he may marry any of the following: His father's sisters, his father's mother's sisters, his daughters' daughters, his wife's sisters, his wife's mother's sisters, and his wife's mother's mother and her sisters. We find in actual practice that this is done. At Landaeta there was one young man married to a woman of about 40 whom we would call his aunt-in-law, that is, his wife's m[illegible]r's sister.

587 This class of women wh[illegible] he is allowed to marry he is also obligated to look after should their husbands die. For instance, should

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

any of his brothers die he falls heir to the brother's wife or wives, who may be sisters or sisters of his own wife; likewise, should his mother's brother die his wife or wives, who is one of the group of his wife's mother's sister, would also become his wife. This system can be made plainer by examining figure 24. By following the moiety relationship one can see just whom the individual is allowed to marry. If it is considered that any of these individuals may actually become his wife, either because there are no other women of his own age group available, or because they have lost their own husbands, and therefore need a protector, the system becomes clear.

IN-LAW RELATIONS

Cross-cousin marriage being the prevalent type, it means that the son of a man's sister will marry his daughter and come to live with him. As soon as that happens a number of social taboos are imposed on the in-laws. The son-in-law from the time that he marries is prohibited from speaking to his mother-in-law, although he lives with the same hunting group and may even travel in the same canoe with her; he cannot eat before her or even near her; he cannot go close to her, even though his bows and arrows may be lying there; he cannot hand her any object; he cannot make his personal toilet in front of her; he cannot sing or dance close to her; he cannot travel alone with his mother-in-law, and if they are forced to travel together in a canoe with the wife of the son-in-law as one of the party, he takes his position in the bow and the mother-in-law sits in the stern. These taboos are reciprocal. If the two meet in a path they turn aside and go in opposite directions.

These taboos are the more remarkable since there are positive duties owed one in-law to the other. The son-in-law is obligated to supply food and protection to his mother-in-law. It is his duty to prepare firewood and bring her materials which she may need to make basketry. It is expected that he will gather delicacies for her, such as honey. On the other hand, his mother-in-law will often prepare food for her son-in-law, will make pouches for him, and show him favors in other ways. But these favors must be transmitted through the wife and daughter, or through other persons. In camp I have seen mother-in-law and son-in-law sitting with backs to each other hour after hour, day after day, never exchanging a word, always averting their eyes from the other's person.

Similar taboos are practiced between the father-in-law and daughter-in-law, but because the girl lives with her parents they weigh less heavily upon her and her father-in-law, since they rarely meet. The taboos, though, are more strictly observed, probably on account of the sexual temptation.

121 182 433 [241] [22] harvesting it, require no centralized authority and render it possible and even probable that the management of production or distribution be carried on without it. The same may be said, on the whole, for all the hunting, fishing, and gathering harvests, a notable and probably permanent feature of Yaruro ecology. Perhaps the only crop which has a marked seasonality is corn, but its absolute size in the total production, its geographical distribution in production, and its position relative to all other harvests renders it insignificant as an effective promoter of managerial functions and [56] formal arrangements of social stratification. It is unlikely, given Yaruro ecology that the forms of surplus would change; consequently their concomitants in social structure would remain constant.

On the basis of the formal characteristics of the ecology and of the surpluses one may deduce an essentially egalitarian social organization, with minimal ranking and leadership and with dispersion of the acts of [56] economic distribution among a number of adult males or females any one of [462] whom may produce a small harvest surplus at any time. With a relatively steady and reasonably comfortable total subsistence base, and with eco- 182 logical arrangements which are spatially repeated in identical form up [582] and down river, no necessity exists for stringent rules of local exogamy as an institution to regulate the labor force by redistributing its members. One would expect frequent marrying in the village according to the convenience of the contractants, and out-marriages to occur either as economic [562] opportunity offered elsewhere or lack of women at home urged one out. The combined biological and productive role of women, with their particularly important technical roles in gathering and in food preparation, suggest sedentary communities and a matrifocal emphasis in the rules of residence. However, the importance and location of the man's economic contribution ●[591] might be expected to balance this to a degree so that one might deduce male uxorimatrilocal residence but with other, subsidiary patterns. This in fact occurs, occasional male matrilocality or patrilocality [19] comprising the subsidiary residence rules. Political authority would be vested [623] in the community, mainly among its elders, since little or no ranking or stratification is to be expected. In fact, Yaruro socio-political forms, in general, conform to all of these deduced conditions. They represent a model for any society based on the kinds of ecological conditions or form of ecology we have described. Where the ecology is even more restricted the deduced characteristics should be matched even more closely by the observed [171] data. In this respect, the Sirionó, for example, tend to confirm the hypothesis, in that their partial sedentariness which revolves about horticulture is associated with matrifocal social organization: matrilocality and matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. They also possess autonomous local communities. [19] The Apinayé also tend to confirm the hypothesis. [20]

Where our analysis permits us to predict about the course of the ecological conditions, we should also be able to extend this prediction to the social structure. Since, under the given ecology, we can establish a maximum population for each Yaruro socio-cultural unit, and under the given technology we would expect no significant change in the ecology, no significant

18,19,20 [For footnotes see pp. 43-44 category 116 --Analyst]

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

1939), on the basis of later field research, he completely rejects his previous stand.

In 1949, after his earlier publications, Le Besnerais (cf. 1954) made a census of the entire Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, discovering among other things:

A) That most Yaruro settlements had dry season locations on or near the river, banks or on the sand bars in the river, and wet season locations back from the rivers on higher sand dunes,

B) that there were corresponding house types for each kind of location,

C) that a great many of these settlements appear to have had two divisions mainly in the wet season locations — often at considerable distances from each other, sometimes very close,

D) that near all winter locations and in all settlements along the entire length of the Riecito and Capanaparo rivers gardens existed with standard crops mentioned in my own work (1961 *a*, 1962),

E) and, by implication, that these garden plots are not readily visible from the river nor from dry season locations.

Fiasson (1947), speaking of a trip probably made in 1943, mentions gardens for the Yaruro in the Capanaparo-Meta area. The missionary, Raymond Kook, showed me pictures in 1958 of gardens on the upper Sinaruco. And, in the neighborhood of the mission station, near Guachara and along the Caño del Medio and the Cunaviche River, all the Indians had horticulture. These Indians also reported gardens along the Arauca River. The linguist, Thomas P. Rootes, describes gardens along the Riecito and Sinaruco, and I have myself published in detail on Yaruro horticulture (1961 *a*).

In sum, present sources indicate horticulture for all Yaruro, going back at least to 1945 or 1946 and undoubtedly earlier — a period at maximum no more than twelve years after Petrullo's *dry-season* visit in 1934. It is hard to believe that the horticultural practice was diffused the length and breadth of Yaruro-land and integrated into a well-organized transhumance and even into the world view all in fifteen years. Nevertheless belief is not adequate proof. The only recourse is to try to resolve the problem by earlier evidence.

The second major difference between my findings and those of Petrullo relates to the asserted existence of matrilineal "clans", characterised, in localities, by a sib core of women and their children plus the locally inmarried husbands. Nowhere in Petrullo is proof given for the *unilineality* which is implied by the term clan, though the *matrifocality* seems genuinely confirmed by the genealogies reproduced. Matrifocality is not congruent with matrilineality, and, try as I might, I was not able to establish the latter. I am not ready to assert that matrilineality therefore does not, or did not, exist but I was quite unable to elicit any evidence for it.

A related aspect is, of course, exogamy. Petrullo claims that marriage can only occur reciprocally between the two clans, marriage *within* which would

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592 HOUSEHOLD--typical composition (e.g., nuclear or polygamous family, joint or extended family, clan); range, types, and incidence of variations; extent of inclusion of servants, retainers, and dependent relatives (e.g., aged grandparents, parents-in-law); physical seat (e.g., a single small or large dwelling, a cluster of adjacent huts, a compound); functions and cooperative activities of the household unit as such (i.e., irrespective of variations in family composition); locus of authority; rule of succession; mechanism for adjusting disputes within the household; ownership of dwelling, food stores, and household possessions; etc. Functions associated with particular forms of the family rather than with the household as such will be found in separate categories.

See also:

Property 42
Type of dwelling 342
Servants 357
Cooperative labor 476
Slaves 567
Care of aged 737, 888

1: Petrullo SS19 Yaruro SS19

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/The author refers to a unit which he calls "family hunting group". This unit has been classified under category 621, since it is never specifically identified with or distinguished from the community. It may (e.g. for camps during the rainy season) occasionally be equivalent to the household.)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

the universe, his understanding of life and death, of the history of his people and their future, of morality, and of justice. Likewise he was anxious to hear what message I had to bring from my people in respect to these things. So, sitting under the shelter of some branches, we talked. As we talked we both worked. Pablo Reyes kept his hands occupied making string, fixing bows and arrows, and I, when not busy writing, pretended to carve little figures out of wood. The children played about us and Pablo's three wives kept shyly in the background, though listening carefully to what we said and often throwing inquisitive glances in our direction.

Profiting by our proximity to Guiana, I decided to visit Urbana where I could buy some goods for my friends and at the same time gather information about archeology. The wind blew so hard it proved necessary to drag the canoe along the shore of the island until we found the best place for a crossing. The sand was raised in clouds and our bodies were peppered with it so that we were forced to cover up closely. It finally proved impossible to continue and we were forced to stop and camp in the open with our backs to the wind and no shelter except what we could get from our hammocks. But holding them up was as much a hardship as to be bombarded by sand. We made one attempt to cross the Orinoco in the afternoon but we were forced to give it up. Finally, late in the afternoon, putting our trust in "God and the Virgin," as the Venezuelan canoemen say, we launched the canoe and reached La Urbana about midnight. Our stay there was necessarily short and we hastened back to Linda Bara the following day, but I gathered enough from the examination of collections at the Salesian Mission to determine that the archeology on that side of the Orinoco is quite different from that of the llanos.

At sunset as we were approaching the island we saw an army of bats in flight. The bats were coming as a cloud out of a Guiana hill in the far distance, and flew directly over us, and across to the other shore of the river, disappearing into the forest. We watched this vast army for about 15 minutes and then continued on our way, not because we had seen the last of the bats, but because time was short. I was told by my guide that this daily flight of the bats from the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco generally lasts two hours. How many thousands of them live in this cave and fly daily to forage for food in the forest is a matter of conjecture. The bat, so plentiful in this region, seems to have inspired the ancient potters of the llanos to use the head as a motif of decoration.

When we reached Pablo Reyes the next day we found there several other Yaruro families, relatives of Pablo, encamped with him. We talked some more, then departed several days later in order to return to Landaeta, who proved to be my best informant.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

along the west-to-east flowing rivers in ribbons some kilometers wide. Most significant fauna and flora of economic use occur in these ribbons. This ecological distribution of resources governs subsistence activities whether they be mainly hunting, fishing, collecting, or horticulture.

Yaruro subsistence comprises all these activities. (2). Horticulture in the rainy season appears considerably to outweigh all other sources of food together, but in the dry season, hunting, fishing, and collecting perhaps equal or outstrip horticulture. In any case, slash and burn gardening of manioc, corn, plantains, and a number of lesser crops is by far the single most important economic activity. The technology is exceedingly simple in all aspects of production, the main tools being the machete and digging stick. The most elaborate technology occurs in the conversion of food into edibles and in the manufacture of hammocks, pottery, objects of wood such as canoes, and woven containers of all types.

The economic organization displays a sharp division of labor between men's and women's work. Men do all hunting and fishing, make all objects of wood, haul lumber and householding materials, make hammocks, and carry out the heavy labor of gardening. Women do most of the collecting of roots, seeds, and fruits. Since collecting contributes a substantial portion of the food supply in summer, woman's contribution, here, is of considerable communal importance. Women's work, a continuous activity from dawn to dusk, is, first, the conversion of raw foodstuffs into edibles. Second, women make all pottery, mats and baskets, the manioc squeezers, and much of the cord used to make hammocks. Another important contribution of women is their help in harvesting in the gardens. Men sometimes help the women with the cookery.

Men may work alone, in groups of 2 or 3, or in larger groups on rare occasions. No occasion exists for all men to work at a single task since there is no technological need for it. Women's work groups for collecting or householding are of similar size. Work group alignments are often based on choice or accident but in other instances coresidence and kinship are determinants. The household, however, constitutes the only really necessary cooperative group for production. The man is a funnel for produce which the woman converts to

(2) The present description applies to the Cinaruco River Yaruro where the major part of the writer's field work, supported by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, was done. The Capanaparo River Yaruro were reported by Petrullo (1939) and Le Besnerais (1948) as being hunters and gatherers, although Le Besnerais observed small horticultural patches which he claimed were diffusions from Venezuelan farmers which had occurred recently. Le Besnerais in 1954 states directly that they were horticulturalists, omitting any mention of possible diffusions from Venezuelans. The passing mention of horticulture by Fiasson (1947) confirms the present writer in his opinion that, although horticulture may be more restricted on the Capanaparo than on the Cinaruco and Cunaviche-Arauca (where the writer also spent several weeks) which are not discussed at all by Petrullo or Le Besnerais, nevertheless, the absence of horticulture is probably not aboriginal with the Yaruro as has been suggested by Kirchhoff (1948, p. 456). Rather the restricted gardening is a result of ecological conditions on the Capanaparo which are less favorable to horticulture than on the neighboring rivers, combined with extremely violent acculturation, including large-scale massacres of natives. The only other possibility, in my opinion, is that horticulture was introduced by the missionaries in the early part of the Eighteenth Century, which is certainly the period when the Yaruro first became acquainted with iron tools (cf Lodares, 1922).

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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make it usable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses. [461]

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Objects used by men are men's property and are inherited by the men; objects used by women are women's property and are inherited in the women's line. Immovable property such as gardens and houses are said to be inherited by the decedent's children of both sexes. Male animals, such as boars and dogs, are owned by men, the females by women. Thus the division of property is as sharp as the division of labor, a fact reflected throughout the ideology.

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No two producers produce the same quantity or inventory of goods, especially as each has great freedom to concentrate in the productive activities he prefers to the exclusion of others. Yet each producer contributes to household and community in what is felt to be equivalent value since most foods are considered good and of equal worth. Each household producing unit distributes supplies of raw or cooked foods to other households along the lines of coresidence and kinship. In this way, all villagers, as consumers, receive the same total amount of food and no one goes without. Thus all persons and households in the community are equivalent as producers, distributers, and consumers. All are tied together in a loosely formalized network of coordinate reciprocal exchanges and obligations in which scales of value are not necessary, since each person contributes approximately equally of all values. In this situation, accumulation of wealth by individuals is out of the question and management of production or of wealth distribution is unnecessary. Consequently, there are no economic status differentiations and no effective leadership among the Yaruro. [556] [554] [622]

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Similarly, no purely social differentiations based on status ranking occur in Yaruro society, except by casual deference to those of age and experience like shamans and village spokesmen, called 'capitans'. The status of women is coordinate with that of men. The complementary and coordinate units, a man and a woman, combine into a series of coordinate but semi-autonomous units, the households. A group of these constitute the Yaruro social unit, the neither endogamous nor exogamous (Murdock's "agamous") village. All these units are tied together by links of bilaterally traced kinship, with coordinate relations on both sides, the ultimate tie being the reciprocal marriage of cross-cousins. Marriage is ideally matrilocal, and occurs most frequently within the village. As a consequence, the most immediate kinship ties in the village are matrilateral, whereas kinship among the men is more diffuse. The villages themselves are tied together by kinship ties, real or imputed, as well as by marriage and visiting, but by no other ties of an all-tribal nature. People who are known to any particular village —to 'us'— are considered part of our village's family, since their kinship ties to our members can be discovered or invented freely. Persons recognized as being of our linguistic and cultural stock will be included under the general term *pumé*, but may not be considered 'of our family' unless the kinship ties are recognized. Thus there is a Yaruro people, but no Yaruro tribal unit. Even the persons included in 'our family' do not constitute a unit, since there are no cross village unifying institutions other than real or imputed bilateral kinship ties. Even these vary from

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

593 The sense of strict inviolability of personal rights carries over to personal services. Never did a husband order his wife to do anything outside of her proper domain. While I lived with them, in spite of the excellent care they gave me, even to the point of anticipating my wishes in a great many cases, never did a husband request his wife to prepare food for me. He asked her if she would, acting merely as my messenger. 604 No closer relationship can exist than between maternal uncle and nephew, yet even he does not feel free to ask any service of his nephew, nor to take the latter's personal property.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 562 Sexual dichotomy in economic activities is clearly defined. In a general way, it may be said that the rougher, harder, and more dangerous work belongs in the province of male activity and that there is no task which calls for strength or danger that properly belongs in the realm of woman's activity. Should any woman be engaged in a hard or dangerous piece of work and a man happens to be present there is a tacit assumption of the task by the latter. Hunting and fishing and presumably the act of fighting in war are man's tasks. The gathering of roots, fruits, seed, and their preparation belongs to [222] the women. It is interesting to note that the gathering of honey, which entails some risk, is done by the men. The making of canoes, the making of implements, of hammocks, the activities in making camp are all in man's domain. The preparation of food and the making of pottery and basketry are woman's tasks.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 868 857 Hunting and fishing are male occupations exclusively. As soon as the young boy is able to toddle about he is made to play with bow and arrow and learns to make these indispensable tools. It is a common sight to see little boys who are too young to be taken along by the men on hunting expeditions playing at the game of hunting; and when a man is in camp busily preparing his hunting equipment his young son is by his side working industriously on miniature bows and arrows.

225 411 501 The equipment of the hunter is simple. Bow, arrow, and canoe are indispensable. A Yaruro does not like to roam on land, but there is no need for him to do so since he can get his game in the watercourses or along their banks. So he sets off in the early morning, generally accompanied by his hunting companion, to look for crocodile (*Crocodilus babu*). He will hunt for other forms of life only reluctantly, having a special liking for crocodile meat.

Because of the shyness of crocodile the hunter is most often forced to shoot at it from a distance. Since an arrow will seldom kill one

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

606 daughter, but he should have married the daughter of one Juan
604 Bario, who was a parallel cousin of Landaeta, therefore, he actually married not his immediate cross cousin, but his cross cousin once removed. He kept strictly within the cross moiety marriage rule. However, this marriage brought complications in his life, because for all practical purposes he had two fathers-in-law to take care of rather than one. He solved this problem by living with Landaeta, his wife's father, half of the week, and the other half he spent with his uncle,

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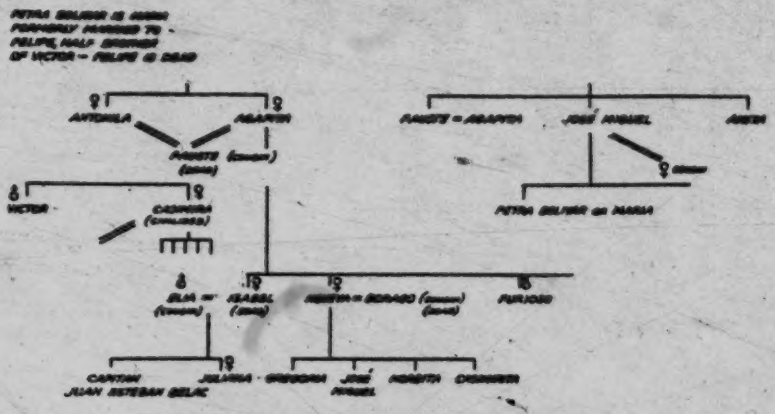

FIGURE 23.—Yaruro family hunting group at El Burren.

606 Juan Bario, whose daughter he would have married if she had lived.
604 The sense of service which he owed to his true uncle, his mother's brother, was strong enough to persist, even though it visited a hardship on him.

616 Within the tribal organization the individual looks to his moiety
476 for guidance, protection, and social intercourse. In return for this he is obligated to members of his moiety in a variety of ways. He acknowledges their affinity to him by seeking their company, by hunting together with them, and by sharing his food with them.

622 In the family hunting group its head is socially a stranger to most
● 593 of the people around him. Indeed, if he has no sisters or has sis-
626 ters who do not have any sons and has no brothers living with him, then socially he is almost out of place in the family hunting group. His wife, of course, belongs to the opposite moiety, and the children trace their descent through the mother. His wife's mother, sisters, brothers and their children belong to the same moiety
604 as herself. When his own children are old enough to take part in
593 hunting they look to their mother and to her brother, or brothers, for
476 guidance and it is toward the latter that they have all sorts of social obligations. To their father they show respect, but to the mother's

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

brothers they must make offerings of labor and food. In fact as soon as they are old enough to do so, the boys will spend a good portion of their time in the family group of their uncles on their mother's side. They hunt with him, they help him build his canoes, work for him, and take part in the feasts and ceremonies with him.

However, the father is interested in his children, especially when they are young, and treats them with the utmost kindness and they reciprocate by acknowledging filial respect. Perhaps it was this difference in the attitude between the uncle and the father that led the missionaries to comment that the Yaruros and the Otomacos showed no respect for their fathers and often killed them.

A Yaruro makes no mistake between those individuals in his group who are related to him biologically and those who are merely related to him socially. For instance, he calls his father "aia" or "aiamái," and he calls his father's brothers by the same word. In fact he distinguishes between the older and the younger brothers of his father, so that he may call his father's elder brother "aiamái otéh," which is translatable into "elder father". He will refer to the younger brother of his father as "aiamái durimé," meaning "younger father." Not only does he call the brothers of his father by the same term as he addresses his own father, but the parallel cousins also are addressed by the same term. Since his own father must show respect to his older brothers, the son assumes the same attitude as his father toward the older members of the family. In the female line, he refers to his mother as "aí" and his mother's sisters as "aí" also, suffixing the term for older and younger as the case may be. The female parallel cousins of his mother are called by the same term.

On the other hand the sisters of the father are addressed as "haí" and the brothers of his mother are addressed as "hademái". It is these classes of individuals whom we can refer to as aunt and uncle.

His brothers he calls "ajimái" or "anyimai" and his sisters "amí". These terms are extended to his parallel cousins both on his father's and mother's side. The children of his father's brothers, and his mother's sisters, he calls "anyiná," if male, and "ani," if female. His cross-cousins he addresses as follows: "keramái", the sons of his mother's brother, which is equivalent to brother-in-law; "nyohé" the daughters of his mother's brother; "avimái", the sons of his father's sister; and "haí haó", the daughters of his father's sister.

There is a striking resemblance between the terms which he employs to indicate his grandchildren and his grandparents. The children of his daughter, if boys, he will refer to as "hiamai," if girls, "hiatokwi." The children of his son, on the other hand, if boys, he will call "hadamai," and if girls "hadatokwi." His grandfather on his father's side he calls "hadaoteh." His grandmother

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

601 marriage she called also "nyowuh", are referred to as "keramai". The father-in-law calls his son-in-law "haiméma'", which means "the one my daughter married", and the son-in-law calls his father-in-law "huíteh". His mother-in-law, whom he never addresses directly, he [606] refers to as "kaikamúe". The girl refers to her father-in-law as "kuinté". Before marriage the boy would have called his uncle, the brother of his mother, "húidemái".

616 There do not seem to be any rites or ceremonies from which members of the opposite moiety are excluded. According to my informants, the Puaná clan moiety is preeminent over the Itciai moiety, therefore the person recognized as its head is considered to be the [578] chief of the Yaruros. There is no resentment, as far as I was able to learn, to this arrangement. Primarily, I suppose, because the biological descendants of an individual pass from one moiety to another and therefore share in its prerogatives. The Yaruros' social concepts in respect to moiety membership is best expressed by reciprocal duties, obligations, and prerogatives. Under the elementary local system the son-in-law is almost a guest among his wife's people with whom he goes to live. During the rainy season when more permanent shelters are built, according to my informants, they have more ceremonies, during one of which the unmarried boys of one moiety then sit in the house of the other moiety.

616 Although there is no exclusion of the members of the opposite
796 moiety in the ceremonies, if the shaman is of the Puaná moiety,
791 those that sit closest to him are members of his own moiety. But even in this case the other moiety is represented, and in fact indirectly serves him. His own wife sits at his right and it is she who assists him when her help is needed by handing to him the various pieces of his paraphernalia and tobacco. It is she, likewise, who prepares the various drinks. The rest of the members of her moiety, if they happen to be present, take their places following the members of the shaman's moiety.

604 When a man is undertaking a hunt or wishes to build a canoe he
476 calls on his nephews, that is, his sister's sons, for help, and they are obligated to be at his service. This obligation and service, which begins as soon as the boy begins to understand his position in the society, lasts a lifetime. When the uncle or uncles become too feeble to hunt for themselves it is these nephews who supply them with food and everything else they may need. This service may be interpreted as compensation to the uncles for their daughters who become the wives of these youths. But there was no indication that it was so considered by the Yaruro.

593 h. A man, therefore, does not have the services nor the social life of
604 his children, but has to look to his sister's womb for individuals to educate and to assist him.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

pole in a circle but merely move forward and backward. During the performance it is prohibited for anyone to pass by the head of the sick person. The shaman will sing all night and if by morning the sick person has not shown any marked improvement the woman shaman will lie in a hammock with her head pointing to the east and will continue the singing. Other women will sit in the hammock with her and sing all day long. I myself underwent such attention. If the wife shows little interest in the welfare of her husband it is concrete proof that she does not love him and it is believed he will die. In this there are two factors to be considered from my observation of these people. The first is that a lack of wifely interest is the equivalent of bad medicine and that the husband himself will feel so disconsolate that all desire to live will be lost.

If the sick person dies during the night nothing is done except to stop the singing and dancing. At daybreak his people will drink vast quantities of chica and prepare for the funeral rites. If the sick person happens to be a woman in her menstrual period it is important to note that she is in the care of the woman shaman. The man shaman does not dare to sing to her.

In the morning the dead person is washed by the women and the body is wrapped in a hammock and taken to the burial place. The brothers and the uncles carry the body. The father and mother do not accompany the body to the grave, but in the case of a married man the widow does. The body is interred in the hammock with the head pointing to the east. The bow and arrows, whatever clothing he may have possessed, and any equipment are buried with him, but neither food nor water is necessary. The night after the burial there is a feast in the camp, but the taboo on fish is observed by everyone. The shaman and the people will sing the equivalent of:

The dead one died here, now he has arrived in the Land of Kuma, and there he has been made young again (if a child dies, it becomes a young man or woman, according to the sex). He will know nothing but joy now and will have everything he may desire.

The widow goes on a strict diet for four days. All fires which were burning at the time of the death of the individual are put out and fresh ones are built. On the fourth day the two men, who have put the dead body into the pit, and the widow, bathe; they fast on the fifth. On the fifth night the shaman sings in order to find out if the dead person has reached Kuma, if he has been given a new name, if he has been made young, strong, and rich. For a month after this the widow keeps a strict diet and she is not married for a long time. It is believed that if a man marries a widow soon after her husband has died he will die soon of the same sickness.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

The first fact that holds our attention is that Yaruros are strongly ethically conscious. Every shamanistic performance is the means for the propagation of ethical teachings. The shaman, or as the Yaruros believe, the gods and their dead ancestors speaking through the shaman, admonish various individuals and lay down the law for proper conduct. They hold the threat also that misconduct will be displeasing to the mother goddess and as a result life with her will not be as pleasant as it would be if they followed her precepts in this world.

According to the Yaruro philosophy the world is, by its nature, good and it was created by Kuma as a good thing. If any evil exists it has been introduced by men, who have forgotten or come to disregard the laws laid down by the goddess. The world, if unsullied by men, is a perfect integration of the elements which function for the good of mankind. Unfortunately, at times men will disturb the structure. There is implied in this the existence of free will for mankind, since it can change or disturb what was created by Kuma. And if we have recourse to the legends, we find that perhaps the lower animals have free will also, although it is exercised by them much more rarely than by mankind.

Kuma appears also as the teacher of ethical laws. She told the people, told Hatchawa, and now tells the shamans: to live in peace with each other; to respect each other; to help each other; to live good lives; to take care of the parents-in-law and the children-in law. When the wife is ill or otherwise the mother-in-law should look after the needs of her son-in-law, although they do not speak to each other. The Yaruros will find recompense for such moral living after death. They are poor on this earth but will be rich like Kuma in the other world.

During my stay the women remained bashful, never speaking directly to me, and when I approached generally looking away. In the latter days they would laugh merrily as they fled. Their culture does not permit free social intercourse with men, but any request on my part relayed to them through their husbands or brothers was eagerly complied with, and with better than good humor.

All were helpful toward each other and there did not appear to be any dissension. Extreme care was taken that a person's rights and prerogatives were not infringed upon. The husband never seemed to request anything of his wife that did not lie in her province, and when strange demands were made to please me, entire freedom was given to the wife, or daughter, to do as it pleased her. Any misfortune, however slight or serious, that would produce some expression of anger among white people was met by the Yaruros with merry laughter. At night each family group lay on the sands

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

At night each family group lay on the sands
521 talking a little, laughing a little. I made it a custom of visiting every night, and usually the men gathered around. The women, keeping in the background, made all sorts of inquiries concerning my country and people, but always through the men.

831 One cannot live on intimate terms with a group of people a week
123 without learning something of their sexual attitudes. Only too often is this factor dangled in front of him, so that if he were to base his report on recurrent experiences and situations it would be largely made up of sex and sex problems. However, the sexual element is strongly present, but it is in normal cases a simple matter.

121 A simple matter but of exceeding importance if we are to believe the psychologists. Basic to life, and to social organization, the attitude toward it has its effect on the life of the individual and on the culture, but equal the make-up of the indidivual and the culture produces the sexual attitude.

836 To begin with, this writer does not know anything about the sexual development of Yaruro boy or girl. He does not know what secret sexual play the children may indulge in, nor does he know whether the unmarried girl has any sexual relations. He thinks that the un-
838 married do. He also thinks that there is some kind of homosexuality among the boys, and even the men. The following is based on what he observed, heard, and saw without any undue prying about.

857 The sexes are kept apart from infancy. A baby girl is launched
855 into her future career as a woman almost from birth. She is the
593 special care of the mother and women folk. When she is able to play she plays alone, with other girls, or with the women. She never plays with the boys. When she is able to work she helps her mother, never her father nor her elder brothers. She may be helped in her work by her brother.

593 It is impossible to claim that the attachment is stronger between the mother and children than between the father and daughter. It would be necessary to investigate the problem from the psychological point of view. But such is the case socially and economically.

The maternal uncle does to a certain degree substitute for the father, but this substitution is formal and social.

867 From babyhood the child learns his relationship to those about
602 him. One woman is its mother. She it is who gives suck, holds, etc. Later he learns that he must call other women mother also. These are the sisters of his true mother. One man he learns to call father. This man is the one who is most with his mother, in whose canoe
602 they travel, etc. Other men he calls father also, the brothers of his true father. Thus relationships are defined sexually, familiarly, and formally. In respect to girls of his own age he learns that some he calls sisters and others by terms whose equivalent may be rendered

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 8519 Yaruro 8519

602 "sweetheart", "potential wife". At any rate, the boy learns that
[582] members of the former class he can not marry, and that one, a particular one of the second class, will become his wife. Thus on those who stand in the familiar relationship he cannot cast sexual thoughts.

836 Intersexual activity before marriage was not observable and it seemed as if there would be little opportunity for it. Boys and girls are kept separate, the girls staying with their mothers, the boys with the men. At night there seemed to be the same division.

854 During infancy there is no organized play for the girl. Her
861 parents do not play as we are wont to do. She is not teased into
[865] laughter, but tender care is given to her. She is fed, cleaned, kept in the shade, and made to wear ornaments. Dolls of clay may be made for her. During this period she is taken everywhere by the mother. From babyhood she participates in the collection of food, in its preparation and cooking, in the making of basketry, pottery, making and breaking camp, traveling in canoes, but always with her mother.
868 Gradually she learns to take a more active part in the female tasks. The important point is that the proper decorum for her is to keep to members of her own sex. She does not become a tomboy. If she learns to perform tasks it is only because the women are supposed to have a smattering of them anyhow. Paddling is one of these.

854 The boy's life is first shared with his mother, and although fondled
593 by the father, he remains with the mother until he is able to walk and paddle. Thus, whereas the girl never comes under the direct influence of her father, the boy is under the direct influence of the mother during his infancy and babyhood. Gradually he participates more and more in manly tasks, but as a matter of fact he never entirely disassociates himself from his mother. As long as he is unmarried he performs tasks for his mother and she takes care of him, performing such acts as cooking, delousing, etc. He gathers wood, lights fires, etc.

864 The children are not kept in sexual ignorance. At least the boys
831 seem to learn something of the sexual functions at an early age. From what I observed of Yaruro camp life, it seems that no attempt was made to keep knowledge of sex and sexual functions away from the children. In the first place, there is no sense of modesty so far as the sexual parts are concerned, and therefore there is no ignorance on the part of the children. There is very little, if any, sexual play among the adults during the day. Since the attitude toward the sexual parts of the body is one of indifference there is very little that may happen which would indicate any interest in those parts. Any knowledge that the children may have of sex must, therefore, be gathered from observation of their parents.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Even if there were stronger interest in sex than seemed to exist, there would be little opportunity for the youngsters to indulge in any sexual relations, since their playmates tend to be parallel cousins and very often playmates are lacking altogether. In the small hunting groups often there may be only one or two unmarried young people. Under such conditions a boy would either have to seek sex relations with one of his moiety sisters or practice adultery with a woman of the opposite moiety living with his own hunting group. We may presume that neither incest nor adultery are unknown to the Yaruros. During my stay among them there was no evidence of that.

Another factor which tends to help the Yaruros live a strictly moral life is that upon reaching puberty both boys and girls marry if a mate is available, even though the wife or husband may be considerably older. Premarital romantic love life may be entirely absent on this account, but one suspects that another type of romanticism may be built on what is available. For instance, practically from babyhood the boy or girl knows whom he or she will marry and in waiting for the promised day one would suspect an emotional attitude is built up. It is certain that after marriage strong bonds of affection are developed between husband and wife. Strictly limited in choice, there can be no free play for one's desires.

In the Yaruro society prostitution is probably absent. I believe that today some degree of prostitution has been forced upon them by the peoples with whom they come in contact. Perhaps we should call it purchasing of sexual rights, with the Yaruros playing a docile if not hostile part. After all, they are forced to acquiesce in a great many practices foreign to their ideas.

The above is the sexual ambient. As a result the adults act in the following manner. Sexual intercourse is considered one of the numerous natural acts. It is not exaggerated, little talked or joked about, and judging from the sort of life they lead not over indulged in.

Among the men, woman is not discussed. Neither virtue nor sin is the subject of comment. She is let strictly alone and uncensored. Obscenity is rare.

If any homosexuality exists it must be established by inference. It is common among the hunting tribes for a man to have a companion with whom he hunts, travels, and with whom he spends most of his time. Such companionship seems to be closer before marriage than after.

I have observed two boys, unmarried because no girls were available, engaged in such acts as we are accustomed to impute to love making—holding hands, etc. Yet, lest we jump at hasty conclusions, it must be said that affection between men is demonstrated much more so than

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

311 177 In the case of the Yaruros all of these factors have played an important role and are currently active in reducing their territories and food supply to a degree that will mean imminent extermination of the people. It is true that since the first settler arrived in their country the Yaruros could have made readjustments in their culture which perhaps might have permitted them to survive. They could have learned, for instance, to raise horses, cattle, and to cultivate the soil as the [178] Guajiros, living in a country similar to the llanos, have done. But they have chosen to remain firm in their own culture, own traditions, and own universe, and as a result are expecting to pay the penalty. Why they have failed to make the readjustment which would have brought them into a livable relationship with the newcomers and have persisted in keeping to their primitive, nomadic existence may be answered in the pages that follow.

361 Dependency on hunting, fishing, and gathering of edible fruits and roots imposes nomadism upon a people and prevents living together in large groups. The degree to which a people have to wander, the extent of the territory over which they must roam, and the size of the group, is dependent upon the abundance of the food supply in the region. The Yaruro hunting groups are small and they stay in one camp not more than a few days; so, they are to be met plying up and down the river in their canoes or traveling over land to the water holes, ever hunting for food.

HUNTING TERRITORIES

224 621 596 Each hunting group has a territory over which it is free to roam. Over this region only its members are allowed to hunt and gather fruits and roots, but the rivers, the main streams, are open to all. The accompanying map shows the limits of the present hunting territory [174] of the Yaruros of the Capanaparo. It would seem that anciently, when the Yaruros were more numerous, they roamed over a vaster region cut up into small portions over which hunting rights were distributed among various hunting family groups. I was assured that the Yaruros of the Sinaruco also have divided their country into family units.

619 101 There is also a sort of division among the Yaruros which transcends family grouping. The Yaruros of the Capanaparo, for instance, consider themselves a unit, though loosely bound, as distinct from the Yaruros of the Sinaruco, so that they consider the land drained by the Capanaparo as theirs and the region drained by the Sinaruco as the land of the Yaruros of that river. And yet, above all this, there seems to be a tribal feeling as opposed to the tribal divisions. The real significance of this is that among the Yaruros there is permitted a degree of mutuality in the use of the hunting rights

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

During the rainy season the seed of the chigua is gathered. It is crushed, toasted, and stored in small quantities in the same way as the changuango, provided, of course, that a spot is found high enough to keep it dry.

Social Organization and Social Customs

Economically the family hunting group is the basic unit, as has been shown in the previous chapter. In social matters, however, it is the moiety. Each family hunting group recognizes a headman and each moiety recognizes a chief who in all cases is the shaman. Both of these positions of authority are acquired only through personal merit. There is no inheritance of chieftainship or shamanism. If the nephew of a headman shows ability he may inherit his uncle's position, and theoretically this is the scheme. In natural practices we find that not only the Yaruros but perhaps a great many other primitive peoples are very realistic and are loath to give authority to an individual whose personality does not stand for leadership.

Every Yaruro is born in either the "Itciai" or "Puaná" moiety. Descent, with its social affinities, prerogatives, and obligations, being traced through the female line, the child belongs to its mother's moiety. Nothing is inherited from the father, who belongs to the other moiety, except obligations.

There is a legend among the Yaruros that two young men not finding any marriageable girls among their own people mated with the Jaguar and with the Snake. From these two unions are descended the two moieties. Since only among animals do brothers and sisters mate it has become a rule that two descendants of the Jaguar, "Itciai", cannot marry with each other; nor can two descendants of the Snake, "Puaná", marry with each other. They must seek a mate from the other group. Thus an "Itciai" must always marry a "Puaná", and vice versa. Cross-cousin marriage solves this problem.

In this system, therefore, a man's children belong to his wife's moiety, from which he is socially excluded. His sister's children, on the other hand, are socially close to him since they too inherit moiety membership from their mother which is the same as his own. Deprived of his own children to carry on his traditions, a man looks to his sister's children to take their place. It is his nephews who will help him in hunting, who will come to his defence, who will take care of him in old age. As if in payment of such attention he gives them his daughters in marriage. Thus his sisters' sons become his sons-in-law.

Yaruro society is built around the hunting group, which in numbers is never stable. The hunt and the gathering of food such as roots and fruits calls for a certain amount of cooperative effort, but

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

621 596 rarely is there need to enlist the services of persons outside the family group for it.

A typical hunting family will consist of the "old man," his wife, their unmarried sons, unmarried and married daughters, their sons-in-law, perhaps an unmarried brother or two, or without a father-in-law with whom to live, the parents-in-law unless they be dead, and the grandchildren, that is, the children of the daughters. To this nucleus there may be attached, temporarily, stragglers from other groups, old people and young children without relatives to take care of them, and visiting children of the man's sisters.

When two hunting groups meet very often they will camp together for a few days. If food is plentiful they may spend some of the time in merrymaking. Those bands which are in touch with the ranchers may gather together to perform a given piece of work for the meager pay that they may receive.

621 178 In actual practice it is almost impossible for a hunting group to consist of a theoretical family as described. This is especially true now that the Yaruros are disappearing so rapidly. The women may have a series of husbands, as if one dies, or is killed, and the men may have a series of wives. Any genealogical table, therefore, is very confused.

616 621 596 The group of El Burron consisted of the following: Two sisters who had been married to Fauste, a cross-cousin but who was now dead; one of these women, Agapita, had two daughters, both of whom married. Isabel, one of these daughters, was dead at the time of my visit, but she had two children, a boy and a girl, who were still living. Her sister had married, lost her husband, but had four children, all living. The sister of the old woman, Agapita, had a boy and a girl, both of whom were living with the group. Fauste had a brother and a sister, now very old, and both living with the group. His brother had a daughter, Maria, who was also living with the group. On analysis we find, therefore, that, as the group existed at the time of my visit, there were twelve members of the Puanú moiety and three members of the Itciai moiety (fig. 23).

The other groups met show a greater confusion. So many individuals had died that there was no fixed form for any group. In some cases the groups would consist of several middle-aged men and women with wives and children and in other groups, such as Landaeta's and Pablo Reyes', they were led by old men—shamans. It is because of the breakdown of the social system under current conditions that the genealogies are not reproduced in this study at this time.

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606 604 This confusion affects the social relationships between various individuals. For instance, one Garcia was married to Landaeta's

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

606 daughter, but he should have married the daughter of one Juan
604 Bario, who was a parallel cousin of Landaeta, therefore, he actually married not his immediate cross cousin, but his cross cousin once removed. He kept strictly within the cross moiety marriage rule. However, this marriage brought complications in his life, because for all practical purposes he had two fathers-in-law to take care of rather than one. He solved this problem by living with Landaeta, his wife's father, half of the week, and the other half he spent with his uncle,

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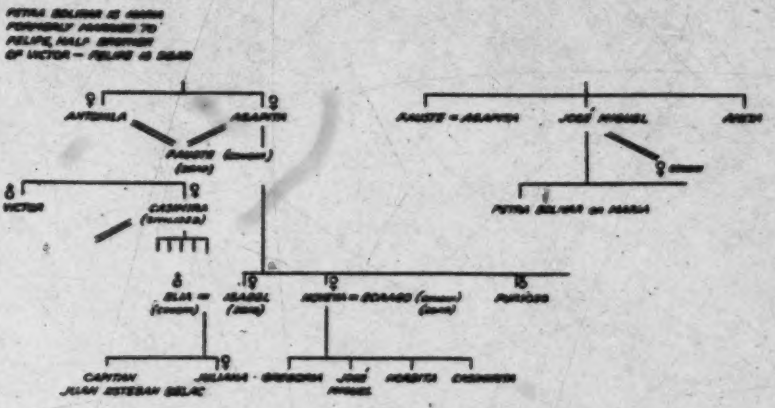

FIGURE 23.—Yaruro family hunting group at El Barron.

606 Juan Bario, whose daughter he would have married if she had lived.
604 The sense of service which he owed to his true uncle, his mother's brother, was strong enough to persist, even though it visited a hardship on him.

616 Within the tribal organization the individual looks to his moiety
476 for guidance, protection, and social intercourse. In return for this he is obligated to members of his moiety in a variety of ways. He acknowledges their affinity to him by seeking their company, by hunting together with them, and by sharing his food with them.

622 In the family hunting group its head is socially a stranger to most
593 of the people around him. Indeed, if he has no sisters or has sis-
626 ters who do not have any sons and has no brothers living with him, then socially he is almost out of place in the family hunting group. His wife, of course, belongs to the opposite moiety, and the children trace their descent through the mother. His wife's mother, sisters, brothers and their children belong to the same moiety
604 as herself. When his own children are old enough to take part in
593 hunting they look to their mother and to her brother, or brothers, for
476 guidance and it is toward the latter that they have all sorts of social obligations. To their father they show respect, but to the mother's

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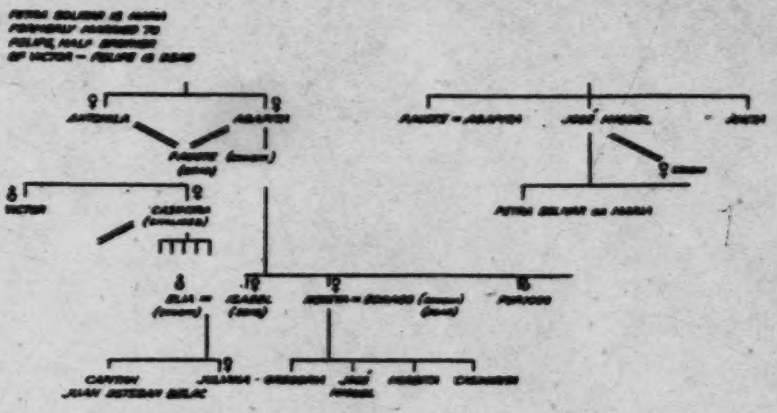

FIGURE 23.—Yaruro family hunting group at El Burro.

Juan Bario, whose daughter he would have married if she had lived. The sense of service which he owed to his true uncle, his mother's brother, was strong enough to persist, even though it visited a hardship on him.

Within the tribal organization the individual looks to his moiety for guidance, protection, and social intercourse. In return for this he is obligated to members of his moiety in a variety of ways. He acknowledges their affinity to him by seeking their company, by hunting together with them, and by sharing his food with them.

In the family hunting group its head is socially a stranger to most of the people around him. Indeed, if he has no sisters or has sisters who do not have any sons and has no brothers living with him, then socially he is almost out of place in the family hunting group. His wife, of course, belongs to the opposite moiety, and the children trace their descent through the mother. His wife's mother, sisters, brothers and their children belong to the same moiety as herself. When his own children are old enough to take part in hunting they look to their mother and to her brother, or brothers, for guidance and it is toward the latter that they have all sorts of social obligations. To their father they show respect, but to the mother's

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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brothers they must make offerings of labor and food. In fact as soon as they are old enough to do so, the boys will spend a good portion of their time in the family group of their uncles on their mother's side. They hunt with him, they help him build his canoes, work for him, and take part in the feasts and ceremonies with him.

593 604

However, the father is interested in his children, especially when they are young, and treats them with the utmost kindness and they reciprocate by acknowledging filial respect. Perhaps it was this difference in the attitude between the uncle and the father that led the missionaries to comment that the Yaruros and the Otomacos showed no respect for their fathers and often killed them.

[114]

601

A Yaruro makes no mistake between those individuals in his group who are related to him biologically and those who are merely related to him socially. For instance, he calls his father "aia" or "aiamái," and he calls his father's brothers by the same word. In fact he distinguishes between the older and the younger brothers of his father, so that he may call his father's elder brother "aiamái otéh," which is translatable into "elder father". He will refer to the younger brother of his father as "aiamái durimé," meaning "younger father." Not only does he call the brothers of his father by the same term as he addresses his own father, but the parallel cousins also are addressed by the same term. Since his own father must show respect to his older brothers, the son assumes the same attitude as his father toward the older members of the family. In the female line, he refers to his mother as "aí" and his mother's sisters as "aí" also, suffixing the term for older and younger as the case may be. The female parallel cousins of his mother are called by the same term.

On the other hand the sisters of the father are addressed as "haí" and the brothers of his mother are addressed as "hademái". It is these classes of individuals whom we can refer to as aunt and uncle.

His brothers he calls "ajimái" or "anyimai" and his sisters "amí". These terms are extended to his parallel cousins both on his father's and mother's side. The children of his father's brothers, and his mother's sisters, he calls "anyiné," if male, and "ani," if female. His cross-cousins he addresses as follows: "keramái", the sons of his mother's brother, which is equivalent to brother-in-law; "nyohé" the daughters of his mother's brother; "avimái", the sons of his father's sister; and "haí haó", the daughters of his father's sister.

There is a striking resemblance between the terms which he employs to indicate his grandchildren and his grandparents. The children of his daughter, if boys, he will refer to as "hiamai," if girls, "hiatokwi." The children of his son, on the other hand, if boys, he will call "hadamai," and if girls "hadatokwi." His grandfather on his father's side he calls "hadaoteh." His grandmother

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

on his father's side he calls "hami." His grandfather on his mother's side is referred to as "hiateh," and his grandmother on his mother's side as "homa." It may be that these terms merely mean, as has been suggested by other authors in discussing relationship terms, "feeble one," the equivalent perhaps of old men and old women in our own language. (Fig. 24.)

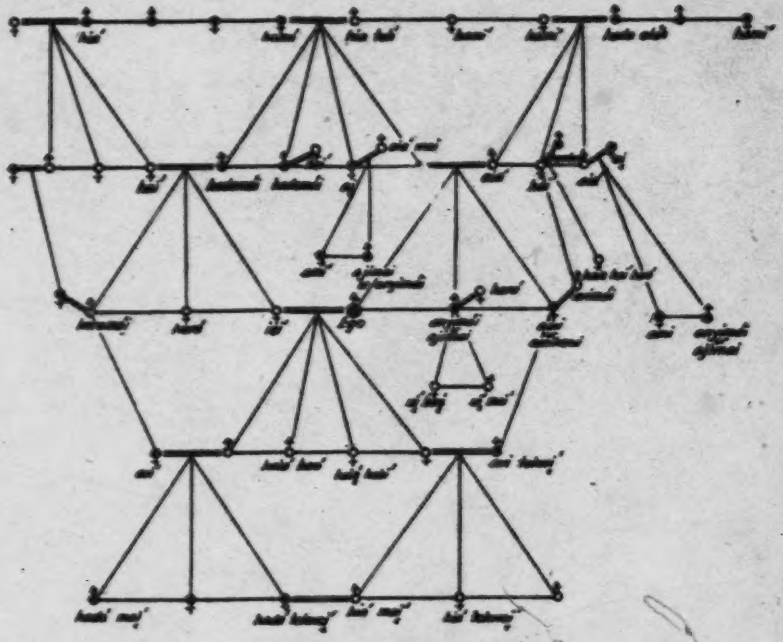

FIGURE 24.—Relationship chart.

Since a boy looks to his maternal uncle for instruction and spends with him a good portion of his time, he is also coming in contact with his future wife, who should be a daughter of one of the brothers of his mother. These female cross cousins he calls "gnohé," which was translated for me as the equivalent of "sweetheart", and his male cross cousins he calls "keramái" (brother-in-law), which is the usual term of address and greeting when a Yaruro meets another belonging to the opposite moiety. When he marries one of these girls, he refers to her as "ieyitokwi" or "young woman." Later he addresses her as "ieyi kui," which means "my woman". Her sisters whom, before marriage, he called "nyohé" (sweetheart), now he calls and refers to each as "kera." On the part of the girl, before marrying the boy, she calls him "nyowuh," and upon marrying him she refers to him as "oi," meaning "man." His brothers whom before

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

601 marriage she called also "nyowuh", are referred to as "keramai". The father-in-law calls his son-in-law "haiméma'", which means "the one my daughter married", and the son-in-law calls his father-in-law "huíteh". His mother-in-law, whom he never addresses directly, he [606] refers to as "kaikamúe". The girl refers to her father-in-law as "kuinté". Before marriage the boy would have called his uncle, the brother of his mother, "húidemái".

616 There do not seem to be any rites or ceremonies from which members of the opposite moiety are excluded. According to my informants, the Puaná clan moiety is preeminent over the Itciai moiety, therefore the person recognized as its head is considered to be the [578] chief of the Yaruros. There is no resentment, as far as I was able to learn, to this arrangement. Primarily, I suppose, because the biological descendants of an individual pass from one moiety to another and therefore share in its prerogatives. The Yaruros' social concepts in respect to moiety membership is best expressed by reciprocal duties, obligations, and prerogatives. Under the elementary local system the son-in-law is almost a guest among his wife's people with whom he goes to live. During the rainy season when more permanent shelters are built, according to my informants, they have more ceremonies, during one of which the unmarried boys of one moiety then sit in the house of the other moiety.

616 Although there is no exclusion of the members of the opposite
796 moiety in the ceremonies, if the shaman is of the Puaná moiety,
791 those that sit closest to him are members of his own moiety. But even in this case the other moiety is represented, and in fact indirectly serves him. His own wife sits at his right and it is she who assists him when her help is needed by handing to him the various pieces of his paraphernalia and tobacco. It is she, likewise, who prepares the various drinks. The rest of the members of her moiety, if they happen to be present, take their places following the members of the shaman's moiety.

604 When a man is undertaking a hunt or wishes to build a canoe he
476 calls on his nephews, that is, his sister's sons, for help, and they are obligated to be at his service. This obligation and service, which begins as soon as the boy begins to understand his position in the society, lasts a lifetime. When the uncle or uncles become too feeble to hunt for themselves it is these nephews who supply them with food and everything else they may need. This service may be interpreted as compensation to the uncles for their daughters who become the wives of these youths. But there was no indication that it was so considered by the Yaruro.

593 h. A man, therefore, does not have the services nor the social life of
604 his children, but has to look to his sister's womb for individuals to educate and to assist him.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

At night each family group lay on the sands
521 talking a little, laughing a little. I made it a custom of visiting every night, and usually the men gathered around. The women, keeping in the background, made all sorts of inquiries concerning my country and people, but always through the men.

831 One cannot live on intimate terms with a group of people a week
123 without learning something of their sexual attitudes. Only too often is this factor dangled in front of him, so that if he were to base his report on recurrent experiences and situations it would be largely made up of sex and sex problems. However, the sexual element is strongly present, but it is in normal cases a simple matter.

121 A simple matter but of exceeding importance if we are to believe the psychologists. Basic to life, and to social organization, the attitude toward it has its effect on the life of the individual and on the culture, but equal the make-up of the indidivual and the culture produces the sexual attitude.

836 To begin with, this writer does not know anything about the sexual development of Yaruro boy or girl. He does not know what secret sexual play the children may indulge in, nor does he know whether the unmarried girl has any sexual relations. He thinks that the un-
838 married do. He also thinks that there is some kind of homosexuality among the boys, and even the men. The following is based on what he observed, heard, and saw without any undue prying about.

857 The sexes are kept apart from infancy. A baby girl is launched
855 into her future career as a woman almost from birth. She is the special care of the mother and women folk. When she is able to play
593 she plays alone, with other girls, or with the women. She never plays with the boys. When she is able to work she helps her mother, never her father nor her elder brothers. She may be helped in her work by her brother.

593 It is impossible to claim that the attachment is stronger between the mother and children than between the father and daughter. It would be necessary to investigate the problem from the psychological point of view. But such is the case socially and economically.

The maternal uncle does to a certain degree substitute for the father, but this substitution is formal and social.

867 From babyhood the child learns his relationship to those about
602 him. One woman is its mother. She it is who gives suck, holds, etc. Later he learns that he must call other women mother also. These are the sisters of his true mother. One man he learns to call father. This man is the one who is most with his mother, in whose canoe
602 they travel, etc. Other men he calls father also, the brothers of his true father. Thus relationships are defined sexually, familiarly, and formally. In respect to girls of his own age he learns that some he calls sisters and others by terms whose equivalent may be rendered

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

602 "sweetheart", "potential wife". At any rate, the boy learns that
582 members of the former class he can not marry, and that one, a particular one of the second class, will become his wife. Thus on those who stand in the familiar relationship he cannot cast sexual thoughts.

836 Intersexual activity before marriage was not observable and it seemed as if there would be little opportunity for it. Boys and girls are kept separate, the girls staying with their mothers, the boys with the men. At night there seemed to be the same division.

854 During infancy there is no organized play for the girl. Her
861 parents do not play as we are wont to do. She is not teased into
855 laughter, but tender care is given to her. She is fed, cleaned, kept in the shade, and made to wear ornaments. Dolls of clay may be made for her. During this period she is taken everywhere by the mother. From babyhood she participates in the collection of food, in its preparation and cooking, in the making of basketry, pottery, making and breaking camp, traveling in canoes, but always with her mother.
868 Gradually she learns to take a more active part in the female tasks. The important point is that the proper decorum for her is to keep to members of her own sex. She does not become a tomboy. If she learns to perform tasks it is only because the women are supposed to have a smattering of them anyhow. Paddling is one of these.

854 The boy's life is first shared with his mother, and although fondled
593 by the father, he remains with the mother until he is able to walk and paddle. Thus, whereas the girl never comes under the direct influence of her father, the boy is under the direct influence of the mother during his infancy and babyhood. Gradually he participates more and more in manly tasks, but as a matter of fact he never entirely disassociates himself from his mother. As long as he is unmarried he performs tasks for his mother and she takes care of him, performing such acts as cooking, delousing, etc. He gathers wood, lights fires, etc.

864 The children are not kept in sexual ignorance. At least the boys
831 seem to learn something of the sexual functions at an early age. From what I observed of Yaruro camp life, it seems that no attempt was made to keep knowledge of sex and sexual functions away from the children. In the first place, there is no sense of modesty so far as the sexual parts are concerned, and therefore there is no ignorance on the part of the children. There is very little, if any, sexual play among the adults during the day. Since the attitude toward the sexual parts of the body is one of indifference there is very little that may happen which would indicate any interest in those parts. Any knowledge that the children may have of sex must, therefore, be gathered from observation of their parents.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958)-1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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make it usable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses. [461]

428
Objects used by men are men's property and are inherited by the men; objects used by women are women's property and are inherited in the women's line. Immovable property such as gardens and houses are said to be inherited by the decedent's children of both sexes. Male animals such as boars and dogs, are owned by men, the females by women. Thus the division of property is as sharp as the division of labor, a fact reflected throughout the ideology. [422] [231]

433
No two producers produce the same quantity or inventory of goods, especially as each has great freedom to concentrate in the productive activities he prefers to the exclusion of others. Yet each producer contributes to household and community in what is felt to be equivalent value since most foods are considered good and of equal worth. Each household producing unit distributes supplies of raw or cooked foods to other households along the lines of coresidence and kinship. In this way, all villagers, as consumers, receive the same total amount of food and no one goes without. Thus all persons and households in the community are equivalent as producers, distributers, and consumers. All are tied together in a loosely formalized network of coordinate reciprocal exchanges and obligations in which scales of value are not necessary, since each person contributes approximately equally of all values. In this situation, accumulation of wealth by individuals is out of the question and management of production or of wealth distribution is unnecessary. Consequently, there are no economic status differentiations and no effective leadership among the Yaruro. 592 621 [435] [556] [554] [622]

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Similarly, no purely social differentiations based on status ranking occur in Yaruro society, except by casual deference to those of age and experience like shamans and village spokesmen, called 'capitáns'. The status of women is coordinate with that of men. The complementary and coordinate units, a man and a woman, combine into a series of coordinate but semi-autonomous units, the households. A group of these constitute the Yaruro social unit, the neither endogamous nor exogamous (Murdock's "agamous") village. All these units are tied together by links of bilaterally traced kinship, with coordinate relations on both sides, the ultimate tie being the reciprocal marriage of cross-cousins. Marriage is ideally matrilocal, and occurs most frequently within the village. As a consequence, the most immediate kinship ties in the village are matrilateral, whereas kinship among the men is more diffuse. The villages themselves are tied together by kinship ties, real or imputed, as well as by marriage and visiting, but by no other ties of an all-tribal nature. People who are known to any particular village —to 'us'— are considered part of our village's family, since their kinship ties to our members can be discovered or invented freely. Persons recognized as being of our linguistic and cultural stock will be included under the general term *pumé*, but may not be considered 'of our family' unless the kinship ties are recognized. Thus there is a Yaruro people, but no Yaruro tribal unit. Even the persons included in 'our family' do not constitute a unit, since there are no cross village unifying institutions other than real or imputed bilateral kinship ties. Even these vary from 621 [562] [592] 621 [612] [602] [619] [612]

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

their attention. The shaman's position as link is emphasized by the fact that his wife invariably sits next to him during the *tonghés* to minister to him and to supply him cigarettes and drink. Thus, the socio-economic link of the household is also the unique link between the sexes in ceremonial life.

The various forms of socio-economic and ceremonial division of the sexes is even more remarkably underscored by the existence of female shamanism. As one might expect, shamanesses behave differently from shamans. Shamanesses sing only in the day-time. They, like Ku'man, sing from hammocks whereas men sing sitting on the ground or dancing. Furthermore, messages trasmitted to them from Ku'man are sent only to them, though the men hear and understand them. The men listen to these messages with care and respect and with the air that there are things to be learned from them which they would otherwise not hear. The shamanesses cannot receive male gods or their messages. Female shamanism seems to be an affirmation of the kin-bonds of the matri-centered local group as well as a means of asserting the values and rights pertaining to the women's world. The women's experience ideologically, as well as socially and biologically, is recognized as being systematically distinct from men's experience in life.

Behavior in the *tonghés* is very relaxed. Villagers laugh, joke, sleep, play, get up, walk about. Sometimes persons may even fail to attend if they have chosen to go to work the next day. The only thing explicitly forbidden, because Ku'man would consider it most indelicate, is sexual intercourse. Otherwise, the lack of formalism and freedom of individual behavior so often noted before is again found here.

The importance of the *tonghés* as the foremost way of reinforcing social relations and communal values as well as for curing is seen in several ways. First, when there has been no *tonghé* for several days, one begins to feel and hear a bruiting for *another* tonghé. It is felt that much time has elapsed since the last *tonghé*. Someone asks what's wrong that we haven't had a *tonghé* in so long. Another says we need a *tonghé*. Rumors of *tonghé* begin to be heard. By the fifth or sixth day another *tonghé* is held and community bonds are again reasserted. Again, the sexual division of labor and social life observed in the other- and hither-worlds is systematically carried through into religious observances. We have mentioned the seating of men separate from women and the separate greetings given to the gods. This theme is carried still further in the exclusive women's shamanism and the equally exclusive capacity of men to do curing, either as shamans or as purely private individuals.

The *tonghé* illuminates much about Yaruro ideology. First, shamans both male and female are not considered authorities possessed of special gifts and prerogatives who interpret lore for the entire community. Rather they are considered merely the comunity religious spokesmen for the public expression of community values and for curing, who, by their own choice, enjoy and are willing to undertake the long, arduous work of training and practice. They reaffirm community bonds by repeating in endless verses the precepts and knowledge contained in the Yaruro ideology. All knowledge and all experience is, at least potentially, open to all members of the community and even the private or personal experience of each is made known to all. Any member of

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

603 604 educate and to assist him. However, his grandchildren belong to his own moiety and the children of his daughters will be born in this camp and will live with him until the boys are old enough to seek wives in the other moiety. The bonds linking these nephews, uncles, grandparents, and grandchildren are morally strong and perhaps it explains why Kuma herself is thought of as being the grandmother of Hatchawa, rather than the mother. Several myths illustrate this uncle, nephew, grandfather, and grandchild relationship. It is curious to note that occasionally the uncle in these myths plays tricks on the nephew and may even be represented as being exceedingly wicked, but the grandfather is always benevolent.

[591] The children of a man's sons are brought up in a different hunting group, since the boys will live with their wives' groups, and although these grandchildren belong to the same moiety, the old man's contact with them is rather limited. It is different with the children of his daughter.

182 582 The basis of Yaruro social organization is cross-cousin marriage. Each hunting group tends to consist of one family and other groups hunting nearby are probably closely related to it. The chance of a member of one group meeting members of a group hunting far away from his hunting grounds would be quite insignificant. It would appear, therefore, that a Yaruro man would have the option to marry his sister's cousins, aunts, grandchildren, and grandparents. Of these [584] it is considered incest to marry his sisters, his mother, and the sisters of his mother, whom he calls mother also, the children of his father's brothers, whom he calls father, and the children of his mother's sisters, whom he calls sister also. The only two classes of women whom he can legitimately marry are the daughters of his mother's brothers and the daughters of his father's sisters. The latter, how- [616] ever, belong to the same moiety as himself and are therefore excluded. His choice is restricted to the daughters of his mother's sisters.

However, a number of factors may enter to allow a man a wife other than his cross cousins on his mother's side, and in fact in some cases he is forced to marry others than his cross cousins on his mother's side, who may not be available. Theoretically he may marry any of the following: His father's sisters, his father's mother's sisters, his daughters' daughters, his wife's sisters, his wife's mother's sisters, and his wife's mother's mother and her sisters. We find in actual practice that this is done. At Landaeta there was one young man married to a woman of about 40 whom we would call his aunt-in-law, that is, his wife's mother's sister.

587 This class of women whom he is allowed to marry he is also obligated to look after should their husbands die. For instance, should

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

781 Puaná stayed with us for about an hour and a half, talking most of the time about me.

787 And finally at about 5 o'clock Kuma herself came to visit me and, like Hatchawa, urged me to drink of the shaman's drink. I had to
791 drink a gourd full of it, since it was held to my lips until I finished it. She gave me messages similar to the others. Finally other Yarures came, and the shaman eventually returned, being greeted with affection by all. We stopped when the sun rose and began another day of primitive life. We had danced and sung almost continuously for 36 hours.

This was my reception among the Yaruros after my return from La Urbana. We talked day and night about religion, and about
606 the world in which we lived. I learned that a mother-in-law and
582 son-in-law must never look upon each other and never talk to each
604 other, though they must be careful to do each other service; that a man must marry his first cousin, and that socially he is under obligation to his maternal uncle who later becomes his father-in-law. Under Landaeta's tutelage the material in this report was compiled. In a sense, therefore, this is his report.

124 One day I announced to Landaeta that I would have to leave in the
123 near future, giving as a reason that my wife and child needed me at home. Actually, there were other considerations; my physical condition was becoming worse, though the sores on my feet were a little better; and for the time being I had quietly exhausted the possibilities of obtaining fresh material from my friends. After all, we had been in contact with each other for six weeks, the major portion of it living communely and conversing with the shaman continuously day after day, sometimes even from sunrise to sunrise. My daily schedule consisted of rising at sunrise, drinking a little coffee sometimes brought to me by Landaeta, and immediately plunging into discussions of religious themes. This would last up to about 10 o'clock when Landaeta would withdraw and busy himself making string or carving gourds for several hours. During this period I would seek clarification of some points from whomsoever was present, or work on social organization, or on genealogy. In the early afternoon Landaeta would be back with new material, new ideas, having thought over what he had said, what I had said, and what still needed to be said. This would continue until sundown.

521 Then there was a short intermission for dinner, but soon afterwards I was hurried over to the eastern edge of the camp, where Landaeta and his people sat after dinner, and there we would sit while the women made cigars for us, talking about mythology, religion and general philosophical concepts. These discussions would last until 10 or 11 o'clock, and often much later, and not rarely shamanistic

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

593 The sense of strict inviolability of personal rights carries over to personal services. Never did a husband order his wife to do anything outside of her proper domain. While I lived with them, in spite of the excellent care they gave me, even to the point of anticipating my wishes in a great many cases, never did a husband request his wife to prepare food for me. He asked her if she would, acting merely as my messenger. 604 No closer relationship can exist than between maternal uncle and nephew, yet even he does not feel free to ask any service of his nephew, nor to take the latter's personal property.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 Sexual dichotomy in economic activities is clearly defined. In a 522 general way, it may be said that the rougher, harder, and more dangerous work belongs in the province of male activity and that there is no task which calls for strength or danger that properly belongs in the realm of woman's activity. Should any woman be engaged in a hard or dangerous piece of work and a man happens to be present there is a tacit assumption of the task by the latter. Hunting and fishing and presumably the act of fighting in war are man's tasks. The gathering of roots, fruits, seed, and their preparation belongs to [222] the women. It is interesting to note that the gathering of honey, which entails some risk, is done by the men. The making of canoes, the making of implements, of hammocks, the activities in making camp are all in man's domain. The preparation of food and the making of pottery and basketry are woman's tasks.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 Hunting and fishing are male occupations exclusively. As soon as 868 the young boy is able to toddle about he is made to play with bow 857 and arrow and learns to make these indispensable tools. It is a common sight to see little boys who are too young to be taken along by the men on hunting expeditions playing at the game of hunting; and when a man is in camp busily preparing his hunting equipment his young son is by his side working industriously on miniature bows and arrows.

225 The equipment of the hunter is simple. Bow, arrow, and canoe are 411 indispensable. A Yaruro does not like to roam on land, but there 501 is no need for him to do so since he can get his game in the watercourses or along their banks. So he sets off in the early morning, generally accompanied by his hunting companion, to look for crocodile (*Crocodilus babu*). He will hunt for other forms of life only reluctantly, having a special liking for crocodile meat.

Because of the shyness of crocodile the hunter is most often forced to shoot at it from a distance. Since an arrow will seldom kill one

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

251 During the rainy season the seed of the chigua is gathered. It is crushed, toasted, and stored in small quantities in the same way as the changuango, provided, of course, that a spot is found high enough to keep it dry.

Social Organization and Social Customs

582 616 622 791 554 Economically the family hunting group is the basic unit, as has been shown in the previous chapter. In social matters, however, it is the moiety. Each family hunting group recognizes a headman and each moiety recognizes a chief who in all cases is the shaman. Both of these positions of authority are acquired only through personal merit. There is no inheritance of chieftainship or shamanism. If the nephew of a headman shows ability he may inherit his uncle's position, and theoretically this is the scheme. In natural practices we find that not only the Yaruros but perhaps a great many other primitive peoples are very realistic and are loath to give authority to an individual whose personality does not stand for leadership.

616 428 Every Yaruro is born in either the "Itciai" or "Puaná" moiety. Descent, with its social affinities, prerogatives, and obligations, being traced through the female line, the child belongs to its mother's moiety. Nothing is inherited from the father, who belongs to the other moiety, except obligations.

616 773 There is a legend among the Yaruros that two young men not finding any marriageable girls among their own people mated with the Jaguar and with the Snake. From these two unions are descended the two moieties. Since only among animals do brothers and sisters mate it has become a rule that two descendants of the Jaguar, "Itciai", cannot marry with each other; nor can two descendants of the Snake, "Puaná", marry with each other. They must seek a mate from the other group. Thus an "Itciai" must always marry a "Puaná", and vice versa. Cross-cousin marriage solves this problem.

582 In this system, therefore, a man's children belong to his wife's moiety, from which he is socially excluded. His sister's children, on the other hand, are socially close to him since they too inherit moiety membership from their mother which is the same as his own. Deprived of his own children to carry on his traditions, a man looks to his sister's children to take their place. It is his nephews who will help him in hunting, who will come to his defence, who will take care of him in old age. As if in payment of such attention he gives them his daughters in marriage. Thus his sisters' sons become his sons-in-law.

● 604 621 596 Yaruro society is built around the hunting group, which in numbers is never stable. The hunt and the gathering of food such as roots and fruits calls for a certain amount of cooperative effort, but

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

621 596 rarely is there need to enlist the services of persons outside the family group for it.

A typical hunting family will consist of the "old man," his wife, their unmarried sons, unmarried and married daughters, their sons-in-law, perhaps an unmarried brother or two, or without a father-in-law with whom to live, the parents-in-law unless they be dead, and the grandchildren, that is, the children of the daughters. To this nucleus there may be attached, temporarily, stragglers from other groups, old people and young children without relatives to take care of them, and visiting children of the man's sisters.

When two hunting groups meet very often they will camp together for a few days. If food is plentiful they may spend some of the time in merrymaking. Those bands which are in touch with the ranchers may gather together to perform a given piece of work for the meager pay that they may receive.

621 178 In actual practice it is almost impossible for a hunting group to consist of a theoretical family as described. This is especially true now that the Yaruros are disappearing so rapidly. The women may have a series of husbands, as if one dies, or is killed, and the men may have a series of wives. Any genealogical table, therefore, is very confused.

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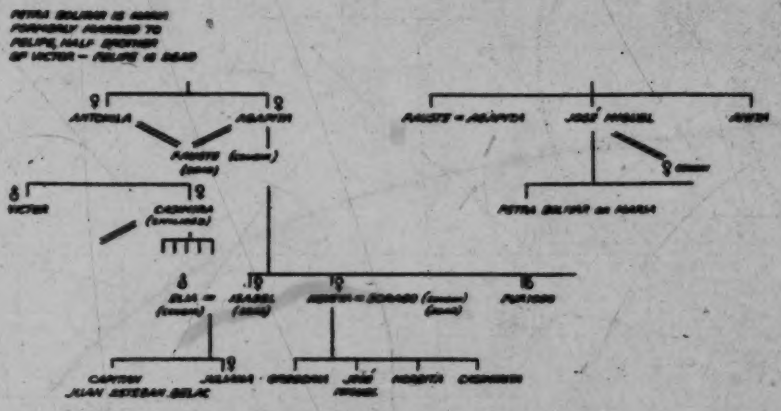

FIGURE 23.—Yaruro family hunting group at El Burro.

Juan Bario, whose daughter he would have married if she had lived. The sense of service which he owed to his true uncle, his mother's brother, was strong enough to persist, even though it visited a hardship on him.

Within the tribal organization the individual looks to his moiety for guidance, protection, and social intercourse. In return for this he is obligated to members of his moiety in a variety of ways. He acknowledges their affinity to him by seeking their company, by hunting together with them, and by sharing his food with them.

In the family hunting group its head is socially a stranger to most of the people around him. Indeed, if he has no sisters or has sisters who do not have any sons and has no brothers living with him, then socially he is almost out of place in the family hunting group. His wife, of course, belongs to the opposite moiety, and the children trace their descent through the mother. His wife's mother, sisters, brothers and their children belong to the same moiety as herself. When his own children are old enough to take part in hunting they look to their mother and to her brother, or brothers, for guidance and it is toward the latter that they have all sorts of social obligations. To their father they show respect, but to the mother's

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604 593 476 brothers they must make offerings of labor and food. In fact as soon as they are old enough to do so, the boys will spend a good portion of their time in the family group of their uncles on their mother's side. They hunt with him, they help him build his canoes, work for him, and take part in the feasts and ceremonies with him.

593 604 [14] However, the father is interested in his children, especially when they are young, and treats them with the utmost kindness and they reciprocate by acknowledging filial respect. Perhaps it was this difference in the attitude between the uncle and the father that led the missionaries to comment that the Yaruros and the Otomacos showed no respect for their fathers and often killed them.

601 A Yaruro makes no mistake between those individuals in his group who are related to him biologically and those who are merely related to him socially. For instance, he calls his father "aia" or "aiamái," and he calls his father's brothers by the same word. In fact he distinguishes between the older and the younger brothers of his father, so that he may call his father's elder brother "aiamái otéh," which is translatable into "elder father". He will refer to the younger brother of his father as "aiamái durimé," meaning "younger father." Not only does he call the brothers of his father by the same term as he addresses his own father, but the parallel cousins also are addressed by the same term. Since his own father must show respect to his older brothers, the son assumes the same attitude as his father toward the older members of the family. In the female line, he refers to his mother as "af" and his mother's sisters as "af" also, suffixing the term for older and younger as the case may be. The female parallel cousins of his mother are called by the same term.

On the other hand the sisters of the father are addressed as "haf" and the brothers of his mother are addressed as "hademái". It is these classes of individuals whom we can refer to as aunt and uncle.

His brothers he calls "ajimái" or "anyimai" and his sisters "amf". These terms are extended to his parallel cousins both on his father's and mother's side. The children of his father's brothers, and his mother's sisters, he calls "anyiná," if male, and "ani," if female. His cross-cousins he addresses as follows: "keramái", the sons of his mother's brother, which is equivalent to brother-in-law; "nyohé" the daughters of his mother's brother; "avimái", the sons of his father's sister; and "haí haó", the daughters of his father's sister.

There is a striking resemblance between the terms which he employs to indicate his grandchildren and his grandparents. The children of his daughter, if boys, he will refer to as "hiamai," if girls, "hiatokwi." The children of his son, on the other hand, if boys, he will call "hadamai," and if girls "hadatokwi." His grandfather on his father's side he calls "hadaoteh." His grandmother

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601 marriage she called also "nyowuh", are referred to as "keramai". The father-in-law calls his son-in-law "haiméma'", which means "the one my daughter married", and the son-in-law calls his father-in-law "hufteh". His mother-in-law, whom he never addresses directly, he [606] refers to as "kaikamúe". The girl refers to her father-in-law as "kuintó". Before marriage the boy would have called his uncle, the brother of his mother, "húidemái".

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476 calls on his nephews, that is, his sister's sons, for help, and they are obligated to be at his service. This obligation and service, which begins as soon as the boy begins to understand his position in the society, lasts a lifetime. When the uncle or uncles become too feeble to hunt for themselves it is these nephews who supply them with food and everything else they may need. This service may be interpreted as compensation to the uncles for their daughters who become the wives of these youths. But there was no indication that it was so considered by the Yaruro.

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604 his children, but has to look to his sister's womb for individuals to educate and to assist him.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

603 educate and to assist him. However, his grandchildren belong to his
604 own moiety and the children of his daughters will be born in this
camp and will live with him until the boys are old enough to seek
wives in the other moiety. The bonds linking these nephews, uncles,
grandparents, and grandchildren are morally strong and perhaps
it explains why Kuma herself is thought of as being the grandmother
of Hatchawa, rather than the mother. Several myths illustrate this
uncle, nephew, grandfather, and grandchild relationship. It is curious
to note that occasionally the uncle in these myths plays tricks on
the nephew and may even be represented as being exceedingly wicked,
but the grandfather is always benevolent.

[591] The children of a man's sons are brought up in a different hunting
group, since the boys will live with their wives' groups, and although
these grandchildren belong to the same moiety, the old man's contact
with them is rather limited. It is different with the children of his
daughter.

182 The basis of Yaruro social organization is cross-cousin marriage.
582 Each hunting group tends to consist of one family and other groups
hunting nearby are probably closely related to it. The chance of a
member of one group meeting members of a group hunting far away
from his hunting grounds would be quite insignificant. It would
appear, therefore, that a Yaruro man would have the option to marry
[584] his sister's cousins, aunts, grandchildren, and grandparents. Of these
it is considered incest to marry his sisters, his mother, and the sisters
of his mother, whom he calls mother also, the children of his father's
brothers, whom he calls father, and the children of his mother's
sisters, whom he calls sister also. The only two classes of women
whom he can legitimately marry are the daughters of his mother's
[616] brothers and the daughters of his father's sisters. The latter, how-
ever, belong to the same moiety as himself and are therefore ex-
cluded. His choice is restricted to the daughters of his mother's
sisters.

However, a number of factors may enter to allow a man a wife other than his cross cousins on his mother's side, and in fact in some cases he is forced to marry others than his cross cousins on his mother's side, who may not be available. Theoretically he may marry any of the following: His father's sisters, his father's mother's sisters, his daughters' daughters, his wife's sisters, his wife's mother's sisters, and his wife's mother's mother and her sisters. We find in actual practice that this is done. At Landaeta there was one young man married to a woman of about 40 whom we would call his aunt-in-law, that is, his wife's mother's sister.

587 This class of women whom he is allowed to marry he is also obli-
gated to look after should their husbands die. For instance, should

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

INHERITANCE OF WIVES

583 Monogamy is the usual rule, but occasionally both polygyny and polyandry exist. If no women are available, a man may share his young wife with his brother or parallel cousin whom he calls brother also. I saw two such cases. In a tribe whose total membership may not exceed 150 such situations may easily arise.

587 589 The more common situation is the inheritance of wives. If a man dies, his wife may be taken care of by her father, but more often by her former husband's brother. She takes her place as wife number two, especially if he is a good hunter. Other women whom a man may inherit as wives are his aunts on his father's side and even his paternal grandmother. I saw one case in which a man had inherited his daughter's child. Whether these cases represent the results of [616] deculturation of the Yaruros in recent years, or pure necessity, it is impossible to say. It is worth noting that the taboo on marrying a member of one's moiety is strictly observed.

512 605 Another relationship common among South American Indians which is present among the Yaruros is the hunting friendship between two men. Seldom does one meet a young Yaruro who does not have a hunting companion. Upon marriage this relationship may be weakened, though often the companionship persists. Generally the men are two parallel cousins. They show much affection toward each other, even in camp. For instance, such a pair standing with arms around each other's necks is a common sight. I have no reason to suspect any abnormal sexual relations between such couples.

124 582 [165] An attempt was made to collect genealogies, but no satisfactory results were obtained, due to the confusion that exists among the Yaruros. So many have suffered premature death, especially men, that the genealogies show a tremendous complexity. This complexity exists, of course, only for us. The Yaruro has his system, which is to guard against incest as he defines it. So long as members of the same moiety do not marry, everything else is permissible. One's cross cousin of the same, or nearly the same, age is the preferential choice, but the Yaruros cannot control birth and death, so that the preference is purely theoretical. I saw young boys married to old women and young girls married to old men. The answer was that there weren't any others to marry.

However, enough was gathered from the genealogies to verify the system as described: Members of the same moiety do not marry. Every one else can, except father and daughter, and, of course, father's brothers and daughter, whom she addresses as father anyway.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

781 Puaná stayed with us for about an hour and a half, talking most of the time about me.

787 And finally at about 5 o'clock Kuma herself came to visit me and, like Hatchawa, urged me to drink of the shaman's drink. I had to
791 drink a gourd full of it, since it was held to my lips until I finished it. She gave me messages similar to the others. Finally other Yarures came, and the shaman eventually returned, being greeted with affection by all. We stopped when the sun rose and began another day of primitive life. We had danced and sung almost continuously for 36 hours.

This was my reception among the Yaruros after my return from La Urbana. We talked day and night about religion, and about
606 the world in which we lived. I learned that a mother-in-law and
582 son-in-law must never look upon each other and never talk to each
604 other, though they must be careful to do each other service; that a man must marry his first cousin, and that socially he is under obligation to his maternal uncle who later becomes his father-in-law. Under Landaeta's tutelage the material in this report was compiled. In a sense, therefore, this is his report.

124 One day I announced to Landaeta that I would have to leave in the
123 near future, giving as a reason that my wife and child needed me at home. Actually, there were other considerations; my physical condition was becoming worse, though the sores on my feet were a little better; and for the time being I had quietly exhausted the possibilities of obtaining fresh material from my friends. After all, we had been in contact with each other for six weeks, the major portion of it living communely and conversing with the shaman continuously day after day, sometimes even from sunrise to sunrise. My daily schedule consisted of rising at sunrise, drinking a little coffee sometimes brought to me by Landaeta, and immediately plunging into discussions of religious themes. This would last up to about 10 o'clock when Landaeta would withdraw and busy himself making string or carving gourds for several hours. During this period I would seek clarification of some points from whomsoever was present, or work on social organization, or on genealogy. In the early afternoon Landaeta would be back with new material, new ideas, having thought over what he had said, what I had said, and what still needed to be said. This would continue until sundown.

521 Then there was a short intermission for dinner, but soon afterwards I was hurried over to the eastern edge of the camp, where Landaeta and his people sat after dinner, and there we would sit while the women made cigars for us, talking about mythology, religion and general philosophical concepts. These discussions would last until 10 or 11 o'clock, and often much later, and not rarely shamanistic

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

621 596 rarely is there need to enlist the services of persons outside the family group for it.

A typical hunting family will consist of the "old man," his wife, their unmarried sons, unmarried and married daughters, their sons-in-law, perhaps an unmarried brother or two, or without a father-in-law with whom to live, the parents-in-law unless they be dead, and the grandchildren, that is, the children of the daughters. To this nucleus there may be attached, temporarily, stragglers from other groups, old people and young children without relatives to take care of them, and visiting children of the man's sisters.

When two hunting groups meet very often they will camp together for a few days. If food is plentiful they may spend some of the time in merrymaking. Those bands which are in touch with the ranchers may gather together to perform a given piece of work for the meager pay that they may receive.

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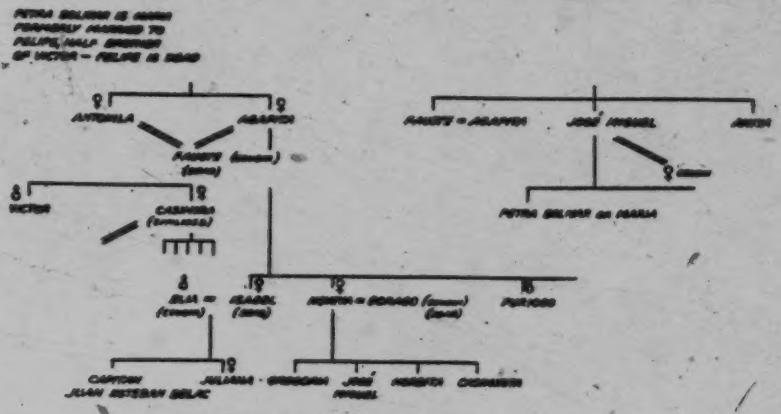

FIGURE 28.—Yaruro family hunting group at El Burro.

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587 any of his brothers die he falls heir to the brother's wife or wives, who may be sisters or sisters of his own wife; likewise, should his mother's brother die his wife or wives, who is one of the group of his wife's mother's sister, would also become his wife. This system can be 582 made plainer by examining figure 24. By following the moiety relationship one can see just whom the individual is allowed to marry. If it is considered that any of these individuals may actually become his wife, either because there are no other women of his own age group available, or because they have lost their own husbands, and therefore need a protector, the system becomes clear.

IN-LAW RELATIONS

[591] Cross-cousin marriage being the prevalent type, it means that the son of a man's sister will marry his daughter and come to live with 606 him. As soon as that happens a number of social taboos are imposed on the in-laws. The son-in-law from the time that he marries is prohibited from speaking to his mother-in-law, although he lives with the same hunting group and may even travel in the same canoe with her; he cannot eat before her or even near her; he cannot go close to her, even though his bows and arrows may be lying there; he cannot hand her any object; he cannot make his personal toilet in front of her; he cannot sing or dance close to her; he cannot travel alone with his mother-in-law, and if they are forced to travel together in a canoe with the wife of the son-in-law as one of the party, he takes his position in the bow and the mother-in-law sits in the stern. These taboos are reciprocal. If the two meet in a path they turn aside and go in opposite directions.

These taboos are the more remarkable since there are positive duties owed one in-law to the other. The son-in-law is obligated to supply food and protection to his mother-in-law. It is his duty to prepare firewood and bring her materials which she may need to make basketry. It is expected that he will gather delicacies for her, such as honey. On the other hand, his mother-in-law will often prepare food for her son-in-law, will make pouches for him, and show him favors in other ways. But these favors must be transmitted through the wife and daughter, or through other persons. In camp I have seen mother-in-law and son-in-law sitting with backs to each other hour after hour, day after day, never exchanging a word, always averting their eyes from the other's person.

Similar taboos are practiced between the father-in-law and daughter-in-law, but because the girl lives with her parents they weigh less heavily upon her and her father-in-law, since they rarely [835] meet. The taboos, though, are more strictly observed, probably on account of the sexual temptation.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

LIFE AFTER DEATH

761 775 To the modern Yaruro death is a desirable event. It holds great promise rather than terror for him. He believes that the dead will continue to live in the Land of Kuma. That is, in the land of the Mother Goddess, where he will be restored to a life of pristine happiness in the world which is identical with that which existed before the coming of the white man. In that world, in the Land of Kuma, he will have freedom to hunt if he pleases, he will have an abundance of food, he will have horses, cattle, and tobacco. He will lead a life of eternal bliss, watching over the affairs of his relatives and descendants on this earth, visiting them occasionally through the shaman and conversing with them. Apparently his only wish is that his people will die and join him in the Land of Kuma at the earliest possible time. A better idea of this life after death can be obtained by turning to the chapters on the shamanistic performances and legends.

PLAY

522 152 The spirit of play is known to the Yaruros. In fact, they laugh so much and so often that one might get the impression that they take life very lightly. For instance, their response to any accident is laughter. A man may fall out of his canoe or hurt himself in some way, or a woman may break a pot; any such accident is taken as a fine joke by everyone else.

616 606 There is inner-moiety and joking relationship, but members of one moiety do not play pranks on members of the other moiety. In fact, even in camp the mother-in-law will keep aloof from any levity engaged in by the son-in-law, and vice versa.

533 535 524 In the dancing and singing there is gaiety, especially when Puaná visits his people. Then is a time for much laughter and joking. However, there is no formalized play among the Yaruros. Anciently it is reported that the Otomacos had a ball game. Gilii has given us a description of it.[8]

857 462 861 The most common form of play among the children is an imitation of the activities of the grown-ups. The little boys will pretend that they are hunting and fishing or canoeing; the little girls will pretend that they are making pottery, basketry, or painting their bodies. The toys which the children use are miniature implements of hunting and food gathering. The only objects made differently for children to play with which are not an imitation of anything used by the adults are small clay figures representing human beings. These are arranged by the child in imitation of human beings dancing around

524 323 532

[8] If the Yaruros knew this ball game they have forgotten it since then.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

252 Several fires were burning, and over them there were pots containing turtle eggs. Several large turtles and small crocodiles were broiling over a fire. The shells of the turtles and the hides of the crocodiles had not been removed, and for a moment we thought that they were being cooked alive, but soon discovered that they had been killed before being placed over the fire. There was little else to be seen. It was easy to understand the reaction of the casual traveler who, upon coming in contact with a primitive group, stops, looks, and goes away quickly with the impression that there is nothing there more than the glance takes in.

123 609 On approaching the camp, Pedro, the guide, shouted words of greeting in Yaruro, "keramai" (brother-in-law). He patted some of them on the back, asked after their health in Spanish, called everyone brother or sister-in-law, and tried to make himself generally agreeable. Maria busied herself with the women. The Yaruros' only response to their demonstrations of friendship was to extend their arms half-heartedly, in a llanero gesture of greeting, and to answer their questions monosyllabically.

In spite of our friendly overtures they would not accept me as friend or guest. They remained reserved and aloof. The young man pointed out as the headman resisted my attempt to draw him into conversation. The Yaruros watched us closely, taking in our least movement, and only averted their gazes when we looked directly at them. If one has never come in contact with South American primitives before, such a reception is decidedly disheartening.

123 522 An accident relieved some of the tension. I picked up a bow. Choosing the remnants of an old basket about 50 feet away for a target, I took careful aim and shot the arrow. I missed by more than 10 feet. The eyes watching me lighted with amusement and contempt, for it was inconceivable to them that anyone could exist in this world without knowing how to shoot a bow better than that. I shot again and this time I came within 6 inches of hitting my mark, a feat which aroused some interest. I placed another arrow on the bow, raised it, pulled back the string, as far back as my ear, and then, with a loud snap, the bow broke. Laughter greeted this exploit, not so much directed at me as at the owner of the bow who had spent several days fashioning it. He was adequately compensated but that did not remove his feeling of resentment.

123 That evening we again visited the camp. The camp fires were low, so we were scarcely able to see our way about. Pedro and Maria sang out cheery greetings, while we picked our way between scarcely distinguishable groups of humanity and piles of debris. A few grunts and a few indifferent gestures of greeting were the only acknowledgments of our presence. Even the distribution of several yards of tobacco failed to melt their reserve. They did, however, put up a

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19 s1a RC

521 performances would be given which would last until sunrise. Therefore there was an intense exchange of ideas for relatively long times with no rest.

361 The time came when Landaeta became a little restless. He was not accustomed to camping on one spot for more than two or three days at a time and he himself had done no hunting since I had joined them. Besides, the men and women had to forage farther and farther away for food. If my physical condition had permitted, it would have been well to continue living with them, moving from place to place, as is normal.

123 152 However, I knew I had to return to civilization quickly. The effect of my announcement on my hosts was interesting, and touching. It will be recalled that I had appeared in their midst as a stranger and a potential enemy and it was through a fortuitous event that I was accepted by them, not only as a friend but as a relative who worshipped the same gods. Since then I had actually been given an affectionate place in their emotional lives and they were sorry to see me go. They understood the reasons that were making it urgent for me to leave, especially understandable was the fact that my "wife and child" who had not seen me for many months were waiting for me to return. Nevertheless, they expressed sorrow, a certain amount of listlessness began to appear and they would come to me and sit by my side, telling me that they would be a rather lonesome people after I had gone; that they liked to talk about religious matters, and that when I would no longer be there with them they would have no one to talk things over with. This attitude affected the men and women in a very curious way. We had very little food in the camp, but still they would not go out and gather fresh quantities. And when I urged them to do so they answered that the knowledge of my coming departure made them very sad, and consequently they did not have the proper spirit to gather food, or even to eat.

609 511 These people have very little in the way of excess goods. Each family has a few baskets, perhaps a water jar, a mat or two, scraps of clothing and their tools, nothing more. And these generally were in very poor condition from long use. Knowing that I wanted to take back with me some of these things, they became busy weaving hammocks, making basketry and even pottery, so that I would take back to my "wife and child" objects new and well-made. This reaction on their part was spontaneous and they all expressed the idea that I should take back with me only new, well-made articles to remember them by; so for about a week before my departure there was intense activity around camp.

The day of my departure finally arrived and I said good-bye. There was no ceremonial wailing as had attended my departure from the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Yawalapiti village in Brazil; but the very silence was expressive of the mutual sorrow at our parting. Landaeta loaded me and my baggage in a canoe and we drifted slowly away, leaving on the vast beach a few human beings alone in a strange world, but not lonesome, since they live with their gods.

Economic Life

The Yaruros practice no agriculture and keep no domestic animals except the dog, even though they inhabit country over which roam wild horses and cattle, and they come in contact with the "llaneros," who are typically pastoral. Therefore, their daily dinner is dependent upon, and determined by, indigenous environment and their own energy. The quality and abundance of their food supply depends upon seasonal variations of climate. A period of drought or a too prolonged period of rain may cause famine. They would be allowed a degree of freedom from the daily task of acquiring dinner were they able to store any food for future use. The tropics, however, offer special difficulties to this which are not present in more temperate climates. Their knowledge of what is edible in various localities, where to find it, how to gather it, and how to keep it and what is available at different times of the year are all factors important to the satisfaction of their most fundamental need. Technical knowledge in the making of tools and methods of hunting and fishing are also important.

As if not satisfied by the degree of their dependency on it, and on their technical knowledge, primitives often self-impose other limitations. There may be an abundance of a particular animal which could be hunted easily or a particular plant which could be gathered in quantity, yet the primitives very often raise barriers against such practices. The fact that they have religious and perhaps magical reasons for such attitudes explains but does not change the situation. Thus, for instance, among them deer may be plentiful in a region, the people may be starving, and yet no deer is killed and eaten.[1]

Limitations such as these are not entirely imposed by nature and by the culture of the people; often, the proximity and the attitude of other groups of mankind play their part. A weak tribe will be restricted in its lands over which it may wander, hunt, and claim ownership, and very often may be reduced to seeking a less desirable environment where food is even scarcer. Or a new people may seize its lands and they will be prohibited even from hunting on these lands. Or there may be an influx of peoples who will live partially on the hunt also, though their main source of food may be agricultural.

[1] The peoples of the Kuluene river, Matto Grosso, Brazil, will not hunt nor eat deer.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

The first fact that holds our attention is that Yaruros are strongly ethically conscious. Every shamanistic performance is the means for the propagation of ethical teachings. The shaman, or as the Yaruros believe, the gods and their dead ancestors speaking through the shaman, admonish various individuals and lay down the law for proper conduct. They hold the threat also that misconduct will be displeasing to the mother goddess and as a result life with her will not be as pleasant as it would be if they followed her precepts in this world.

According to the Yaruro philosophy the world is, by its nature, good and it was created by Kuma as a good thing. If any evil exists it has been introduced by men, who have forgotten or come to disregard the laws laid down by the goddess. The world, if unsullied by men, is a perfect integration of the elements which function for the good of mankind. Unfortunately, at times men will disturb the structure. There is implied in this the existence of free will for mankind, since it can change or disturb what was created by Kuma. And if we have recourse to the legends, we find that perhaps the lower animals have free will also, although it is exercised by them much more rarely than by mankind.

Kuma appears also as the teacher of ethical laws. She told the people, told Hatchawa, and now tells the shamans: to live in peace with each other; to respect each other; to help each other; to live good lives; to take care of the parents-in-law and the children-in law. When the wife is ill or otherwise the mother-in-law should look after the needs of her son-in-law, although they do not speak to each other. The Yaruros will find recompense for such moral living after death. They are poor on this earth but will be rich like Kuma in the other world.

During my stay the women remained bashful, never speaking directly to me, and when I approached generally looking away. In the latter days they would laugh merrily as they fled. Their culture does not permit free social intercourse with men, but any request on my part relayed to them through their husbands or brothers was eagerly complied with, and with better than good humor.

All were helpful toward each other and there did not appear to be any dissension. Extreme care was taken that a person's rights and prerogatives were not infringed upon. The husband never seemed to request anything of his wife that did not lie in her province, and when strange demands were made to please me, entire freedom was given to the wife, or daughter, to do as it pleased her. Any misfortune, however slight or serious, that would produce some expression of anger among white people was met by the Yaruros with merry laughter. At night each family group lay on the sands

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 791 with the stamping of the right foot on the off-beat, but whenever the shaman is giving a really good performance his whole body responds to the dance and he may shake as violently as the rattle in his hand. His people may also throw themselves into a dance, making a series of jerky movements, bending from the waist downward and up again.

533 539 One of the typical songs of Kuma was a greeting to me. She said:

Greetings, man, greetings. Your wife is waiting. She is not dead, nor is she sick, but she is thinking that her husband has been away so long that perhaps he is dead. She is good and loves her husband who is sick, which is good. But it is good that he is with me (Kuma speaking) and with my people. He is a good man. He gives me a cigar. I shall give him a horse when he is born again in my (Kuma) land. I shall give him much silver when he is born again in Kuma Land. I love him, the good man, and I shall love him in my land. In the other land, my land, he gave me drink like you my people. Like you my people, everyone will come to my land, the Yaruro land.

FEMALE SHAMANISM

791 787 554 776 It proved impossible to learn much about those things in which the women are chiefly or exclusively interested. The shamans seem to be as influential among both sexes as the men are, and they seem to acquire their power and prestige through dreams or revelations in the same way as the male shamans do. In the case of the women it seems that India Rosa must appear in a dream rather than Kuma. In the legends it is India Rosa who taught the women the various arts and crafts, so in shamanism she is the chief spiritual power. During the day, both Kuma and India Rosa are pictured as resting in their hammocks. Because of that the women shamans sing sitting in their hammocks, swaying back and forth, during the day. Apparently it is believed that by imitating the picture of Kuma and India Rosa they can reach the two spiritual forces more easily. These shamans never perform at night, although they will sing with the male shaman when the latter is giving a performance.

535 791 534 The gourd rattle seems to be an instrument which only the shamans can use with immunity and as a means of conversing with Kuma. The women do not have these rattles. Their singing is done unaccompanied by any musical instrument or by any dancing. Dancing is performed only at night, when it is led by the male shaman.

609 123 The nature of the visions experienced by the female shamans remained unknown to me. As has been mentioned before, social intercourse between man and woman, unless closely related by blood or marriage, is prohibited. It is a social taboo which apparently is never violated and which no amount of bribery could break down. It seemed best to respect this custom, even though it were at the expense of remaining ignorant of many phases of Yaruro culture practiced by the women. So, in the case of shamanism, although the

1: Petrullo E-S (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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women sang to me and for me, I was not able to learn anything about their conceptions of the universe nor any other matter.

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On one occasion Landaeta, the shaman, invited Juan Bario's band to participate in a performance. The women prepared for it by painting the face with stamped designs—stamps smeared with oily stuff, stamped on the face, then the entire face, from eyebrows down, was covered with a thick coat of red ocher. It stuck where the grease was. The hair was worn in one braid down the back. They wore their best dresses.

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In anticipation of a long night, I lay down on the sands to rest, if possible. However, the skies interested the Yaruros. Landaeta and his people lay beside me to talk about the heavens. From that we passed to a discussion of Hatchawa, who, according to Landaeta, had said that I was well known to him and a good friend. In order to test the shaman I told him that I was anxious about my family whom I had left so long ago, and I asked him to find out about my wife, son, and general family from Hatchawa, which he promised to do. The conversation went back to the stars, and as the big dipper began to rise over the northern horizon Landaeta disappeared in the darkness. Soft conversation continued, and then came Juan Bario and his family to join us.

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A few words of warm friendship with Juan Bario and we went to joint Landaeta, who was sitting ready to begin. Landaeta had withdrawn to the west of the camp, and put on his shamanistic breechclout and head-cloth, which consisted of a sort of headkerchief. His son Brigido sat behind him; to the right of Landaeta sat Brigida, his wife, and next to her, her sister. Juan Bario and I sat back a little.

Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily, without reproof, under the very nose of the shaman, some of the men jested and laughed, others conversed more quietly, etc. In other words, the imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions, and no restraints were placed on the normal and natural behavior.

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Landaeta began to sing and he was accompanied by a few of the attendants. In the meanwhile small fires had appeared here and there, and at these were lighted the long green leaf-covered cigars. None smoked an entire cigar, following the general custom of sharing with the other fellow. The songs at first were accompanied with faint rattling of the macaua, but this became stronger and stronger as the shaman approached the Land of Kuma. Finally at midnight—almost on the stroke—the shaman announced in his song that he had reached the desired land. The singing became more intense, faster, and everyone seemed to take more interest.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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make it usable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses. [461]

Objects used by men are men's property and are inherited by the men; objects used by women are women's property and are inherited in the women's line. Immovable property such as gardens and houses are said to be inherited by the decedent's children of both sexes. Male animals such as boars and dogs, are owned by men, the females by women. Thus the division of property is as sharp as the division of labor, a fact reflected throughout the ideology. 428 [422] [231]

No two producers produce the same quantity or inventory of goods, especially as each has great freedom to concentrate in the productive activities he prefers to the exclusion of others. Yet each producer contributes to household and community in what is felt to be equivalent value since most foods are considered good and of equal worth. Each household producing unit distributes supplies of raw or cooked foods to other households along the lines of coresidence and kinship. In this way, all villagers, as consumers, receive the same total amount of food and no one goes without. Thus all persons and households in the community are equivalent as producers, distr buters, and consumers. All are tied together in a loosely formalized network of coordinate reciprocal exchanges and obligations in which scales of value are not necessary, since each person contributes approximately equally of all values. In this situation, accumulation of wealth by individuals is out of the question and management of production or of wealth distribution is unnecessary. Consequently, there are no economic status differentiations and no effective leadership among the Yaruro. 433 592 621 [435] [556] [554] [622]

Similarly, no purely social differentiations based on status ranking occur in Yaruro society, except by casual deference to those of age and experience like shamans and village spokesmen, called 'capitans'. The status of women is coordinate with that of men. The complementary and coordinate units, a man and a woman, combine into a series of coordinate but semi-autonomous units, the households. A group of these constitute the Yaruro social unit, the neither endogamous nor exogamous (Murdock's "agamous") village. All these units are tied together by links of bilaterally traced kinship, with coordinate relations on both sides, the ultimate tie being the reciprocal marriage of cross-cousins. Marriage is ideally matrilocal, and occurs most frequently within the village. As a consequence, the most immediate kinship ties in the village are matrilateral, whereas kinship among the men is more diffuse. The villages themselves are tied together by kinship ties, real or imputed, as well as by marriage and visiting, but by no other ties of an all-tribal nature. People who are known to any particular village —to 'us'— are considered part of our village's family, since their kinship ties to our members can be discovered or invented freely. Persons recognized as being of our linguistic and cultural stock will be included under the general term *pumé*, but may not be considered 'of our family' unless the kinship ties are recognized. Thus there is a Yaruro people, but no Yaruro tribal unit. Even the persons included in 'our family' do not constitute a unit, since there are no cross village unifying institutions other than real or imputed bilateral kinship ties. Even these vary from 554 621 [562] [592] 621 [612] [602] [619] [612]

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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village to village, since each village constitutes a separate and independent center of relationships with neighboring villages and consequently has its own unique assortment of outside relationships, based partly on choice. This situation, like so many other aspects of the socio-economic organization is reflected in the cosmology.

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According to the Yaruro, the cosmos originally lacked not only humans, but even gods. There existed only three, concentric, rigid, blue, celestial domes; below them, a flat, undifferentiated, vast savana all of sand; and a cold, dark, flat underworld. Beyond these there was, and is, nothing. Thunder, already then, was to be found between the upper celestial domes, while Sun, his wife, Moon, and their children, the stars, were already revolving between the lower two.

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Into this cosmos were spontaneously born the primordial gods. The goddess Ku'man, the grandmother of us all, who lives in a land to the west, out of the savana created the discrete lands of her fellow gods and of the Yaruro. She created the non-Yaruro peoples, the *nivé*, first, and the Yaruro, the *pumé*, last, which is why there are so few - there were few left to create. She ordered Kiberó, the female toad who lives in the dark underworld to give fire, which she belched from her belly. Ku'man created the foods wich are collected and the modes of preparing them. She instructed the men and the women in their crafts. She ordained the social order. Her husband, Poa'nan, the snake god, who lives in a land to the south, created the characteristic savana features: the rivers, the woods, the grasses for the animals to eat.

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He taught men the technology of horticulture and gave them the seeds of the garden crops. He, with his fellow god, Icial, who lives in a land to the north and was born a boy given to troublemaking though he later matured, then taught the arts of hunting and fishing. Poa'nan son, Hachawa, who lives in a land to the east, created only the ceremonial cigarettes. The four godly other-worlds lie beyond the Great Water which surrounds, but is not quite contiguous to, the Yaruro hither world. This geographical break in the cosmos is negligible, however, since the hither-world and the other-worlds become continuous in the thought and action of the Yaruro. The Great Water continues in an endless expanse beyond the four other-worlds, according to one interpretation, while in another, it is said to be enclosed by limitless, unpeopled and empty savanas. The four Yaruro other-worlds are also inhabited by a younger generation of gods all possessing Spanish names. Some interpreters identify these with the primordial gods. Others do not. According to some informants, they live in the same lands as the older gods. Others say they live in different lands. Such variations of religious interpretation occur frequently despite general agreement in all essentials. Individual freedom of choice and interpretation, already noted in connection with economic choice and social interrelationships, is also found in relation to ideology.

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The godly other-worlds are generally described as idealized versions of the Yaruro hab'tat. This is true also of a fifth otherworld, one which is discontinuous geographically, conceptually, and behaviorally with the rest of the Yaruro worlds, though similar in form. This is the land of Dios, the God of

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

1959), on the basis of later field research, he completely rejects his previous stand.

In 1949, after his earlier publications, Le Besnerais (cf. 1954) made a census of the entire Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, discovering among other things:

A) That most Yaruro settlements had dry season locations on or near the river, banks or on the sand bars in the river, and wet season locations back from the rivers on higher sand dunes,

B) that there were corresponding house types for each kind of location,

C) that a great many of these settlements appear to have had two divisions mainly in the wet season locations — often at considerable distances from each other, sometimes very close,

D) that near all winter locations and in all settlements along the entire length of the Riecito and Capanaparo rivers gardens existed with standard crops mentioned in my own work (1961 *a*, 1962),

E) and, by implication, that these garden plots are not readily visible from the river nor from dry season locations.

Fiasson (1947), speaking of a trip probably made in 1945, mentions gardens for the Yaruro in the Capanaparo-Meta area. The missionary, Raymond Kook, showed me pictures in 1958 of gardens on the upper Sinaruco. And, in the neighborhood of the mission station, near Guachara and along the Caño del Medio and the Cunaviche River, all the Indians had horticulture. These Indians also reported gardens along the Arauca River. The linguist, Thomas P. Rootes, describes gardens along the Riecito and Sinaruco, and I have myself published in detail on Yaruro horticulture (1961 *a*).

In sum, present sources indicate horticulture for all Yaruro, going back at least to 1945 or 1946 and undoubtedly earlier — a period at maximum no more than twelve years after Petrullo's *dry-season* visit in 1934. It is hard to believe that the horticultural practice was diffused the length and breadth of Yaruro-land and integrated into a well-organized transhumance and even into the world view all in fifteen years. Nevertheless belief is not adequate proof. The only recourse is to try to resolve the problem by earlier evidence.

The second major difference between my findings and those of Petrullo relates to the asserted existence of matrilineal "clans", characterised, in localities, by a sib core of women and their children plus the locally inmarried husbands. Nowhere in Petrullo is proof given for the *unilineality* which is implied by the term clan, though the *matrifocality* seems genuinely confirmed by the genealogies reproduced. Matrifocality is not congruent with matrilineality, and, try as I might, I was not able to establish the latter. I am not ready to assert that matrilineality therefore does not, or did not, exist but I was quite unable to elicit any evidence for it.

A related aspect is, of course, exogamy. Petrullo claims that marriage can only occur reciprocally between the two clans, marriage *within* which would

7: Leeds E-4, 5. (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

constitute incest. I believe one can show from Petrullo's own genealogies that either incest occurred, possibly as a result of the process of depopulation, or that clan exogamy did not exist at all, since there were no clans, and the marriages concerned were not incestuous.

A third important feature that Petrullo asserts existed among the Yaruro is matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. Aside from the fact that, associated with the matriliny Petrullo's matriclans would possess, one would theoretically expect patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, if preferential cross-cousin marriage existed at all, I was unable to confirm unilateral cross-cousin marriage preferences but got statements of preference for bilateral cross-cousin marriage as well as reports of bilateral cross-cousin marriage and bilateral marriages between an ego and a parallel cousin's offspring.[2]

A fourth important feature discussed by Petrullo is totemism. The clans are assertedly connected respectively with the snake god Poanã and the jaguar god, Tió. Not only was I unable to confirm this, but the ethnographic evidence, on the whole, appears to contradict it directly. Totemism, for example, would be quite inconsistent with the social organization of the *ɪɔŋ'bə* ceremony, the central socio-religious institution of the Yaruro which I have described elsewhere (1960, 1961 *b;* cf., also, Le Besnerais, 1951, 1950 *b,* and, with Dreyfus-Roche, 1954).

Thus we have not only ethnographic disagreement among three observers, but also the theoretical improbability of the original description which attaches matrilineal clanship to hunting and gathering nomadism, and to matrliateral cross-cousin marriage. Virtually all further published anthropological material on the Yaruro has taken the Petrullo report at face value. Some of these publications include a caveat about the report, but, unfortunately, others have, explicitly or implicitly, assumed its correcteness since they have used it as the starting point for historical, functional, or evolutionary reconstructions.[3]

Specifically the assertion is repeatedly made by Steward, Kirchhoff, and Steward and Faron that the Yaruro are one of a series of marginal tribes left over from an earlier wave of settlement and occupying interstitial areas among more advanced peoples. Steward (1946-1950, in various passages, esp. Vol. 5, pp. 678 *ff.*) tries to justify the marginal classification generally by designating characteristic traits present as well as those that should be absent. The Yaruro possess a large number of the latter, including horticulture, basketry, canoes,

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[2] The theoretical expectation of *patrilateral* cross-cousin marriage with matriliny is discussed in Homans and Schneider (1955, especially pp. 56-57) and elsewhere. The preference for bilateral marriage with cross-cousins or with offspring of parallel cousins is also found among the Jívaro (cf. Steward and Métraux, 1948, especially p. 626). This fact, with a great many similar traits of social organization and world view shared by the two cultures, is of considerable interest to the cultural origin of the groups discussed later in the paper where other parallels are mentioned.

[3] Cf. Kirchhoff, 1948, *a:* Steward, 1946-1950; Vol. 3, pp. 897-899; Vol. 5, pp. 669-679, *et passim;* Steward and Faron, 1959; Layrisse, *et al.,* 1961; Needham, 1960; Murdorck, 1957.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

and warfare as supra-tribal distribution mechanisms. It is interesting to note that the cultural characteristics ascribed to each of the peoples — "warlike," "peaceable," "brabo" — are ecologically funcional, in that they mirror value orientations which tend to drive people to maximize the food resources in ways appropriate to their socio-ecological environments.

Fourth, the evidence seems to me at present to point to the existence throughout the area, of pre-hispanic horticulture, enjoyed by at least some groups within each tribe, if not by all groups in part of every year. The evidence comes from the reports of travellers, missionaries, and from the archeological remnants, such as they at present are. The main Spanish and Venezuelan acculturational effects with respect to subsistence appear to have been the introduction of iron tools; seeds and plants not of native origin, such as sugar cane and bananas; and, here and there, cattle, pigs, or chickens.

Fifth, the evidence suggests a steady deculturation in an area capable of maintaining a more elaborate level of culture. One may hypothesize either that groups like the Yaruro came into the area with a level of culture reflected by the Arauquín-style remants and then gradually deculturated both pre-hispanically and in post-conquest times, to their present level, or that they intruded into such a culture at a time when they themselves were at a more elaborate level, and then deculturated largely under Spanish influence. It will probably be possible to shed light on this question with the historical data.

In summary, if these hypotheses are correct, the entire interpretation of the llanos area between the Andes and the Orinoco highlands, as well as of other nearby areas assertedly inhabited by so-called marginal tribes, is quite different from that presented by the *Handbook of South American Indians*. The marginals of northern South America seem to evanesce, and a picture of a highly complex ecological system in which horticulture is of central importance, even if not quantitatively predominant in this ecologically restricted area, appears. This picture seems to conform better to the recent archeological hypotheses of Cruxent and Rouse (1958-1959), to the historical mentions of horticulture, to the presently scanty archeological and linguistic materials, and to more recent ethnological data.

I have not, as yet, been able to make any determination whatever with respect to clanship, totemism, or matricross-cousin marriage. I hope that with a study of the word lists discovered and with possible older ethnographic data that this problem may be resolved. My own field data suggests an organization into demes with bilateral marriages between cross-cousins or between an ego and his parallel cousin's offspring. This interpretation incidentally tallies with, or at least does not contradict, the data, such as the genealogies, kin terminology, and locality features described by Petrullo in all pasages where inferences and assertions as to the existence of these institutions do not occur.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

251 During the rainy season the seed of the chigua is gathered. It is crushed, toasted, and stored in small quantities in the same way as the changuango, provided, of course, that a spot is found high enough to keep it dry.

Social Organization and Social Customs

596 616 622 791 554 Economically the family hunting group is the basic unit, as has been shown in the previous chapter. In social matters, however, it is the moiety. Each family hunting group recognizes a headman and each moiety recognizes a chief who in all cases is the shaman. Both of these positions of authority are acquired only through personal merit. There is no inheritance of chieftainship or shamanism. If the nephew of a headman shows ability he may inherit his uncle's position, and theoretically this is the scheme. In natural practices we find that not only the Yaruros but perhaps a great many other primitive peoples are very realistic and are loath to give authority to an individual whose personality does not stand for leadership.

616 428 Every Yaruro is born in either the "Itciai" or "Puaná" moiety. Descent, with its social affinities, prerogatives, and obligations, being traced through the female line, the child belongs to its mother's moiety. Nothing is inherited from the father, who belongs to the other moiety, except obligations.

616 773 There is a legend among the Yaruros that two young men not finding any marriageable girls among their own people mated with the Jaguar and with the Snake. From these two unions are descended the two moieties. Since only among animals do brothers and sisters mate it has become a rule that two descendants of the Jaguar, "Itciai", cannot marry with each other; nor can two descendants of the Snake, "Puaná", marry with each other. They must seek a mate from the other group. Thus an "Itciai" must always marry a "Puaná", and vice versa. Cross-cousin marriage solves this problem.

582 604 In this system, therefore, a man's children belong to his wife's moiety, from which he is socially excluded. His sister's children, on the other hand, are socially close to him since they too inherit moiety membership from their mother which is the same as his own. Deprived of his own children to carry on his traditions, a man looks to his sister's children to take their place. It is his nephews who will help him in hunting, who will come to his defence, who will take care of him in old age. As if in payment of such attention he gives them his daughters in marriage. Thus his sisters' sons become his sons-in-law.

121 596 Yaruro society is built around the hunting group, which in numbers is never stable. The hunt and the gathering of food such as roots and fruits calls for a certain amount of cooperative effort, but

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

621 596 rarely is there need to enlist the services of persons outside the family group for it.

A typical hunting family will consist of the "old man," his wife, their unmarried sons, unmarried and married daughters, their sons-in-law, perhaps an unmarried brother or two, or without a father-in-law with whom to live, the parents-in-law unless they be dead, and the grandchildren, that is, the children of the daughters. To this nucleus there may be attached, temporarily, stragglers from other groups, old people and young children without relatives to take care of them, and visiting children of the man's sisters.

When two hunting groups meet very often they will camp together for a few days. If food is plentiful they may spend some of the time in merrymaking. Those bands which are in touch with the ranchers may gather together to perform a given piece of work for the meager pay that they may receive.

621 178 In actual practice it is almost impossible for a hunting group to consist of a theoretical family as described. This is especially true now that the Yaruros are disappearing so rapidly. The women may have a series of husbands, as if one dies, or is killed, and the men may have a series of wives. Any genealogical table, therefore, is very confused.

● 616 621 596 The group of El Burron consisted of the following: Two sisters who had been married to Fauste, a cross-cousin but who was now dead; one of these women, Agapita, had two daughters, both of whom married. Isabel, one of these daughters, was dead at the time of my visit, but she had two children, a boy and a girl, who were still living. Her sister had married, lost her husband, but had four children, all living. The sister of the old woman, Agapita, had a boy and a girl, both of whom were living with the group. Fauste had a brother and a sister, now very old, and both living with the group. His brother had a daughter, Maria, who was also living with the group. On analysis we find, therefore, that, as the group existed at the time of my visit, there were twelve members of the Puaná moiety and three members of the Itciai moiety (fig. 23).

The other groups met show a greater confusion. So many individuals had died that there was no fixed form for any group. In some cases the groups would consist of several middle-aged men and women with wives and children and in other groups, such as Landaeta's and Pablo Reyes', they were led by old men—shamans. It is because of the breakdown of the social system under current conditions that the genealogies are not reproduced in this study at this time. 601

606 604 This confusion affects the social relationships between various individuals. For instance, one Garcia was married to Landaeta's

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

daughter, but he should have married the daughter of one Juan Bario, who was a parallel cousin of Landaeta, therefore, he actually married not his immediate cross cousin, but his cross cousin once removed. He kept strictly within the cross moiety marriage rule. However, this marriage brought complications in his life, because for all practical purposes he had two fathers-in-law to take care of rather than one. He solved this problem by living with Landaeta, his wife's father, half of the week, and the other half he spent with his uncle,

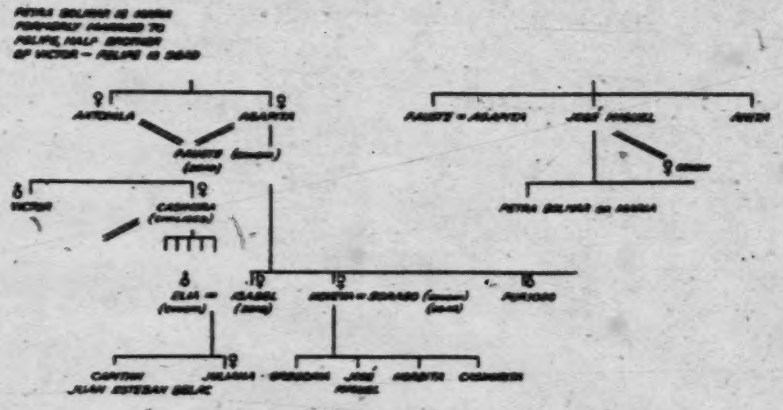

FIGURE 23.—Yaruro family hunting group at El Burro.

Juan Bario, whose daughter he would have married if she had lived. The sense of service which he owed to his true uncle, his mother's brother, was strong enough to persist, even though it visited a hardship on him.

Within the tribal organization the individual looks to his moiety for guidance, protection, and social intercourse. In return for this he is obligated to members of his moiety in a variety of ways. He acknowledges their affinity to him by seeking their company, by hunting together with them, and by sharing his food with them.

In the family hunting group its head is socially a stranger to most of the people around him. Indeed, if he has no sisters or has sisters who do not have any sons and has no brothers living with him, then socially he is almost out of place in the family hunting group. His wife, of course, belongs to the opposite moiety, and the children trace their descent through the mother. His wife's mother, sisters, brothers and their children belong to the same moiety as herself. When his own children are old enough to take part in hunting they look to their mother and to her brother, or brothers, for guidance and it is toward the latter that they have all sorts of social obligations. To their father they show respect, but to the mother's

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

601 marriage she called also "nyowuh", are referred to as "keramai". The father-in-law calls his son-in-law "haiméma'", which means "the one my daughter married", and the son-in-law calls his father-in-law "huíteh". His mother-in-law, whom he never addresses directly, he [606] refers to as "kaikamúe". The girl refers to her father-in-law as "kuinté". Before marriage the boy would have called his uncle, the brother of his mother, "húidemái".

● 616 There do not seem to be any rites or ceremonies from which members of the opposite moiety are excluded. According to my informants, the Puaná clan moiety is preeminent over the Itciai moiety, therefore the person recognized as its head is considered to be the [578] chief of the Yaruros. There is no resentment, as far as I was able to learn, to this arrangement. Primarily, I suppose, because the biological descendants of an individual pass from one moiety to another and therefore share in its prerogatives. The Yaruros' social concepts in respect to moiety membership is best expressed by reciprocal duties, obligations, and prerogatives. Under the elementary local system the son-in-law is almost a guest among his wife's people with whom he goes to live. During the rainy season when more permanent shelters are built, according to my informants, they have more ceremonies, during one of which the unmarried boys of one moiety then sit in the house of the other moiety.

616 Although there is no exclusion of the members of the opposite
796 moiety in the ceremonies, if the shaman is of the Puaná moiety,
791 those that sit closest to him are members of his own moiety. But even in this case the other moiety is represented, and in fact indirectly serves him. His own wife sits at his right and it is she who assists him when her help is needed by handing to him the various pieces of his paraphernalia and tobacco. It is she, likewise, who prepares the various drinks. The rest of the members of her moiety, if they happen to be present, take their places following the members of the shaman's moiety.

604 When a man is undertaking a hunt or wishes to build a canoe he
476 calls on his nephews, that is, his sister's sons, for help, and they are obligated to be at his service. This obligation and service, which begins as soon as the boy begins to understand his position in the society, lasts a lifetime. When the uncle or uncles become too feeble to hunt for themselves it is these nephews who supply them with food and everything else they may need. This service may be interpreted as compensation to the uncles for their daughters who become the wives of these youths. But there was no indication that it was so considered by the Yaruro.

593 h. A man, therefore, does not have the services nor the social life of
604 his children, but has to look to his sister's womb for individuals to educate and to assist him.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

603 educate and to assist him. However, his grandchildren belong to his
604 own moiety and the children of his daughters will be born in this camp and will live with him until the boys are old enough to seek wives in the other moiety. The bonds linking these nephews, uncles, grandparents, and grandchildren are morally strong and perhaps it explains why Kuma herself is thought of as being the grandmother of Hatchawa, rather than the mother. Several myths illustrate this uncle, nephew, grandfather, and grandchild relationship. It is curious to note that occasionally the uncle in these myths plays tricks on the nephew and may even be represented as being exceedingly wicked, but the grandfather is always benevolent.

[591] The children of a man's sons are brought up in a different hunting group, since the boys will live with their wives' groups, and although these grandchildren belong to the same moiety, the old man's contact with them is rather limited. It is different with the children of his daughter.

182 The basis of Yaruro social organization is cross-cousin marriage.
582 Each hunting group tends to consist of one family and other groups hunting nearby are probably closely related to it. The chance of a member of one group meeting members of a group hunting far away from his hunting grounds would be quite insignificant. It would appear, therefore, that a Yaruro man would have the option to marry
[584] his sister's cousins, aunts, grandchildren, and grandparents. Of these it is considered incest to marry his sisters, his mother, and the sisters of his mother, whom he calls mother also, the children of his father's brothers, whom he calls father, and the children of his mother's sisters, whom he calls sister also. The only two classes of women whom he can legitimately marry are the daughters of his mother's brothers and the daughters of his father's sisters. The latter, how-
• [616] ever, belong to the same moiety as himself and are therefore excluded. His choice is restricted to the daughters of his mother's sisters.

However, a number of factors may enter to allow a man a wife other than his cross cousins on his mother's side, and in fact in some cases he is forced to marry others than his cross cousins on his mother's side, who may not be available. Theoretically he may marry any of the following: His father's sisters, his father's mother's sisters, his daughters' daughters, his wife's sisters, his wife's mother's sisters, and his wife's mother's mother and her sisters. We find in actual practice that this is done. At Landaeta there was one young man married to a woman of about 40 whom we would call his aunt-in-law, that is, his wife's mother's sister.

587 This class of women whom he is allowed to marry he is also obligated to look after should their husbands die. For instance, should

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

INHERITANCE OF WIVES

583 Monogamy is the usual rule, but occasionally both polygyny and polyandry exist. If no women are available, a man may share his young wife with his brother or parallel cousin whom he calls brother also. I saw two such cases. In a tribe whose total membership may not exceed 150 such situations may easily arise.

587 589 The more common situation is the inheritance of wives. If a man dies, his wife may be taken care of by her father, but more often by her former husband's brother. She takes her place as wife number two, especially if he is a good hunter. Other women whom a man may inherit as wives are his aunts on his father's side and even his paternal grandmother. I saw one case in which a man had inherited his daughter's child. Whether these cases represent the results of [616] deculturation of the Yaruros in recent years, or pure necessity, it is impossible to say. It is worth noting that the taboo on marrying a member of one's moiety is strictly observed.

512 605 Another relationship common among South American Indians which is present among the Yaruros is the hunting friendship between two men. Seldom does one meet a young Yaruro who does not have a hunting companion. Upon marriage this relationship may be weakened, though often the companionship persists. Generally the men are two parallel cousins. They show much affection toward each other, even in camp. For instance, such a pair standing with arms around each other's necks is a common sight. I have no reason to suspect any abnormal sexual relations between such couples.

124 582 [165] An attempt was made to collect genealogies, but no satisfactory results were obtained, due to the confusion that exists among the Yaruros. So many have suffered premature death, especially men, that the genealogies show a tremendous complexity. This complexity exists, of course, only for us. The Yaruro has his system, which is to guard against incest as he defines it. So long as members of the same moiety do not marry, everything else is permissible. One's cross cousin of the same, or nearly the same, age is the preferential choice, but the Yaruros cannot control birth and death, so that the preference is purely theoretical. I saw young boys married to old women and young girls married to old men. The answer was that there weren't any others to marry.

However, enough was gathered from the genealogies to verify the system as described: Members of the same moiety do not marry. Every one else can, except father and daughter, and, of course, father's brothers and daughter, whom she addresses as father anyway.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

842 773 Biological conception is clearly understood. One of the myths tells of Kuma's desire to have a child. She asked Puaná to impregnate her in the thumb, but Puaná, who in these myths appears both as trickster and wise man, told her that such impregnation would result in an overpopulation and advised her to allow herself to be impregnated in the ordinary way. She allowed herself to be persuaded, and Hatchawa was born. It may be worth noting that though Hatchawa was the issue, he is referred to as the grandson of Kuma. Whether this inconsistency is to us merely an unexplainable situation, or whether it has greater significance, I was not able to find out.

844 846 616 262 When delivery is imminent a shelter is built for the prospective mother, apart from all other people. Her husband's moiety brothers build a similar structure for him also apart from the camp. The woman is tended by the women of her family and moiety and the husband by the men belonging to his moiety. Both abstain from eating fish, turtle, and crocodile. Iguana and deer meat and the usual vegetable diet are allowed. During delivery and for 10 days after the husband lies in a hammock and engages in no physical activity. Ordinarily he would sleep on the ground. His moiety brothers bring him food. After 10 days he visits his wife but continues to live alone and apart for a month. Now he hunts in the company of other men and is expected to supply his wife with food. The food taboos continue in effect for the full month for both husband and wife. Strict continence is practiced by the husband. When the month is over the family is reunited.

MENSTRUATION

152 841 The Yaruro's actual attitude toward menstruation is not one of fear or wonder. The phenomenon is accepted much as it is among us, as a disturbing but unavoidable event. In the literature on primitive peoples it is often reported that menstruation is held to be a dangerous period for the woman and for the people. One may question the correctness of this observation, if observation it be, with the suspicion that because certain taboos are observed fear is the motivating response. I have found the observance of taboos among a dozen South American tribes with whom I have had personal contact but there has been no indication of actual fear. One wonders if such events have not been too highly dramatized and rationalized by the civilized visitor rather than by the primitives.

841 Among the Yaruros the first period in a girl calls for special treatment at the hands of the women. The girl's face is covered with a

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

LIFE AFTER DEATH

761 775 To the modern Yaruro death is a desirable event. It holds great promise rather than terror for him. He believes that the dead will continue to live in the Land of Kuma. That is, in the land of the Mother Goddess, where he will be restored to a life of pristine happiness in the world which is identical with that which existed before the coming of the white man. In that world, in the Land of Kuma, he will have freedom to hunt if he pleases, he will have an abundance of food, he will have horses, cattle, and tobacco. He will lead a life of eternal bliss, watching over the affairs of his relatives and descendants on this earth, visiting them occasionally through the shaman and conversing with them. Apparently his only wish is that his people will die and join him in the Land of Kuma at the earliest possible time. A better idea of this life after death can be obtained by turning to the chapters on the shamanistic performances and legends.

PLAY

522 152 The spirit of play is known to the Yaruros. In fact, they laugh so much and so often that one might get the impression that they take life very lightly. For instance, their response to any accident is laughter. A man may fall out of his canoe or hurt himself in some way, or a woman may break a pot; any such accident is taken as a fine joke by everyone else.

616 606 There is inner-moiety and joking relationship, but members of one moiety do not play pranks on members of the other moiety. In fact, even in camp the mother-in-law will keep aloof from any levity engaged in by the son-in-law, and vice versa.

533 535 524 In the dancing and singing there is gaiety, especially when Puaná visits his people. Then is a time for much laughter and joking. However, there is no formalized play among the Yaruros. Anciently it is reported that the Otomacos had a ball game. Gilii has given us a description of it.[5]

857 462 861 The most common form of play among the children is an imitation of the activities of the grown-ups. The little boys will pretend that they are hunting and fishing or canoeing; the little girls will pretend that they are making pottery, basketry, or painting their bodies. The toys which the children use are miniature implements of hunting and food gathering. The only objects made differently for children to play with which are not an imitation of anything used by the adults are small clay figures representing human beings. These are arranged by the child in imitation of human beings dancing around

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[5] If the Yaruros knew this ball game they have forgotten it since then.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

772 terial existing in the literature at the present time is too scant to give
177 us much of a lead. For the Llanos of Venezuela we have only the missionaries' accounts of the middle of the eighteenth century, meager accounts at best, and highly colored by the ideas of the missionaries themselves. But even these give us no idea as to how the Yaruros thought and behaved in those days. They give us notes only on the Otomacos and the Saliva. Perhaps material exists in unpublished form, but it must remain unknown for the purpose of the study.

773 In the mythology and in the shamanistic cult a number of figures stand out: Kuma, the mother goddess; Puaná, the great snake; Hatchawa, the culture hero; and Itciai, the jaguar. A more obscure figure is Kiberoh, who seems to be identified with a female evil spirit, but in one legend appears as the mate of Kuma. And an even more confused figure is India Rosa. It is known that the patron saint of the early Spaniards was Santa Rosa de Lima. If India Rosa is to be identified with Santa Rosa among the Yaruros, only the name has persisted. The confusion will become evident on reading the text.

773 The creation legend exists in various forms, but which of them
177 represents the purely aboriginal one it is difficult if not impossible to determine. It seems best to give all versions. The myth of the flood appears also, and whether or not this is a foreign element in Yaruro mythology cannot be determined at this time. Of great interest to us are the ethical elements present in these stories. In the legend of the impregnation of Kuma, presumably by Puaná, the water snake, one may see a parallel to the story of Eve and the Serpent. Be that as it may, Puaná the Snake, Itciai the Jaguar, Kuma the Mother Goddess, and Hatchawa, the culture hero, are living spiritual forces among the Yaruros today, godheads who visit the Yaruro frequently during shamanistic performances and speak to the Yaruros through the mouth of the shaman. It would be too much to expect that all our facts should fit together into a logical pattern. The legendary world is never a well-ordered one and it speaks for the genuineness of Yaruro culture that we find such complex.

773 It will be noted that Kuma is definitely the Mother Goddess who gave birth to Hatchawa and to human beings. The latter were found by Hatchawa living under the ground. Hatchawa is always the culture hero. It is he who takes compassion on humanity and gives the fire, the bow and the arrow, and presumably a great many other things. Puaná, the Water Snake, is not only the shaper of the earth, but it is he who is given credit for great wisdom. Itciai, on the other hand, plays a very small role. In our legends he appears as a shaper or creator of the waters but plays no other part. But perhaps this
[616] obscurity of Itciai is to be attributed to the fact that my informants belong to the Puaná moiety.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

strong implication both in the myths and the saying he attends to his people, especially those belonging to the snake moiety, that Puaná is also anthropomorphic. I believe that the conception of the godheads is not quite as clear among the Yaruros as we who attempt to rationalize his beliefs would like it to be. Puaná stands closer to the members of his moiety than does even Kuma. During the shamanistic performances led by Landaeta the singing and dancing were rather sluggish until it was announced by the shaman that Puaná was on his way, and when Puaná reached the shaman's body there was unbounded rejoicing which put fresh spirit into the singing and the dancing. No such enthusiasm was apparent even when Kuma approached. We may contrast the attitude toward Kuma and Puaná as one of respect and one of familiar love.

HATCHAWA

Hatchawa is the culture hero of the Yaruros. It is he who interceded with Kuma about giving fire to the human race, and it is he who begged Puaná to make a bow which he passed on to his people. He is credited with being the direct instrument and also the means by which the Yaruros have acquired knowledge of hunting. When Hatchawa arrives among the Yaruros during shamanistic performances he is received gladly and thankfully.

ITCIAI

All of the shamans with whom I spoke and whose performances I attended belong to the Puaná clan. They knew little of Itciai and were not interested in telling me much about this rival to Puaná. Itciai seems to be identified with the jaguar, but he is not anthropomorphic. He is given credit for having created the water in the rivers, but, as if they were jealous of even this attribute, my informants said that "Itciai created only the water in the rivers."

FLOOD LEGEND

After the people were created and had lived on this earth a long time they began to forget to do the right thing. They no longer believed that Kuma is the mother of water and the entire universe and everything that there is in it. So Kuma, in order to show them that she was the creator of the universe and everything therein, caused a rain to begin which continued until everything was covered over with water except a tree on the upper Capanaparo, and the top of a hill. A man and his sister took refuge on the very topmost branches of the tree, and a man with his aunt saved themselves by staying on top of this hill.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

311 177 In the case of the Yaruros all of these factors have played an important role and are currently active in reducing their territories and food supply to a degree that will mean imminent extermination of the people. It is true that since the first settler arrived in their country the Yaruros could have made readjustments in their culture which perhaps might have permitted them to survive. They could have learned, for instance, to raise horses, cattle, and to cultivate the soil as the [178] Guajiros, living in a country similar to the llanos, have done. But they have chosen to remain firm in their own culture, own traditions, and own universe, and as a result are expecting to pay the penalty. Why they have failed to make the readjustment which would have brought them into a livable relationship with the newcomers and have persisted in keeping to their primitive, nomadic existence may be answered in the pages that follow.

361 Dependency on hunting, fishing, and gathering of edible fruits and roots imposes nomadism upon a people and prevents living together in large groups. The degree to which a people have to wander, the extent of the territory over which they must roam, and the size of the group, is dependent upon the abundance of the food supply in the region. The Yaruro hunting groups are small and they stay in one camp not more than a few days; so, they are to be met plying up and down the river in their canoes or traveling over land to the water holes, ever hunting for food.

HUNTING TERRITORIES

224 621 596 Each hunting group has a territory over which it is free to roam. Over this region only its members are allowed to hunt and gather fruits and roots, but the rivers, the main streams, are open to all. The accompanying map shows the limits of the present hunting territory [174] of the Yaruros of the Capanaparo. It would seem that anciently, when the Yaruros were more numerous, they roamed over a vaster region cut up into small portions over which hunting rights were distributed among various hunting family groups. I was assured that the Yaruros of the Sinaruco also have divided their country into family units.

619 101 There is also a sort of division among the Yaruros which transcends family grouping. The Yaruros of the Capanaparo, for instance, consider themselves a unit, though loosely bound, as distinct from the Yaruros of the Sinaruco, so that they consider the land drained by the Capanaparo as theirs and the region drained by the Sinaruco as the land of the Yaruros of that river. And yet, above all this, there seems to be a tribal feeling as opposed to the tribal divisions. The real significance of this is that among the Yaruros there is permitted a degree of mutuality in the use of the hunting rights

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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not allowed to the neighboring peoples, such as the Otomacos or the Achaguas. The social and linguistic bonds seem to be strong enough to cause the Yaruros to recognize themselves as a distinct people.

FOODS

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In the llanos food is not plentiful except in and along the rivers; but the foraging activities of the Yaruros are restricted to the banks of the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers for another reason. The hunting of land animals has practically stopped for fear that they will be accused by the ranchers of killing cattle. In recent years the activities of the crocodile hunters have ruthlessly destroyed the game, and since such hunters live on the country they have consumed a portion of the available quantity of game on which the Yaruros depended for a livelihood.

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In the dry season game is concentrated along the rivers and the water holes. It is considerably easier to hunt it then than in the rainy season, when it is dispersed over the plains. The turtle, which is found in great quantities in the waters of the Orinoco and its tributaries, suffers a yearly mass hunt and destruction which has its effect on the food supply of the Yaruros. It has been discovered that the turtle fat and eggs will produce a fine grade of oil which sells for a high price. The result is that the breeding grounds of the turtles become yearly a scene of great activity and destruction. No one knows how many thousands of turtles and turtle eggs are gathered and converted into this oil late in the month of April.

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The meat staple of the Yaruros is the *Crocodilus babu*, a small crocodile which grows to about 6 feet long. This animal is hunted daily and eaten in its entirety. Its meat is esteemed above that of any other animal. On the other hand, the cayman, sought for its hide, is not hunted as a rule by the Yaruros. Perhaps this meat is not as savory as that of the babu, but the Yaruros give the reason that the large crocodile represents a race of mankind to which they are related. So that although occasionally it may be hunted for the price that its hide may bring, it is never eaten and never hunted consistently.

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Next to the crocodile, turtles, including the matamata and tortoise, are to be found broiling over the fires in every Yaruro camp, and if they are not broiling they can be seen in shallow pools of water with their forelegs tied to their hindlegs. In this way they can keep alive but cannot walk away. The armadillo is seldom obtained and other meats appear occasionally on the diet of the Yaruros. Fishing is resorted to when neither crocodiles nor turtles are obtainable. The caribe, which is the piranha of Brazil, is esteemed but little. The tonino, which can be seen gracefully playing in the water or can be heard snorting in the rivers at night, is never hunted. It also is

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4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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make it usable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses. [461]

Objects used by men are men's property and are inherited by the men; objects used by women are women's property and are inherited in the women's line. Immovable property such as gardens and houses are said to be inherited by the decedent's children of both sexes. Male animals, such as boars and dogs, are owned by men, the females by women. Thus the division of property is as sharp as the division of labor, a fact reflected throughout the ideology. 428 [422] [231]

No two producers produce the same quantity or inventory of goods, especially as each has great freedom to concentrate in the productive activities he prefers to the exclusion of others. Yet each producer contributes to household and community in what is felt to be equivalent value since most foods are considered good and of equal worth. Each household producing unit distributes supplies of raw or cooked foods to other households along the lines of coresidence and kinship. In this way, all villagers, as consumers, receive the same total amount of food and no one goes without. Thus all persons and households in the community are equivalent as producers, distributers, and consumers. All are tied together in a loosely formalized network of coordinate reciprocal exchanges and obligations in which scales of value are not necessary, since each person contributes approximately equally of all values. In this situation, accumulation of wealth by individuals is out of the question and management of production or of wealth distribution is unnecessary. Consequently, there are no economic status differentiations and no effective leadership among the Yaruro. 433 592 621 [435] [556] [554] [622]

Similarly, no purely social differentiations based on status ranking occur in Yaruro society, except by casual deference to those of age and experience like shamans and village spokesmen, called 'capitans'. The status of women is coordinate with that of men. The complementary and coordinate units, a man and a woman, combine into a series of coordinate but semi-autonomous units, the households. A group of these constitute the Yaruro social unit, the neither endogamous nor exogamous (Murdock's "agamous") village. All these units are tied together by links of bilaterally traced kinship, with coordinate relations on both sides, the ultimate tie being the reciprocal marriage of cross-cousins. Marriage is ideally matrilocal, and occurs most frequently within the village. As a consequence, the most immediate kinship ties in the village are matrilateral, whereas kinship among the men is more diffuse. The villages themselves are tied together by kinship ties, real or imputed, as well as by marriage and visiting, but by no other ties of an all-tribal nature. People who are known to any particular village —to 'us'— are considered part of our village's family, since their kinship ties to our members can be discovered or invented freely. Persons recognized as being of our linguistic and cultural stock will be included under the general term *pumé*, but may not be considered 'of our family' unless the kinship ties are recognized. Thus there is a Yaruro people, but no Yaruro tribal unit. Even the persons included in 'our family' do not constitute a unit, since there are no cross village unifying institutions other than real or imputed bilateral kinship ties. Even these vary from 554 621 [562] [592] 621 [612] [602] [619] [612]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 / SS19 Yaruro SS19

In the case of the Yaruros all of these factors have played an important role and are currently active in reducing their territories and food supply to a degree that will mean imminent extermination of the people. It is true that since the first settler arrived in their country the Yaruros could have made readjustments in their culture which perhaps might have permitted them to survive. They could have learned, for instance, to raise horses, cattle, and to cultivate the soil as the Guajiros, living in a country similar to the llanos, have done. But they have chosen to remain firm in their own culture, own traditions, and own universe, and as a result are expecting to pay the penalty. Why they have failed to make the readjustment which would have brought them into a livable relationship with the newcomers and have persisted in keeping to their primitive, nomadic existence may be answered in the pages that follow.

Dependency on hunting, fishing, and gathering of edible fruits and roots imposes nomadism upon a people and prevents living together in large groups. The degree to which a people have to wander, the extent of the territory over which they must roam, and the size of the group, is dependent upon the abundance of the food supply in the region. The Yaruro hunting groups are small and they stay in one camp not more than a few days; so, they are to be met plying up and down the river in their canoes or traveling over land to the water holes, ever hunting for food.

HUNTING TERRITORIES

Each hunting group has a territory over which it is free to roam. Over this region only its members are allowed to hunt and gather fruits and roots, but the rivers, the main streams, are open to all. The accompanying map shows the limits of the present hunting territory of the Yaruros of the Capanaparo. It would seem that anciently, when the Yaruros were more numerous, they roamed over a vaster region cut up into small portions over which hunting rights were distributed among various hunting family groups. I was assured that the Yaruros of the Sinaruco also have divided their country into family units.

There is also a sort of division among the Yaruros which transcends family grouping. The Yaruros of the Capanaparo, for instance, consider themselves a unit, though loosely bound, as distinct from the Yaruros of the Sinaruco, so that they consider the land drained by the Capanaparo as theirs and the region drained by the Sinaruco as the land of the Yaruros of that river. And yet, above all this, there seems to be a tribal feeling as opposed to the tribal divisions. The real significance of this is that among the Yaruros there is permitted a degree of mutuality in the use of the hunting rights

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

251 During the rainy season the seed of the chigua is gathered. It is crushed, toasted, and stored in small quantities in the same way as the changuango, provided, of course, that a spot is found high enough to keep it dry.

Social Organization and Social Customs

596 616 622 791 554 Economically the family hunting group is the basic unit, as has been shown in the previous chapter. In social matters, however, it is the moiety. Each family hunting group recognizes a headman and each moiety recognizes a chief who in all cases is the shaman. Both of these positions of authority are acquired only through personal merit. There is no inheritance of chieftainship or shamanism. If the nephew of a headman shows ability he may inherit his uncle's position, and theoretically this is the scheme. In natural practices we find that not only the Yaruros but perhaps a great many other primitive peoples are very realistic and are loath to give authority to an individual whose personality does not stand for leadership.

616 428 Every Yaruro is born in either the "Itciai" or "Puaná" moiety. Descent, with its social affinities, prerogatives, and obligations, being traced through the female line, the child belongs to its mother's moiety. Nothing is inherited from the father, who belongs to the other moiety, except obligations.

616 773 There is a legend among the Yaruros that two young men not finding any marriageable girls among their own people mated with the Jaguar and with the Snake. From these two unions are descended the two moieties. Since only among animals do brothers and sisters mate it has become a rule that two descendants of the Jaguar, "Itciai", cannot marry with each other; nor can two descendants of the Snake, "Puaná", marry with each other. They must seek a mate from the other group. Thus an "Itciai" must always marry a "Puaná", and vice versa. Cross-cousin marriage solves this problem.

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604 In this system, therefore, a man's children belong to his wife's moiety, from which he is socially excluded. His sister's children, on the other hand, are socially close to him since they too inherit moiety membership from their mother which is the same as his own. Deprived of his own children to carry on his traditions, a man looks to his sister's children to take their place. It is his nephews who will help him in hunting, who will come to his defence, who will take care of him in old age. As if in payment of such attention he gives them his daughters in marriage. Thus his sisters' sons become his sons-in-law.

621 596 Yaruro society is built around the hunting group, which in numbers is never stable. The hunt and the gathering of food such as roots and fruits calls for a certain amount of cooperative effort, but

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

621 596 rarely is there need to enlist the services of persons outside the family group for it.

A typical hunting family will consist of the "old man," his wife, their unmarried sons, unmarried and married daughters, their sons-in-law, perhaps an unmarried brother or two, or without a father-in-law with whom to live, the parents-in-law unless they be dead, and the grandchildren, that is, the children of the daughters. To this nucleus there may be attached, temporarily, stragglers from other groups, old people and young children without relatives to take care of them, and visiting children of the man's sisters.

When two hunting groups meet very often they will camp together for a few days. If food is plentiful they may spend some of the time in merrymaking. Those bands which are in touch with the ranchers may gather together to perform a given piece of work for the meager pay that they may receive.

621 178 In actual practice it is almost impossible for a hunting group to consist of a theoretical family as described. This is especially true now that the Yaruros are disappearing so rapidly. The women may have a series of husbands, as if one dies, or is killed, and the men may have a series of wives. Any genealogical table, therefore, is very confused.

616 621 596 The group of El Burron consisted of the following: Two sisters who had been married to Fauste, a cross-cousin but who was now dead; one of these women, Agapita, had two daughters, both of whom married. Isabel, one of these daughters, was dead at the time of my visit, but she had two children, a boy and a girl, who were still living. Her sister had married, lost her husband, but had four children, all living. The sister of the old woman, Agapita, had a boy and a girl, both of whom were living with the group. Fauste had a brother and a sister, now very old, and both living with the group. His brother had a daughter, Maria, who was also living with the group. On analysis we find, therefore, that, as the group existed at the time of my visit, there were twelve members of the Puaná moiety and three members of the Itciai moiety (fig. 23).

The other groups met show a greater confusion. So many individuals had died that there was no fixed form for any group. In some cases the groups would consist of several middle-aged men and women with wives and children and in other groups, such as Landaeta's and Pablo Reyes', they were led by old men—shamans. It is because of the breakdown of the social system under current conditions that the genealogies are not reproduced in this study at this time. 601

606 604 This confusion affects the social relationships between various individuals. For instance, one Garcia was married to Landaeta's

1: Petrullo E-S (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

daughter, but he should have married the daughter of one Juan Bario, who was a parallel cousin of Landaeta, therefore, he actually married not his immediate cross cousin, but his cross cousin once removed. He kept strictly within the cross moiety marriage rule. However, this marriage brought complications in his life, because for all practical purposes he had two fathers-in-law to take care of rather than one. He solved this problem by living with Landaeta, his wife's father, half of the week, and the other half he spent with his uncle,

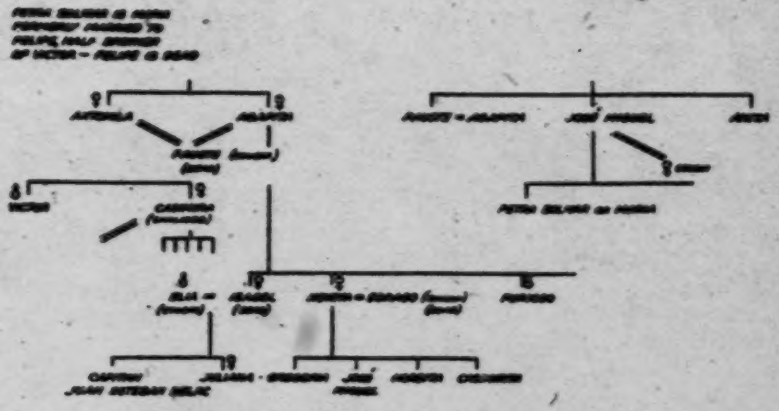

FIGURE 23.—Yaruro family hunting group at El Barrio.

Juan Bario, whose daughter he would have married if she had lived. The sense of service which he owed to his true uncle, his mother's brother, was strong enough to persist, even though it visited a hardship on him.

Within the tribal organization the individual looks to his moiety for guidance, protection, and social intercourse. In return for this he is obligated to members of his moiety in a variety of ways. He acknowledges their affinity to him by seeking their company, by hunting together with them, and by sharing his food with them.

In the family hunting group its head is socially a stranger to most of the people around him. Indeed, if he has no sisters or has sisters who do not have any sons and has no brothers living with him, then socially he is almost out of place in the family hunting group. His wife, of course, belongs to the opposite moiety, and the children trace their descent through the mother. His wife's mother, sisters, brothers and their children belong to the same moiety as herself. When his own children are old enough to take part in hunting they look to their mother and to her brother, or brothers, for guidance and it is toward the latter that they have all sorts of social obligations. To their father they show respect, but to the mother's

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Yaruros of Lagunote. Note carrying baskets, digging sticks, bows and arrows. The author is standing at extreme right.

[End Plate 7]

3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

distance of the gardens is too far from the village for effective or efficient exploitation. At this point a village or part of a village must move. Moving the villages involves decision-making with respect to time, new location, and so on. Plainly, moving a village involves a community decision. A community institution for handling the decision-making is necessary. Technologically speaking, the moving itself is not a community task and does not involve supervision and direction. Therefore, one would not expect the institution of decision-making to be a directive one, but a consultative one. Again this corresponds to the observed modes of action of the Yaruro chiefs. The chiefs' function is to facilitate the formation of the decisions of the community by funnelling and interpreting individuals' feelings and expressions to the rest of the members of the community.

In sum, I have presented a model of a form of ecology which, hypothetically, determines the limits within which any sort of chiefly functions may operate. This model, again hypothetically, is applicable to all cultures having the kind of technological and habitat characteristics and forms of surplus here described. I think the model applies particularly to cultures which grow root-crops such as manioc, which utilize no labor-concentrative techniques, such as irrigation, and for whose food resources notable seasonality is absent. Such cultures have been noted widely in tropical South America and also in Melanesia. In both areas, chiefly functions are notably limited as contrasted, say, with Circum-Caribbean corn-raising cultures with some irrigation and other intensive techniques[24] and with Polynesian high cultures with elaborate irrigation and other public works.[25] It should be noted, first, that the Yaruro were not far from these Circum-Caribbean chiefdoms and even show a number of trait similarities, and, second, that the Yaruro have been under Spanish acculturation, which has involved encouragement of chiefly functions, for probably 250 years. Yet, despite the pressures of both diffusion and acculturation to produce a more developed chieftaincy, the attenuated form described persists. The explanation of this persistence seems to me to be ecological. I suggest that the model of explanation presented here is based on a set of analytic dimensions — the characteristics of the technology, those of the habitat, those of the harvest surplus, and the interrelationships of these — which may be used for all cultures, but whose formal, systemic relations vary from culture to culture, or class of cultures to class of cultures, thus giving different models for different cultures or classes of cultures. By using such dimensions, one can account for cultural differences by means of a standard set of principles, thus faciliating genuine comparisons and generalizations.

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[24] Cf. Sturtevant, 1961; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961.
[25] Cf. Sahlins, 1958.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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make it usable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses.

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Objects used by men are men's property and are inherited by the men; objects used by women are women's property and are inherited in the women's line. Immovable property such as gardens and houses are said to be inherited by the decedent's children of both sexes. Male animals, such as boars and dogs, are owned by men, the females by women. Thus the division of property is as sharp as the division of labor, a fact reflected throughout the ideology.

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4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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village to village, since each village constitutes a separate and independent center of relationships with neighboring villages and consequently has its own unique assortment of outside relationships, based partly on choice. This situation, like so many other aspects of the socio-economic organization is reflected in the cosmology.

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According to the Yaruro, the cosmos originally lacked not only humans, but even gods. There existed only three concentric, rigid, blue, celestial domes; below them, a flat, undifferentiated, vast savana all of sand; and a cold, dark, flat underworld. Beyond these there was, and is, nothing. Thunder, already then, was to be found between the upper celestial domes, while Sun, his wife, Moon, and their children, the stars, were already revolving between the lower two.

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Into this cosmos were spontaneously born the primordial gods. The goddess Ku'ma^{n}, the grandmother of us all, who lives in a land to the west, out of the savana created the discrete lands of her fellow gods and of the Yaruro. She created the non-Yaruro peoples, the *nivé*, first, and the Yaruro, the *pumé*, last, which is why there are so few - there were few left to create. She ordered Kiberó, the female toad who lives in the dark underworld to give fire, which she belched from her belly. Ku'ma^{n} created the foods wich are collected and the modes of preparing them. She instructed the men and the women in their crafts. She ordained the social order. Her husband, Pôa'na^{n}, the snake god, who lives in a land to the south, created the characteristic savana features: the rivers, the woods, the grasses for the animals to eat.

He taught men the technology of horticulture and gave them the seeds of the garden crops. He, with his fellow god, Icial, who lives in a land to the north and was born a boy given to troublemaking though he later matured, then taught the arts of hunting and fishing. Poa'na^{n} son, Hachawa, who lives in a land to the east, created only the ceremonial cigarettes. The four godly other-worlds lie beyond the Great Water which surrounds, but is not quite

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contiguous to, the Yaruro hither world. This geographical break in the cosmos is negligible, however, since the hither-world and the other-worlds become continuous in the thought and action of the Yaruro. The Great Water continues in an endless expanse beyond the four other-worlds, according to one interpretation, while in another, it is said to be enclosed by limitless, unpeopled and empty savanas. The four Yaruro other-worlds are also inhabited by a younger generation of gods all possessing Spanish names. Some interpreters identify these with the primordial gods. Others do not. According to some informants, they live in the same lands as the older gods, Others say they live in different lands. Such variations of religious interpretation occur frequently despite general agreement in all essentials. Individual freedom of choice and interpretation, already noted in connection with economic choice and social interrelationships, is also found in relation to ideology.

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The godly other-worlds are generally described as idealized versions of the Yaruro hab'tat. This is true also of a fifth otherworld, one which is discontinuous geographically, conceptually, and behaviorally with the rest of the Yaruro worlds, though similar in form. This is the land of Dios, the God of

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G 101 114 Raymond Fiasson (1) in 1947 reported the existence of

1. Raymond Fiasson, "Algunos aspectos cientificos del Apure /Some Scientific Aspects of the Apure/," in El Agricultor Venezolano, Year XII, No. 127, No. 1947, p. 11.

Guliguli Indians on the banks of the Juriepe, a southern tributary of the Cinaruco. According to our Yaruro informants, these did not exist. Guliguli perhaps is only a synonym for Guahibo-Chiricoa.

The Amburua.

G 101 The Amburua appear to live on the other side of the Meta, on the Rio Negro in Colombia. Not direct neighbors of the Yaruro, they have only rare contacts with the latter. The Y G 648 Yaruro of village 30 on the Riecito recounted to us a fight against the Amburua which took place not far from them, in the course of which their adversaries were decimated.

2. The Habitat (Capanaparo and Riecito Rivers) (see Map 2 and Tables I and II)

Y 361 621 The Yaruro population is divided on an economic basis into small communities, established near a water course and composed of several families grouped under the authority of one head.

Y 361 Along the Capanaparo and Riecito explored by us, there are some 30 irregularly spaced on the 400 kilometers of river (2).

2. We shall dwell in detail on the structure of the communities in other articles, as we have on habitation types further on here.
[see pp. 19-20. -Analyst]

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162 Each community is comprised of ten to 30 individuals
621 including children (average: 17.9), distributed in one or
342 several habitations of which the type varies according to function and the nature of the terrain and the season (1).

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1. The Venezuelan llanos are huge savannas furrowed with watercourses running west-east and bordered with a corridor of forest, narrow but dense; they have a tropical climate characterized by two seasons: a rainy season, winter (June to September), during which the rivers overflow their beds and flood the sayanna, and a dry season, summer (December to April), during which the latter become dry in part, uncovering long sandy shores.

342 The first type (I) is an upright house with a rectangular base (sometimes oval), three to four meters wide by five to seven long and three to four high, without walls and covered with a straw or palm roof with two sloping sides, open or closed at one or two ends and protecting from rain. It is built on the hard ground of high banks that the floods of the rainy season do not reach.

The second type (II) is a small, low hut (a man cannot stand in it) with a round base (II a) or oblong (II b), also without walls and covered with a roof of palms, either hemispherical (II a) or with two sloping sides (II b), protecting from rain; it stands on the soft ground of sand dunes and shores raised above the flood level (II 1), or shores freed by a drop in the water level (II 2).

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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In this system, therefore, a man's children belong to his wife's moiety, from which he is socially excluded. His sister's children, on the other hand, are socially close to him since they too inherit moiety membership from their mother which is the same as his own. Deprived of his own children to carry on his traditions, a man looks to his sister's children to take their place. It is his nephews who will help him in hunting, who will come to his defence, who will take care of him in old age. As if in payment of such attention he gives them his daughters in marriage. Thus his sisters' sons become his sons-in-law.

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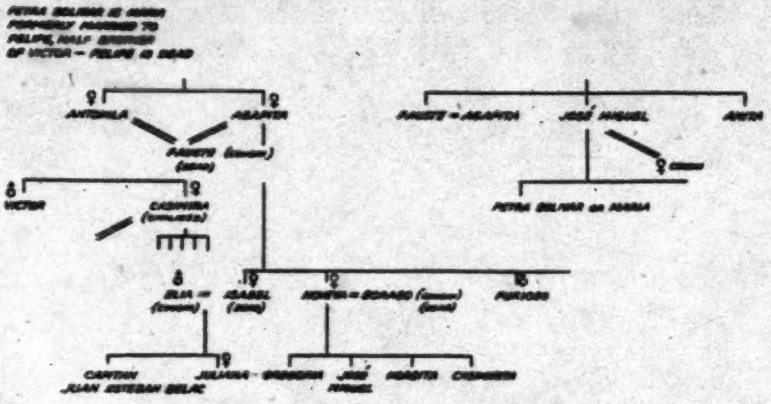

FIGURE 23.—Yaruro family hunting group at El Burron.

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3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Ecological Determinants of Chieftainship among the Yaruro Indians of Venezuela

ANTHONY LEEDS

I

Father John Cooper is said to have remarked once that when South American Tropical Forest tribal chiefs order their people to do something, the people immediately do as they choose. Certainly, as a general pattern of chieftainship, this is true among many groups,[1] and the Yaruro Indians of the south-central Venezuelan llanos are no exception. Among them, as with others, the very word chieftainship seems inappropriate. We shall use the term here, but it should only be understood as a convenience for designating our subject matter. Whether, in general, the functions of chieftainship in South America vary in importance as ecological conditions require differing chiefly activities, or whether chieftaincies were created or reinforced through the structure of statuses engendered in acculturation situations, as seems to have occurred in parts of Venezuela, or whether the varieties of chieftainship represent different evolutionary phases of development responding to the general conditions of the culture in which they occurred, is not yet clear. Presumably some consistent set of factors may be found, perhaps along the techno-ecological lines suggested by Sahlins or Harris[2] or the socio-economic conditions such as warfare suggested by Carneiro[3], which will serve as principles in the explanation of the tropical South American and other chieftainships of similar characteristics, such as some of those found in Melanesia. It is hoped that the following interpretation, largely dealing with the ecological foundations of chieftainship, will contribute towards this formulation of principles.

II

Briefly, Yaruro chieftainship is characterized by its ineffectiveness. The *capitan*, as he is called in Spanish, or *o'te-ta'ra* (elder head) in Yaruro, rarely commands. When he does, the commands most often are directed at children and young people, especially males, women, on the whole, being consulted not commanded. Most direct

[1] E. g. Akawaio, Barama River Carib and other Carib groups, Canella, Carajá, Cayapó, Kinkuru, Sherente, Tauliping, Waika, etc. Cf. Lowie, 1949, especially pages 341—350.

[2] Harris, 1958; Sahlins, 1958.

[3] Carneiro, 1961.

Most direct

622 [191 177] commands, in so far as I was able to observe, were made in Spanish![4] — essentially in acculturation contexts. In general, they concerned village care, small services, and the like. No occasion was observed of commanding older men, except for a married youth of 19, who was the youngest adult male in the village. The two or three commands he received during my stay went unnoticed, and, in one or two instances, were even directly contravened. The capitans of the Cinaruco river group and of Palmarito de Guachara both consistently complained that no one paid enough attention to them, and the Palmarito chief complained that he never was kept sufficiently informed of events by his people. The fact is that people do pretty much as they choose in all important decision-making situations which do not involve the community at large, or the relationship of some member of the community or the entire group to outsiders.[5] In the former situation, the chief serves as a consultative funnel through which the community discussion pours back and forth until the community achieves some clear but unstated consensus upon which community members can act, individually of course. Only in the situations dealing with outside groups does the Yaruro capitanship emerge as a more developed status which might metaphorically be described as a position similar to that of a minister of foreign relations. In behalf of his group, he talks with any representatives of outside groups, especially if they are non-Yaruro, and acts as gatherer of information and as channel of communication between the community and the outside entity. Even this is weakened, however, since it applies more by courtesy than by fact among the Yaruro themselves, and other members of the community may perform the same function even if to a somewhat smaller degree. It is also weakened in that no Yaruro is prevented from acting on his own with respect to non-Yaruro outsiders, and, in fact, many Yaruro do establish their own relationships with outsiders as a number of instances attested. Indeed, the rights of the individual members of the society to make their own decisions, at least internally if not also externally, is insisted on. In one instance, a chief who took it upon himself to

[571] 622 648 [554] [682]

[4] Commands and other stress situations, which generally appear to be uncongenial to the Yaruro and more overt as the people have been more subject to acculturation, seem to elicit from the Yaruro Spanish responses rather than Yaruro ones. It is as though it were not fitting to utter commands or express anger in Yaruro. Thus, the few times noisy altercation was heard among the Cinaruco Yaruro, the language used was Spanish. The chief's commands and his overt anger were always expressed in Spanish, even if he had just before been speaking in Yaruro. Though anger may often be felt, it is not shown if the participants are expressing themselves in Yaruro. Thus, the chief scolded one of the village boys for riding one of the recently acquired burros — in Spanish; he ordered a 19-year old young man to do some task — in Spanish; he complained of the actions of one of the village elders in taking on the job of guide without first consulting him (though he would certainly have permitted it) — in Spanish.

[578] [152] [191]

[5] Cf. Leeds, 1960 a, with respect to the place of individual action in Yaruro society. Though there is individual action, choice, and responsibility, these are all carried out as an aspect of community organization and essentially with community affirmation. A person is not an individual set in counterpoint to his society — there is no polarity of individual-society, as we, in our culture, generally seem to conceive. Individualism in the latter sense does not exist among the Yaruro. The Yaruro should not be mistaken for an individualistic culture, as, I suspect, several of the cultures described as individualistic in Mead, 1937, should not have been.

[181] [114]

3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

represent his people to the outside world without consultation and to make arbitrary decisions for them inside the community — mainly in his own interest — was, with the consent of the community, assassinated by one of the members, now in excellent standing in that community as a respected shaman. The chief in question had stepped beyond the bounds designated for his status. In sum, the position of chief, even though formally recognized by Yaruro society and reinforced by formal recognition and appointment by Venezuelan authorities, is feeble as an institution and as a status.[6] It is our hypothesis that ecological conditions of Yaruro life determine the form of the chieftainship in such a way that its stronger institutionalization would be impossible, and we turn to this question now.

III

Yaruro subsistence activities[7] comprise swiddening, gathering, pig herding, hunting and fishing, mentioned in the order of their importance as contributors to the total food supply as measured in calories.[8] Horticulture probably provides 60—70% of the total annual food supply. The horticulture practiced is characteristic of tropical forest slash-and-burn gardens, with a slow rotation of plots in order to permit soil renewal and weed control. Trees are cut, at present with steel axes and formerly, apparently, with axes of bone or shell, and then burnt. Occasional fences are roughly made of the logs to keep out pigs. Bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*),[9] in several varieties, is the main crop, though sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*), also in several varieties, is planted too, as are corn, bananas, sugar cane — each in several varieties — and a number of lesser crops such as melons, squashes, pumpkins, pineapples, sweet potatoes, and yautia or ocumo (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*). Crops are planted with a digging stick which may also be used in harvesting. Gardens are weeded, once only, early in the growth of the crops. Other than clearing, the only soil preparation is the construction of hills for planting bananas. This is done by burning hills made by a certain species of ants (*huachaquero*). The hills, which are quite wide and low, are filled with organic matter enriching the soil.[10] Harvesting is aided with baskets for carrying the crops. Baskets contain about half a bushel or less. No fertilization, no terracing, no drainage, no irrigation, no extensive turning of the soil is done.

The gathered resources include a number of roots, particularly changuango, changuanito, and guapo (*Maranta arundinacea*);[11] varied fruits, especially that of

[6] Professor Benjamin N. Nelson informs me that in medieval Spain, village communities had an official, also called *capitan*, whose function was to treat with state functionaries representing the world beyond the village community's frontier. It is possible that the Yaruro capitan, and many others in Venezuela, are an acculturative transfer of this office to tribal groups. In the case of the Yaruro, this would have happened some 250—300 years ago.

[7] The use, here, of the terms 'activity', 'tasks', 'techniques', 'tools', 'resources', and 'habitat' corresponds to the definitions given in Leeds, 1960 b.

[8] Cf. Leeds, 1961, which gives this data in detail and describes the habitat and horticulture *in extenso*.

[9] Native terms for these crops are given *ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, note 9, contains data on soil values.

[11] Identifications are from Pittier, 1926.

3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

221 262 Finally, the Yaruro deny any considerable long-term oscillations in the environment and consequently in the resources. The extremes, particularly the minima, of habitat factors which regulate food and population balances, according to Liebig's Law, fall within narrow limits and again elicit no special institutions of management or of equilibrium maintenance to compensate for them, as in the case of the potlatches of the Northwest Coast of America, the buffalo hunts in the Great Plains of the United States, or the use of pigs in Melanesia.[22]

VI

868 One more point may be made regarding the ecology as limiter of chieftainship among the Yaruro. The tools, techniques, and resources require no very extensive, highly specialized or esoteric knowledge. In fact any man or woman, and any child as well, has access to such knowledge, and it is easily acquired by all members of the society who thus have, at least potentially, equal access to control over the means of life. There is no specialized knowledge, at least with respect to technology and habitat, which requires a specialized repository in the form of a chief or learned person. Yaruro knowledge, itself dependent upon the inventory of tools, techniques, and resources, inhibits any tendency towards the development of any [463] sort of specialists in technical or managerial knowledge. As one might expect, there are no true specialists in Yaruro society. Here and there women make p[ots] and certain women seem to have a special bent for making woven sacks but th[ese] [756] are not properly specialities. Nor, from a technological or ecological point of view, is male or female shamanism in any way a speciality. They do not appear to be specialists even in esoteric knowledge. Knowledge of the general type described here might be called 'dispersive' or 'egalitarian' since it tends to become more or less uniformly distributed among the members of the society. A consequence of the existence of this type of knowledge, associated with the kind of technology described, is that there will be no specialised training of any specialists and, of course, no specialised personnel to do such training. This is the situation which obtains among the Yaruro both with respect to technical and managerial activities. Thus, in Yaruro knowledge, there is no source for the support of an institutionalized and strong chieftainship.

VII

221 241 361 622 In one respect, the ecology encourages chiefly functions. A balance is struck between the cultural resources, the possibilities that the habitat affords for their production, and the length of time that areas of land can be exploited. This is particularly true of the horticultural lands since they can no longer be used after three years of cropping, and it becomes necessary to move on. The result is that there is a slow migration of resource areas, chiefly of horticultural areas across the tribal territory. The lands in cultivation move further and further from any given village until a point of suspension is reached at which the walking and working

[22] Cf. Suttles, 1960 a, 1960 b; Llewelly and Hoebel, 1941; Vayda, 1961; Vayda, Leeds, and Smith, 1961.

3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

distance of the gardens is too far from the village for effective or efficient exploitation. At this point a village or part of a village must move. Moving the villages involves decision-making with respect to time, new location, and so on. Plainly, moving a village involves a community decision. A community institution for handling the decision-making is necessary. Technologically speaking, the moving itself is not a community task and does not involve supervision and direction. Therefore, one would not expect the institution of decision-making to be a directive one, but a consultative one. Again this corresponds to the observed modes of action of the Yaruro chiefs. The chiefs' function is to facilitate the formation of the decisions of the community by funnelling and interpreting individuals' feelings and expressions to the rest of the members of the community.

In sum, I have presented a model of a form of ecology which, hypothetically, determines the limits within which any sort of chiefly functions may operate. This model, again hypothetically, is applicable to all cultures having the kind of technological and habitat characteristics and forms of surplus here described. I think the model applies particularly to cultures which grow root-crops such as manioc, which utilize no labor-concentrative techniques, such as irrigation, and for whose food resources notable seasonality is absent. Such cultures have been noted widely in tropical South America and also in Melanesia. In both areas, chiefly functions are notably limited as contrasted, say, with Circum-Caribbean corn-raising cultures with some irrigation and other intensive techniques[24] and with Polynesian high cultures with elaborate irrigation and other public works.[25] It should be noted, first, that the Yaruro were not far from these Circum-Caribbean chiefdoms and even show a number of trait similarities, and, second, that the Yaruro have been under Spanish acculturation, which has involved encouragement of chiefly functions, for probably 250 years. Yet, despite the pressures of both diffusion and acculturation to produce a more developed chieftaincy, the attenuated form described persists. The explanation of this persistence seems to me to be ecological. I suggest that the model of explanation presented here is based on a set of analytic dimensions — the characteristics of the technology, those of the habitat, those of the harvest surplus, and the interrelationships of these — which may be used for all cultures, but whose formal, systemic relations vary from culture to culture, or class of cultures to class of cultures, thus giving different models for different cultures or classes of cultures. By using such dimensions, one can account for cultural differences by means of a standard set of principles, thus faciliating genuine comparisons and generalizations.

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[24] Cf. Sturtevant, 1961; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961.
[25] Cf. Sahlins, 1958.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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make it usable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses. [461]

Objects used by men are men's property and are inherited by the men; objects used by women are women's property and are inherited in the women's line. Immovable property such as gardens and houses are said to be inherited by the decedent's children of both sexes. Male animals, such as boars and dogs, are owned by men, the females by women. Thus the division of property is as sharp as the division of labor, a fact reflected throughout the ideology. 428 [422] [231]

No two producers produce the same quantity or inventory of goods, especially as each has great freedom to concentrate in the productive activities he prefers to the exclusion of others. Yet each producer contributes to household and community in what is felt to be equivalent value since most foods are considered good and of equal worth. Each household producing unit distributes supplies of raw or cooked foods to other households along the lines of coresidence and kinship. In this way, all villagers, as consumers, receive the same total amount of food and no one goes without. Thus all persons and households in the community are equivalent as producers, distributers, and consumers. All are tied together in a loosely formalized network of coordinate reciprocal exchanges and obligations in which scales of value are not necessary, since each person contributes approximately equally of all values. In this situation, accumulation of wealth by individuals is out of the question and management of production or of wealth distribution is unnecessary. Consequently, there are no economic status differentiations and no effective leadership among the Yaruro. 433 592 621 [435] [556] [554] [622]

Similarly, no purely social differentiations based on status ranking occur in Yaruro society, except by casual deference to those of age and experience like shamans and village spokesmen, called 'capitans'. The status of women is coordinate with that of men. The complementary and coordinate units, a man and a woman, combine into a series of coordinate but semi-autonomous units, the households. A group of these constitute the Yaruro social unit, the neither endogamous nor exogamous (Murdock's "agamous") village. All these units are tied together by links of bilaterally traced kinship, with coordinate relations on both sides, the ultimate tie being the reciprocal marriage of cross-cousins. Marriage is ideally matrilocal, and occurs most frequently within the village. As a consequence, the most immediate kinship ties in the village are matrilateral, whereas kinship among the men is more diffuse. The villages themselves are tied together by kinship ties, real or imputed, as well as by marriage and visiting, but by no other ties of an all-tribal nature. People who are known to any particular village —to 'us'— are considered part of our village's family, since their kinship ties to our members can be discovered or invented freely. Persons recognized as being of our linguistic and cultural stock will be included under the general term *pumé*, but may not be considered 'of our family' unless the kinship ties are recognized. Thus there is a Yaruro people, but no Yaruro tribal unit. Even the persons included in 'our family' do not constitute a unit, since there are no cross village unifying institutions other than real or imputed bilateral kinship ties. Even these vary from 554 621 [562] [592] 621 [612] [602] [619] [612]

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

776 775 return to earth and guide the community. In this manner, Ku'man is a center of gravity of the Yaruro ideological life. She is the center of a communications network which ties the Yaruro of the hither-world, those of the other-worlds, and the gods all in one continuous system of personal and social relations. This is somewhat the position of the spokesman or 'capitan' in the community [622] life of the Yaruro, though he has proportionally much less influence in his village than Ku'man has in her universe.

775 776 772 In sum, the gods and the dead are conceptualized as continuous with those of us on earth. Conceptually they appear to constitute the two highest steps in the age levels: infant, child, young adult, elder, the dead, and the gods. The last four classes are increasingly instrumental in teaching the ethics of living in tranquility, of respect and deference to one's spouse and to all members of one's people, and in teaching the values of the community. They exhort but never compel the community to follow these ideals. These precepts are followed not only among the egalitarian gods in their autonomous other-world communities, but in the personal and social relations between the gods and the hither-world *pumé*. The relations between men and gods, the communication between the hither-and other-worlds, the cosmography itself, all show quite clearly that [771] there is no separation of "natural" and "supernatural" as discrete classes of events. The cosmos, society, and man are a single system in Yaruro thought.

796 771 The nexus through which the flow of life in the other-world and the ongoing rhythm of daily life in the hither-world are meshed into a single system is the religious ceremony, the *tonghé*. Some description of the *tonghé* will afford us further insight into Yaruro ideology.

796 756 787 During the night-long *tonghés*, the entire community sits behind the shaman, ranged roughly by age levels. The women sit to his right, the men to his left. At dusk he begins to sing as he starts his journey to the land of Ku'man through the dark, cold land of Kiberó, the toad who gave man fire. In hundreds of improvised verses and melodies, he describes his journey, and then, after his arrival about midnight, his adventures in the lands of Ku'man and subsequently of the other gods. In each verse, the shaman sings an intonation which the entire community repeats in an identical antiphon. Thus the full experience of the shaman is transmitted to and shared by every member of the community. All is public; there is no secret knowledge. The shaman urges his people to sing with him and the other-worldly beings, to share in the responsibilities and joys of the community in supporting their individual members whether the [757] shaman in his journey or the sick person for whom the *tonghé* may be being held. At the same time, in Ku'man land, he urges the other-worldly beings to come to advise his people and teach them. Later, the verses are no longer sung by the shaman, but rather by the dead and the gods who arrive in the husk of [776] the shaman which he has left behind as a channel of communications for the other-worldly beings while his divisible self travels abroad. As these beings arrive in the shaman's husk, all members of the community may greet them by putting their arms around them or giving them cigarettes or drink. This is done separately by women, sometimes in groups, and by men. Throughout the ceremony the chief link between the sexually divided community is the shaman or the gods in the shaman's husk upon whom both sexes are focusing

/10 cont./

II. Notes on the Otomaco

101 From information gathered principally from Pedro Ramón
186 Camacho (10) it seems that the Otomaco or Tomaco were the

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10. Chief and shaman of community No. 6, our best informant.

object on the part of the Yaruro of a regard completely different from that they had for the other Indians who were their neighbors (11).

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11. In addition to the neighbors already cited in a previous article (see "infra" IV List...36) names of other Indians, known, it seems, by the Yaruro, were mentioned to us by various informants in the course of our investigations. Some appear to live at present in Colombia; the Mayaredo or Mayarero, "very far to the west of Yaruro territory, there where the savanna ends," which no doubt means at the foot of the Andes; the Saliba and Taparito cya koromę more particularly on the upper Meta; and the Tiapaco, Tiarua, and Mapoyó without fixed localization. The others seem to have disappeared: the Piquero (tabę pumę in Yaruro), who "cultivated conucos and had a game with a ball" and seem to have inhabited the banks of the Orinoco on the Cinaruco side, and the Guamo, Tamanaco, Tamanachi, and Guaruro.

/13 cont./

Y 186 Let us add, finally, to this dossier on the Otomaco and their relations with the Yaruro, that the latter seem to have considered them, despite their being of another tribe, as pume--a term also already employed for the Otomaco in the legends about the origin of the mono, araguato, and chigüire--that is, men like themselves. "They are pume like ourselves," our old informant, Pedro Ramón Camacho, said to us. On the other hand, the old Yaruro seem to have called them aitti tabe or eitti tabe, or even the short form aitti, which in Yaruro signifies simply that they are of a different tribe, whereas the Otomaco on their part apparently called the Yaruro pume, or even pume ja, which, in Yaruro also, means good people.

O 114 361 It was Juan Esteban Bellac (27) and Pedro Ramón Camacho

Y [622] 27. Temporary chief of community No. 2.

who pointed out to us almost simultaneously the existence of a last Otomaco village called Los Caballos, the name of the place where they were supposedly created, and situated on the Río Cunaviche not far from the Venezuelan village of Cunaviche. We went there in October, 1949, but only found some small hills covered with short, green grass and occupied by several trees in the English garden manner, which rose above a river of clear water. The site and the landscape were remarkable, but the Otomaco had abandoned them a long time ago.

O 115 We did find, however, one survivor of Los Caballos, Catalina Galinda, in the village of Cunaviche (in the Jacintero quarter, located a bit upstream), but we could /14/ draw nothing out of her. She no longer had any remembrance of O [191] the language or culture of her former tribe, having left Los Caballos very young and at a time when the last Otomaco were already speaking Spanish among themselves.

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6:Le Besnerais--13a E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

I. STATEMENT OF COMPLEMENTARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE COMMUNITIES OF THE YARURO (29)

29. For data of observations, location of communities on the Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, and description of habitation types, see "infra" IV List ...36.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
On the Capanaparo River:									
1	Carlos José Delgado, then, after his death, his wife Severiana.	Santa Ana		2					According to Vicenzo Petrullo's (31) investi- 31. See "infra" IV List...82. gations, the community was called Las Mercedes and was located near the Venezuelan farm of the same name.
2	José Ledesma	a) Lagunota abandoned for:		5					Same community as Petrullo's Lagunota (31). 31. See "infra" IV List...82. which was situated beside the Venezuelan farm of Piedra Azul.
	or Juan Esteban Bellac (in the absence of the former)	b) Poterito	x (32)	x		x			
		32. "X" indicates unenumerated habitations.							
3	Adán Matute	Potrero Grande		4 to 6					The summer encampment located on a shore and not observed is called San Luis.

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30)						Remarks on Sites
		30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...38.	Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
4	Marcelo Castillo	3 sites occupied simultaneously: a) Guacharaca		3					
		b) Agua Linda	2						
		c) Médano Alto		1					At the time of the observations (29), the site 29. /See footnote 29 above./ had only one type II 1 a habitation, temporarily occupied by one ♂, 2 ♀, and 2 children who were to return to Guacharaca.
5	Ramón Belmín	Médano Alto		5		5			
6	Pedro Ramón Camacho (33)	a) Guamacho abandoned for:		3 to 4				x	
	His actual authority over Ramón Belmín is contested.	b) (Island opposite it)		3 to 4				x	The island was later abandoned for a site farther upstream.

33. The underlined names are those of higher chiefs (in Spanish: capitán mayor) with greater authority than the other chiefs (in Spanish: capitán menor). This authority generally extends to the neighboring communities originally directed by a capitán menor and grouped together on this table by wavy lines.

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
7	Ezequiel Padrón	Merecurito		x		x		x	
8	Ramón José Caravajal (named by the Venezuelans) (34)	Magdalena							
	34. "Named by the Venezuelans" means that he was designated or confirmed as chief by a representative of the Venezuelan authorities.								
		or Caravajal	2			x			
9	Antonio Peraza (named by the Venezuelans and not recognized by the Yaruro)	San José and San Luis	3			x			The winter habitations are invisible from the bank. The summer encampment located on a shore is at San Luis.
10	José Carmen Garcilla	2 sites occupied simultaneously							
		a) Santa Rosa			1				
		b) Caño Amarillo	2						

6:Le Besnerais--13d E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...30. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
11	Andrés or Juan Pío (subordinate of Bernardino Agustín Lopez, surnamed Venado —see community no. 15)	Paso El Roto (briefly occupied)	x			x			
		then simultaneously Vuelta Mala 1 and Vuelta Mala 2	x			x			
12	Ramon Remilio Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Chaparal or (Vuelta Mala) or (Barrancas)	2					x	The type I habitations are located 400/500 m. from the bank.
13	Jacinto Lopez father of the preceding (named by the Venezuelans)	El Rosario	1						The community is located near a forest and a spring of clear water coming from the savanna.
14	Jesús Arcaya	Manguito	1						
15	Bernardino Agustín Lopez surnamed Venado; also has authority over Andrés or Juan Pío (see comm. no. 11). (no doubt named by the Ven.)	El Caibote	2				1	1	The summer encampment is located on an island downstream from the mouth of the Riecito.

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
16	Ramón Díaz	El Colbote	3				5	3	The type I habitations are located about 300 m. from the bank.
17	Castillo	La Gavinera	6				x		
18	Simón Pacheco	Morocurito	1						
19	Simón Pacheco	Argentina	3			x			
20	Bilegas	Argentina	x						The habitations are located on the savanna far from the bank.
21	Bilegas	Garici	1 to 2			x			
22	José Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Matacaballo	3						The habitations are far from the bank.
23	Eloy	Monte Zamuco (La Pastilla)		x		x			

6:Le Beau/erais--13c E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
On the Riecito River:									
24	?	?	2						The habitations are located about 200 m. from the bank.
25	Cecilio (Cecilito)	Manguito	6 to 7						The habitations are located 1 km. 600 from the bank. They are surrounded by mango trees.
26	Felipe (Felipito)	?	2			1		1	
27	Jerónimo	?	x					x	The summer encampment is set up under some trees.
28	Gregorio	?	1						
29	José Blanco	?	2			3		1	
30	Luis	?	4	1		5		8	

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Between the Capanaparo and Cinaruco Rivers:			
P	?	?	One day downstream from R
Q	Joseito Menor	La Vigía	2 km. downstream from R
R	Olivet	El Gomal	One league (5 km.) from the Cinaruco and one day in summer or 1 1/2 days in winter--because the Casanarito, which is deep, must be crossed with a raft--from community no. 7, the spot on the Capanaparo which is closest to it.
S	?	?	Near R
T	?	?	

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
U	?	Lagunota	Traversed by Raymond Fiasson (36) in 36. See "infra" IV List...21 and 22. Nov./Dec. 1946. At sources of the Náure.
V	?	?	On the Caño Amarillo
W	Alfonso (reputed a thief)	Ceiba	At sources of the Macanillita
Between the Capanaparo and Riecito Rivers:			
X	Nicolás	?	On the right bank of the Capanaparo between communities No. 22 and 23.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Y	Padrón (reputed a thief)	?	At the sources of the Caño Perro de Agua.
Z	?	Moriche	Near a lagoon and not far from community no. 28.
Between the Riecito and Cinaruco Rivers:			
AA	Pablo and José Losa Cardona (other name cited: Leyi)	Reicero	On a dune located at the sources of the Cinarucquito, the Cinaruco, or the Riecito, or near the Cinaruquito and 1/2 day's travel on foot from the right bank of the Riecito or one day by canoe (up to the Paso Reicero) from the Boca del Riecito.
AB	Nicolás	?	

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
AC	Basilio	?	On the Cinaruquito, to the South of the Venezuelan farm Sol y Sombra.
On the Cinaruco River:			
AD	Pablo Emilio	?	At the Paso Mina
AE	?	Santa Rosa	
AF	Julio	?	South of the Venezuelan farm Sol y Sombra
AG	José Lopez Paez	?	

6:Le Besnerais--13m E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

121 harvesting it, require no centralized authority and render it possible and
182 even probable that the management of production or distribution be carried
433 on without it. The same may be said, on the whole, for all the hunting,
[241] fishing, and gathering harvests, a notable and probably permanent feature
[22] of Yaruro ecology. Perhaps the only crop which has a marked seasonality is corn, but its absolute size in the total production, its geographical distribution in production, and its position relative to all other harvests renders it insignificant as an effective promoter of managerial functions and
[56] formal arrangements of social stratification. It is unlikely, given Yaruro ecology that the forms of surplus would change; consequently their concomitants in social structure would remain constant.

On the basis of the formal characteristics of the ecology and of the surpluses one may deduce an essentially egalitarian social organization, with minimal ranking and leadership and with dispersion of the acts of
[56] economic distribution among a number of adult males or females any one of
[462] whom may produce a small harvest surplus at any time. With a relatively steady and reasonably comfortable total subsistence base, and with eco-
182 logical arrangements which are spatially repeated in identical form up
[582] and down river, no necessity exists for stringent rules of local exogamy as an institution to regulate the labor force by redistributing its members. One would expect frequent marrying in the village according to the convenience of the contractants, and out-marriages to occur either as ecoomic
[562] opportunity offered elsewhere or lack of women at home urged one out. The combined biological and productive role of women, with their particularly important technical roles in gathering and in food preparation, suggest sedentary communities and a matrifocal emphasis in the rules of residence. However, the importance and location of the man's economic contribution
[591] might be expected to balance this to a degree so that one might deduce male uxorimatrilocal residence but with other, subsidiary patterns. This in fact occurs, occasional male matrilocality or patrilocality [18] comprising the subsidiary residence rules. Political authority would be vested
[623] in the community, mainly among its elders, since little or no ranking or stratification is to be expected. In fact, Yaruro socio-political forms, in general, conform to all of these deduced conditions. They represent a model for any society based on the kinds of ecological conditions or form of ecology we have described. Where the ecology is even more restricted the deduced characteristics should be matched even more closely by the observed
[171] data. In this respect, the Sirionó, for example, tend to confirm the hypothesis in that their partial sedentariness which revolves about horticulture is associated with matrifocal social organization: matrilocality and matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. They also possess autonomous local communities. [19] The Apinayé also tend to confirm the hypothesis. [20]

Where our analysis permits us to predict about the course of the ecological conditions, we should also be able to extend this prediction to the social structure. Since, under the given ecology, we can establish a maximum population for each Yaruro socio-cultural unit, and under the given technology we would expect no significant change in the ecology, no significant

[18,19,20 [For footnotes see pp. 43-44 category 116 --Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

606 daughter, but he should have married the daughter of one Juan
604 Bario, who was a parallel cousin of Landaeta, therefore, he actually married not his immediate cross cousin, but his cross cousin once removed. He kept strictly within the cross moiety marriage rule. However, this marriage brought complications in his life, because for all practical purposes he had two fathers-in-law to take care of rather than one. He solved this problem by living with Landaeta, his wife's father, half of the week, and the other half he spent with his uncle,

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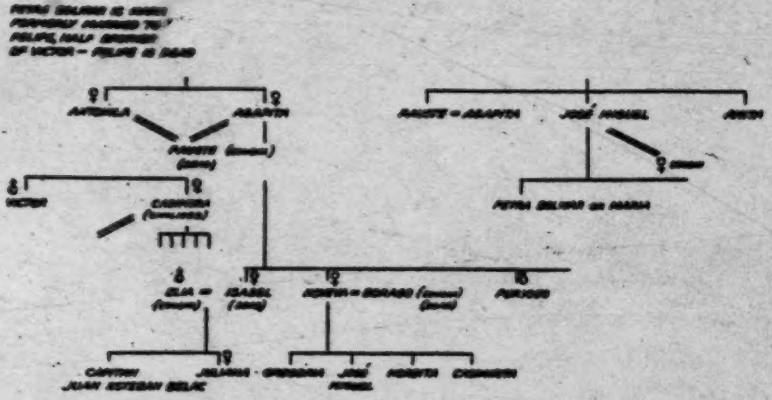

FIGURE 23.—Yaruro family hunting group at El Burro.

606 Juan Bario, whose daughter he would have married if she had lived.
604 The sense of service which he owed to his true uncle, his mother's brother, was strong enough to persist, even though it visited a hardship on him.

616 Within the tribal organization the individual looks to his moiety
476 for guidance, protection, and social intercourse. In return for this he is obligated to members of his moiety in a variety of ways. He acknowledges their affinity to him by seeking their company, by hunting together with them, and by sharing his food with them.

622 In the family hunting group its head is socially a stranger to most
593 of the people around him. Indeed, if he has no sisters or has sis-
626 ters who do not have any sons and has no brothers living with him, then socially he is almost out of place in the family hunting group. His wife, of course, belongs to the opposite moiety, and the children trace their descent through the mother. His wife's mother, sisters, brothers and their children belong to the same moiety
604 as herself. When his own children are old enough to take part in
593 hunting they look to their mother and to her brother, or brothers, for
476 guidance and it is toward the latter that they have all sorts of social obligations. To their father they show respect, but to the mother's

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

the
577 first fact that holds our attention is that Yaruros are strongly ethi-
791 cally conscious. Every shamanistic performance is the means for the
771 propagation of ethical teachings. The shaman, or as the Yaruros believe, the gods and their dead ancestors speaking through the shaman, admonish various individuals and lay down the law for proper conduct. They hold the threat also that misconduct will be displeasing to the mother goddess and as a result life with her will not be as pleasant as it would be if they followed her precepts in this world.

771 According to the Yaruro philosophy the world is, by its nature,
812 good and it was created by Kuma as a good thing. If any evil exists it has been introduced by men, who have forgotten or come to disregard the laws laid down by the goddess. The world, if unsullied by men, is a perfect integration of the elements which function for the good of mankind. Unfortunately, at times men will disturb the structure. There is implied in this the existence of free will for mankind, since it can change or disturb what was created by Kuma. And if we have recourse to the legends, we find that perhaps the lower animals have free will also, although it is exercised by them much more rarely than by mankind.

776 Kuma appears also as the teacher of ethical laws. She told the
577 people, told Hatchawa, and now tells the shamans: to live in peace
626 with each other; to respect each other; to help each other; to live good lives; to take care of the parents-in-law and the children-in law. When the wife is ill or otherwise the mother-in-law should look after the needs of her son-in-law, although they do not speak to each other. The Yaruros will find recompense for such moral living after death. They are poor on this earth but will be rich like Kuma in the other world.

609 During my stay the women remained bashful, never speaking directly to me, and when I approached generally looking away. In the latter days they would laugh merrily as they fled. Their culture does not permit free social intercourse with men, but any request on my part relayed to them through their husbands or brothers was eagerly complied with, and with better than good humor.

578 All were helpful toward each other and there did not appear to be
593 any dissension. Extreme care was taken that a person's rights and prerogatives were not infringed upon. The husband never seemed to request anything of his wife that did not lie in her province, and when strange demands were made to please me, entire freedom was given to the wife, or daughter, to do as it pleased her.

152 Any misfortune, however slight or serious, that would produce some
000 expression of anger among white people was met by the Yaruros with merry laughter. At night each family group lay on the sands

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6:Le Beznerais--13a E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

I. STATEMENT OF COMPLEMENTARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE COMMUNITIES OF THE YARURO (29)

29. For date of observations, location of communities on the Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, and description of habitation types, see "infra" IV List ...30.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...30.					Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III
On the Capanaparo River:								
1	Carlos José Delgado, then, after his death, his wife Severiana.	Santa Ana		2				According to Vicsano Petrullo's (31) investi- 31. See "infra" IV List...32. gations, the community was called Las Mercedes and was located near the Venezuelan farm of the same name.
2	José Ledema	a) Lagunota abandoned for:		5				Same community as Petrullo's Lagunota (31). 31. See "infra" IV List...32. which was situated beside the Venezuelan farm of Piedra Azul.
	or Juan Esteban Bellac (in the absence of the former)	b) Potrerito	x (32)	x		x		
		32. "x" indicates unenumerated habitations.						
3	Adón Matute	Potrero Grande		4 to 8				The summer encampment located on a shore and not observed is called San Luis.

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6:Le Besnerais--13b E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
4	Marcelio Castillo	3 sites occupied simultaneously: a) Guacharaca		1					
		b) Agua Linda	1						
		c) Médano Alto		1					At the time of the observations (29), the site 29. /See footnote 29 above./ had only one type II 1 a habitation, temporarily occupied by one ♂, 1 ♀, and 2 children who were to return to Guacharaca.
5	Ramón Belmín	Médano Alto		5		5			
6	Pedro Ramón Camacho (33)	a) Guamacho abandoned for:		3 to 4				x	
		33. The underlined names are those of higher chiefs (in Spanish: capitán mayor) with greater authority than the other chiefs (in Spanish: capitán menor). This authority generally extends to the neighboring communities sometimes directed by a capitán menor and grouped together on this table by wavy lines.							
	His actual authority over Ramón Belmín is contested.	b) (island opposite it)		3 to 4				x	The island was later abandoned for a site farther upstream.

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30)							Remarks on Sites
			30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.							
			Type I	Type II 1		Type II 2		Type III		
				a	b	a	b			
7	Ezequiel Padrón	Merecurito		x		x		x		
8	Ramón Jesús Caravajal (named by the Venezuelans) (34)	Magdalena								
	34. "Named by the Venezuelans" means that he was designated or confirmed as chief by a representative of the Venezuelan authorities.									
		or Caravajal	2			x				
9	Antonio Peraza (named by the Venezuelans and not recognized by the Yaruro)	San José and San Luis	3			x				The winter habitations are invisible from the bank. The summer encampment located on a shore is at San Luis.
10	José Carmen Garcilla	2 sites occupied simultaneously								
		a) Santa Rosa			1					
		b) Caño Amarillo	2							

6:Le Besnerais--13d E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...30.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
11	Andrés or Juan Pío (subordinate of Bernardino Agustín Lopez, surnamed Venado --see community no. 18)	Paso El Robo (briefly occupied)	x			x			
		then simultaneously Vuelta Mala I and Vuelta Mala II	x			x			
12	Santo Remilio Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Chaparal or (Vuelta Mala) or (Barrancas)	2					1	The type I habitations are located 400/800 m. from the bank.
13	Jacinto Lopez father of the preceding (named by the Venezuelans)	El Rosario	1						The community is located near a forest and a spring of clear water coming from the savanna.
14	Judá Arcaya	Manguito	1						
15	Bernardino Agustín Lopez surnamed Venado; also has authority over Andrés or Juan Pío (see comm. no. 11). (no doubt named by the Ven.)	El Colbose	2				1	1	The summer encampment is located on an island downstream from the mouth of the Riecito.

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...38.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
16	Ramón Dias	El Celbote	3				5	3	The type I habitations are located about 300 m. from the bank.
17	Castillo	La Gavinera	5				x		
18	Simón Pacheco	Merecurito	1						
19	Simón Pacheco	Argentina	3			x			
20	Billegas	Argentina	x						The habitations are located on the savanna far from the bank.
21	Billegas	Garici	1 to 2			x			
22	José Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Matacaballo	3						The habitations are far from the bank.
23	Eloy	Monte Zamuro (La Patilla)		x		x			

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
On the Riecito River:									
24	?	?	2						The habitations are located about 200 m. from the bank.
25	Cecilio (Cecilito)	Manguito	6 to 7						The habitations are located 1 km. 500 from the bank. They are surrounded by mango trees.
26	Felipe (Felipito)	?	2			1		1	
27	Jordaimo	?	x					x	The summer encampment is set up under some trees.
28	Gregorio	?	1						
29	José Blanco	?	2			3		1	
30	Luis	?	4	1		5		3	

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3 This one has six type II 1a habitations laid out, at the end of our observations, along the bank as plan No. 1 shows.[1] At the beginning of our observations the habitation of the chief -- and at the time shaman -- of the community was located to the side and approximately 100 meters to the east of the other habitations.

5 Community No. 5 formerly formed one and the same community, No. 7. It was created at the beginning of our observations by Ramón Beltran, who no longer wanted to accept the authority of Pedro Ramón Camacho, capitán mayor.

[578]
[631]

6a and b In each of its successive sites -- (a): a sand dune on the right bank of the Capanaparo about 30 meters from the water and (b): a sandy shore on the island facing it -- the community has no permanent shape except for three type II 1a habitations (plans No. 2 and 3). The fourth, shown on plan No. 2, was built by the inhabitants of community No. 8 for a temporary stay. Habitation No. I, for the chief and shaman of the community, is larger than the others.

8 This community has two large type I habitations, the base and roofing of which, however, are rectangular at one end and rounded at the other.

9 The three large type I habitations of this community are more comfortable in appearance than the normal, but their deficient height does not allow a man to stand up in it.

11 The chief of the community lives in Vuelta Mala 2.

[1] [see p. 13. -Ed.]

622 [191 177] Most direct

commands, in so far as I was able to observe, were made in Spanish![4] — essentially in acculturation contexts. In general, they concerned village care, small services, and the like. No occasion was observed of commanding older men, except for a married youth of 19, who was the youngest adult male in the village. The two or three commands he received during my stay went unnoticed, and, in one or two instances, were even directly contravened. The capitans of the Cinaruco river group and of Palmarito de Guachara both consistently complained that no one paid enough attention to them, and the Palmarito chief complained that he never was kept [571] sufficiently informed of events by his people. The fact is that people do pretty much as they choose in all important decision-making situations which do not involve the community at large, or the relationship of some member of the community or the entire group to outsiders.[5] In the former situation, the chief serves as a consultative funnel through which the community discussion pours back and forth until the community achieves some clear but unstated consensus upon which 622 community members can act, individually of course. Only in the situations dealing ●648 with outside groups does the Yaruro capitanship emerge as a more developed [334] status which might metaphorically be described as a position similar to that of a minister of foreign relations. In behalf of his group, he talks with any representatives of outside groups, especially if they are non-Yaruro, and acts as gatherer of information and as channel of communication between the community and the outside entity. Even this is weakened, however, since it applies more by courtesy than by fact among the Yaruro themselves, and other members of the community may perform the same function even if to a somewhat smaller degree. It is also weakened in that no Yaruro is prevented from acting on his own with respect to non-Yaruro outsiders, and, in fact, many Yaruro do establish their own relationships with outsiders as a number of instances attested. Indeed, the rights of the individual members of the society to make their own decisions, at least internally if not also [682] externally, is insisted on. In one instance, a chief who took it upon himself to

[4] Commands and other stress situations, which generally appear to be uncongenial to the Yaruro and more overt as the people have been more subject to acculturation, seem to elicit from the Yaruro Spanish responses rather than Yaruro ones. It is as though it [578] were not fitting to utter commands or express anger in Yaruro. Thus, the few times [152] noisy altercation was heard among the Cinaruco Yaruro, the language used was Spanish. [191] The chief's commands and his overt anger were always expressed in Spanish, even if he had just before been speaking in Yaruro. Though anger may often be felt, it is not shown if the participants are expressing themselves in Yaruro. Thus, the chief scolded one of the village boys for riding one of the recently acquired burros — in Spanish; he ordered a 19-year old young man to do some task — in Spanish; he complained of the actions of one of the village elders in taking on the job of guide without first consulting him (though he would certainly have permitted it) — in Spanish.

[181 114] [5] Cf. Leeds, 1960 a, with respect to the place of individual action in Yaruro society. Though there is individual action, choice, and responsibility, these are all carried out as an aspect of community organization and essentially with community affirmation. A person is not an individual set in counterpoint to his society — there is no polarity of individual-society, as we, in our culture, generally seem to conceive. Individualism in the latter sense does not exist among the Yaruro. The Yaruro should not be mistaken for an individualistic culture, as, I suspect, several of the cultures described as individualistic in Mead, 1937, should not have been.

represent his people to the outside world without consultation and to make arbitrary decisions for them inside the community — mainly in his own interest — was, with the consent of the community, assassinated by one of the members, now in excellent standing in that community as a respected shaman. The chief in question had stepped beyond the bounds designated for his status. In sum, the position of chief, even though formally recognized by Yaruro society and reinforced by formal recognition and appointment by Venezuelan authorities, is feeble as an institution and as a status.[6] It is our hypothesis that ecological conditions of Yaruro life determine the form of the chieftainship in such a way that its stronger institutionalization would be impossible, and we turn to this question now.

III

Yaruro subsistence activities[7] comprise swiddening, gathering, pig herding, hunting and fishing, mentioned in the order of their importance as contributors to the total food supply as measured in calories.[8] Horticulture probably provides 60—70% of the total annual food supply. The horticulture practiced is characteristic of tropical forest slash-and-burn gardens, with a slow rotation of plots in order to permit soil renewal and weed control. Trees are cut, at present with steel axes and formerly, apparently, with axes of bone or shell, and then burnt. Occasional fences are roughly made of the logs to keep out pigs. Bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*),[9] in several varieties, is the main crop, though sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*), also in several varieties, is planted too, as are corn, bananas, sugar cane — each in several varieties — and a number of lesser crops such as melons, squashes, pumpkins, pineapples, sweet potatoes, and yautia or ocumo (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*). Crops are planted with a digging stick which may also be used in harvesting. Gardens are weeded, once only, early in the growth of the crops. Other than clearing, the only soil preparation is the construction of hills for planting bananas. This is done by burning hills made by a certain species of ants (*huachaquero*). The hills, which are quite wide and low, are filled with organic matter enriching the soil.[10] Harvesting is aided with baskets for carrying the crops. Baskets contain about half a bushel or less. No fertilization, no terracing, no drainage, no irrigation, no extensive turning of the soil is done.

The gathered resources include a number of roots, particularly changuango, changuanito, and guapo (*Maranta arundinacea*);[11] varied fruits, especially that of

[6] Professor Benjamin N. Nelson informs me that in medieval Spain, village communities had an official, also called *capitan*, whose function was to treat with state functionaries representing the world beyond the village community's frontier. It is possible that the Yaruro capitan, and many others in Venezuela, are an acculturative transfer of this office to tribal groups. In the case of the Yaruro, this would have happened some 250—300 years ago.

[7] The use, here, of the terms 'activity', 'tasks', 'techniques', 'tools', 'resources', and 'habitat' corresponds to the definitions given in Leeds, 1960 b.

[8] Cf. Leeds, 1961, which gives this data in detail and describes the habitat and horticulture *in extenso*.

[9] Native terms for these crops are given *ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, note 9, contains data on soil values.

[11] Identifications are from Pittier, 1926.

/111 cont./

G 101 114 Raymond Fiasson (1) in 1947 reported the existence of

1. Raymond Fiasson, "Algunos aspectos cientificos del Apure /Some Scientific Aspects of the Apure/," in El Agricultor Venezolano, Year XII, No. 127, No. 1947, p. 11.

Guliguli Indians on the banks of the Juriepe, a southern tributary of the Cinaruco. According to our Yaruro informants, these did not exist. Guliguli perhaps is only a synonym for Guahibo-Chiricoa.

The Amburua.

G 101 The Amburua appear to live on the other side of the Meta, on the Rio Negro in Colombia. Not direct neighbors of the Yaruro, they have only rare contacts with the latter. The Y G 648 Yaruro of village 30 on the Riecito recounted to us a fight against the Amburua which took place not far from them, in the course of which their adversaries were decimated.

2. The Habitat (Capanaparo and Riecito Rivers) (see Map 2 and Tables I and II)

Y 361 621 The Yaruro population is divided on an economic basis into small communities, established near a water course and composed of several families grouped under the authority of one head.

Y 361 Along the Capanaparo and Riecito explored by us, there are some 30 irregularly spaced on the 400 kilometers of river (2).

2. We shall dwell in detail on the structure of the communities in other articles, as we have on habitation types further on here. [see, pp. 19-20. -Analyst]

/116 cont./

342 The third type (III) is a shelter of the same height as the preceding hut; sometimes it is only one of the type II huts covered over with some palms; it is composed of leafy branches designed for protection against the sun's rays, and it stands on low sandy shores which are no longer covered by water.

342 361 The first type (I) and the second built on a sand dune or a shore out of reach of floods (II 1 a or b) are those which the Yaruro use in the rainy season, when the rivers overflow their beds and flood the savanna.

As soon as the water level begins to drop, these winter quarters are abandoned for the huts of the second type, but built on low shores (II 2 a or b), the roof of which protects them from the rain that still persists. At the height of the dry season, when the latter ceases to fall and only protection against the sun is necessary, they use the third type (III) which they install, approaching nearer to the water, on the sand which the dropping level of the river has newly freed.

With the return of the first rains they follow this same process in reverse, but skipping the transitional type, that is, directly reinstating their winter habitations.

● [648] The most widespread winter habitation is type I. In winter, type II is only found in exceptional cases; it is present in nine communities (of which three also have type I) out of 30 when type I is temporarily nonexistent or unusable: destroyed and not reconstructed (its construction /117/ requiring time and manual labor and the adult men often being absorbed in the quest for daily food) or placed under an interdict by the Venezuelan peasants, as in the case of the communities of the lower Capanaparo where the Yaruro, accused of having stolen livestock, were driven from their winter habitations on the banks and forced to install themselves outside the domain of the Llaneros, i.e., on the sand dunes which border the river.

Concerning type II built during the transition period, it may sometimes be kept throughout the entire dry season (communities 2, 5, 7, 15, 16, 26, 29 and 30). As for type I, it

/9 cont./

114 productive and the Yaruro are living mainly on sandy shores,
121 leading the life of fishers and nomadic gatherers--and limited
241 them to the lower Capanaparo. There these Indians do not
work the land, or at least very little; apparently for reasons
linked with the proximity of Venezuelan peasants, such as:
interdiction on the part of the latter who, with or without title,
are masters of the land, the risk of being overrun by the free-
roaming livestock, or simply work as peons on the farms, which
would hardly allow them time to cultivate the land.

241 In fact, agriculture is only practiced on certain portions of their territory and particularly on those where they do not have contact with the Venezuelan peasants. This statement excludes at first sight the recent acquisition of it from the latter. Such a deduction is moreover corroborated by the accounts of the Jesuits (7) who lived for a while in the region in the eigh-

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

teenth century and who already described them as agriculturists--without specifying whether they had been before their arrival--and by the present Yaruro themselves, who affirm that they all formerly had conucos (8). But these points still do not

8. Kitchen gardens, in Venezuelan.

allow us to assert that they were in possession of the technique in the pre-Hispanic period.

172 2) The region, on the other hand, is rich in archaeological sites containing objects (pottery remains, figurines of baked clay and lignite, polished stone axes, funeral urns) which are of a completely different make from those made by the present-day Yaruro, who, moreover, do not recognize them as being of their making. Is it a question of remains of objects of forerunners or remains of objects of the Otomaco, who at the time of the Jesuits apparently lived in the present-day territory

/9 cont./
172 of the Yaruro (7), or even remains of objects of the Yaruro of

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

former times, whose descendants have forgotten the techniques of making them?

c) History

175 We hardly know much more about their post-Colombian
177 history. Some Jesuit missionaries, as we mentioned above, had contacts with them on the bank of the Orinoco toward the middle of the eighteenth century (7).

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

173 Did they leave some sort of imprint on their culture? This
177 we do not know. In any case the Yaruro do not seem to have
648 preserved any memory of it, if it isn't the fear of bearded men on the part of the children. They do remember /10/ on the other hand for a more recent period some battles which put in opposition in the course of a civil war on the Capanaparo even the Venezuelans against each other.

177 The important event of the last years (1920-1940) remains for them the installation of Racionales (9) on the Capanaparo,

9. Venezuelans

an installation the repercussions of which, as much on their way of life and the social, economic, and religious structure of their society as on their sanitary conditions and their demographic situation (illnesses and, at a certain period, repression), have been and continue to be considerable.

/12 cont./
budare (24), of tinaja (25), etc...which are found there are

24. Dish to cook flat manioc cakes, in Venezuelan.

25. Jar in Venezuelan.

from the Otomaco women. But they often came this way--sometimes to dance or to buy canoes--to meet with the ancestors of the Yaruro of today. Like the former they were themselves good people. Yaruro and Otomaco each spoke in their dialect, which they mutually understood, which was not difficult. "Today," he added, "not a person remembers it."

Their relations must even have extended further, since they married among themselves without any obstacle /13/ placing itself in the way. Ijiai in fact approved of these unions, as opposed to those with other Indians, the Piquero and Taparito included, Pedro Ramón Camacho specified, or with the Racionales, of which he disapproved.

They fed themselves, it appears, not only on fish, tortoise, deer, and vegetable produce grown in the conucos, but also on guiriguiri duck (26), a bird little in demand among the

26. Venezuelan name of the Dendrocygna automnalis.

present Indians because of the fishy taste of its meat. In addition, like the Yaruro, they appear to have lived in round huts built on the dunes, practiced a ball game, and made their pottery with the same technique and not with the aid of basketwork molds, contrary to what the remains with basketwork impressions which abound in the region where they apparently lived would lead us to suppose.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

B) Petrullo restricted his visits to the sand banks along and in the river, and, after his first arrival, most of his travelling was done on the streams. Gardens are never to be found on the sand banks and bars, but rather, usually, on the affluent creeks which are just above flood level of the rivers in the rainy season. Therefore he was not in a position to see the gardens which Le Besnerais later saw in the same area when he explored back from the river.

C) Petrullo was in the llanos in the dry season when the Yaruro move nearer the rivers both to secure a water supply as the water table lowers and to avail themselves of the much more plentiful and accessible river fauna[11] at a time when vegetable harvests are reduced because of drought. He was therefore observing dry-season subsistence — and perhaps only a part of it.

D) The probability that he observed only a part of the dry-season subsistence pattern in his area is reinforced by two considerations:

1) He reports the fact that 150 Yaruro had been massacred by Venezuelans a month before his arrival (p. 181). Their response under such circumstances is, as fast as possible, to get off the land that the Venezuelans want and to move to the rivers. I myself had occasion to observe such a diaspora, occurring in response to a smaller massacre. In view of this sort of response, it is likely, therefore, that Petrullo's group was living off river resources and away from their gardens at the time of his visit.

2) Maps indicate that in the lower part of the Capanaparo River, the flooding is greater and the number and size of side creeks suitable for horticulture is smaller than upstream on any of the large rivers. In other words, the available area for garden plots is much smaller, and riverine subsistence proportionately more important. Upriver, and more especially on the Sinaruco and on the middle and upper Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, there is much more tillable ground.

"I thought you said you could not sing and were not a musico?" "Yes, that was true last week when I had the grippe, but now my grippe is better I can be a musico again." And many similar examples of the extreme caution one needed to exercise regarding negative responses in order to be sure they were not merely descriptive of the place and moment. If Petrullo asked "Do you raise crops?", his informants would most likely have said, "No, we have no crops here", under the circumstances in which he found them.

[11] The river fauna is more plentiful and accessible in dry season because, first, it is more concentrated, and, second, it is more visible. During the wet, flooding season, fish, and other animals spread even into smaller streams and out upon the watery llanos — we caught a small piranha on the grassy, watercovered plain itself. On the plains, the fish are lost among the grasses and are virtually impossible to spear or shoot with bow and arrow. The river turbulence of the rainy season, meanwhile, has brought so much mud from further upstream that many of the rivers are opaque, especially in those parts of the llanos constructed of mud rather than sandy soils. Fish and the water reptiles and mammals are well-cloaked by the murky stream. The waters and the plains clear in the dry season so that the fish are concentrated in the limpid, grassless waters of the rivers, while land animals and riparian fauna are all crowded together near the banks in their search for food and water.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1939-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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WAR

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MORAL ATTITUDES

On the subject of conduct, the outlook on life and the organization of life values, we must distinguish between theory and practice. The former grows out of reflection and represents the intellectualization of the universe as seen without much reference to practical life. The second springs from the social and economic relationships and the fusing of individual ends and purposes into the purposes and ends of the group, whereas the first is not strictly controlled by custom and practical needs. Both exist among the Yaruros. For the first we have to turn to the shaman, who in addition to being a religious leader, a savant, is also a moralist; and for the second we turn to the entire social group and need to watch it in its behavior.

In reading over the early account of the aborigines of the region, among which we must presumably include Yaruros, we gather that their moral concepts were different from those of the Christians, but perhaps neither better nor worse in practice. It must be doubted, however, whether a number of practices attributed to the Yaruros are authentic. We read, for instance, that a number of the aborigines were patricides, and we are given a picture of the male children, on reaching adolescence, rising against the fathers through lust for the mother. Patricide is an abhorrent crime and the motive behind it is equally abhorrent. It is to be doubted whether patricide, or even lesser acts, such as beating the father, were ever practiced, except in sporadic cases such as may occur in any society. It hardly seems possible that women were the cause of it when it is known, as it is known today, that mating and extramarital relationships are very strictly controlled by tradition and social training. Disregarding, therefore, such allusions to the moral life of the primitive peoples of the Orinoco, let us turn to our informants for an understanding of their present mode of life. The

[6] It would appear probable that the nomadic Yaruros were too weak to ever develop any warlike spirit.

Most direct

622 [191 177] commands, in so far as I was able to observe, were made in Spanish![4] — essentially in acculturation contexts. In general, they concerned village care, small services, and the like. No occasion was observed of commanding older men, except for a married youth of 19, who was the youngest adult male in the village. The two or three commands he received during my stay went unnoticed, and, in one or two instances, were even directly contravened. The capitans of the Cinaruco river group and of Palmarito de Guachara both consistently complained that no one paid enough attention to them, and the Palmarito chief complained that he never was kept [571] sufficiently informed of events by his people. The fact is that people do pretty much as they choose in all important decision-making situations which do not involve the community at large, or the relationship of some member of the community or the entire group to outsiders.[5] In the former situation, the chief serves as a consultative funnel through which the community discussion pours back and forth until the community achieves some clear but unstated consensus upon which 622 648 [354] community members can act, individually of course. Only in the situations dealing with outside groups does the Yaruro capitanship emerge as a more developed status which might metaphorically be described as a position similar to that of a minister of foreign relations. In behalf of his group, he talks with any representatives of outside groups, especially if they are non-Yaruro, and acts as gatherer of information and as channel of communication between the community and the outside entity. Even this is weakened, however, since it applies more by courtesy than by fact among the Yaruro themselves, and other members of the community may perform the same function even if to a somewhat smaller degree. It is also weakened in that no Yaruro is prevented from acting on his own with respect to non-Yaruro outsiders, and, in fact, many Yaruro do establish their own relationships with outsiders as a number of instances attested. Indeed, the rights of the individual members of the society to make their own decisions, at least internally if not also ●[682] externally, is insisted on. In one instance, a chief who took it upon himself to

[4] Commands and other stress situations, which generally appear to be uncongenial to the Yaruro and more overt as the people have been more subject to acculturation, seem to elicit from the Yaruro Spanish responses rather than Yaruro ones. It is as though it [578] were not fitting to utter commands or express anger in Yaruro. Thus, the few times [152] noisy altercation was heard among the Cinaruco Yaruro, the language used was Spanish. [191] The chief's commands and his overt anger were always expressed in Spanish, even if he had just before been speaking in Yaruro. Though anger may often be felt, it is not shown if the participants are expressing themselves in Yaruro. Thus, the chief scolded one of the village boys for riding one of the recently acquired burros — in Spanish; he ordered a 19-year old young man to do some task — in Spanish; he complained of the actions of one of the village elders in taking on the job of guide without first consulting him (though he would certainly have permitted it) — in Spanish.

[5] Cf. Leeds, 1960 a, with respect to the place of individual action in Yaruro society. [181 114] Though there is individual action, choice, and responsibility, these are all carried out as an aspect of community organization and essentially with community affirmation. A person is not an individual set in counterpoint to his society — there is no polarity of individual-society, as we, in our culture, generally seem to conceive. Individualism in the latter sense does not exist among the Yaruro. The Yaruro should not be mistaken for an individualistic culture, as, I suspect, several of the cultures described as individualistic in Mead, 1937, should not have been.

3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

represent his people to the outside world without consultation and to make arbitrary decisions for them inside the community — mainly in his own interest — was, with the consent of the community, assassinated by one of the members, now in excellent standing in that community as a respected shaman. The chief in question had stepped beyond the bounds designated for his status. In sum, the position of chief, even though formally recognized by Yaruro society and reinforced by formal recognition and appointment by Venezuelan authorities, is feeble as an institution and as a status.[6] It is our hypothesis that ecological conditions of Yaruro life determine the form of the chieftainship in such a way that its stronger institutionalization would be impossible, and we turn to this question now.

III

Yaruro subsistence activities[7] comprise swiddening, gathering, pig herding, hunting and fishing, mentioned in the order of their importance as contributors to the total food supply as measured in calories.[8] Horticulture probably provides 60—70% of the total annual food supply. The horticulture practiced is characteristic of tropical forest slash-and-burn gardens, with a slow rotation of plots in order to permit soil renewal and weed control. Trees are cut, at present with steel axes and formerly, apparently, with axes of bone or shell, and then burnt. Occasional fences are roughly made of the logs to keep out pigs. Bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*),[9] in several varieties, is the main crop, though sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*), also in several varieties, is planted too, as are corn, bananas, sugar cane — each in several varieties — and a number of lesser crops such as melons, squashes, pumpkins, pineapples, sweet potatoes, and yautia or ocumo (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*). Crops are planted with a digging stick which may also be used in harvesting. Gardens are weeded, once only, early in the growth of the crops. Other than clearing, the only soil preparation is the construction of hills for planting bananas. This is done by burning hills made by a certain species of ants (*huachaquero*). The hills, which are quite wide and low, are filled with organic matter enriching the soil.[10] Harvesting is aided with baskets for carrying the crops. Baskets contain about half a bushel or less. No fertilization, no terracing, no drainage, no irrigation, no extensive turning of the soil is done.

The gathered resources include a number of roots, particularly changuango, changuanito, and guapo (*Maranta arundinacea*);[11] varied fruits, especially that of

[6] Professor Benjamin N. Nelson informs me that in medieval Spain, village communities had an official, also called *capitan*, whose function was to treat with state functionaries representing the world beyond the village community's frontier. It is possible that the Yaruro capitan, and many others in Venezuela, are an acculturative transfer of this office to tribal groups. In the case of the Yaruro, this would have happened some 250—300 years ago.

[7] The use, here, of the terms 'activity', 'tasks', 'techniques', 'tools', 'resources', and 'habitat' corresponds to the definitions given in Leeds, 1960 b.

[8] Cf. Leeds, 1961, which gives this data in detail and describes the habitat and horticulture *in extenso*.

[9] Native terms for these crops are given *ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, note 9, contains data on soil values.

[11] Identifications are from Pittier, 1926.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

524 323 532

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MORAL ATTITUDES

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In reading over the early account of the aborigines of the region, among which we must presumably include Yaruros, we gather that their moral concepts were different from those of the Christians, but perhaps neither better nor worse in practice. It must be doubted, however, whether a number of practices attributed to the Yaruros are authentic. We read, for instance, that a number of the aborigines were patricides, and we are given a picture of the male children, on reaching adolescence, rising against the fathers [682] through lust for the mother. Patricide is an abhorrent crime and [683] the motive behind it is equally abhorrent. It is to be doubted whether patricide, or even lesser acts, such as beating the father, were ever practiced, except in sporadic cases such as may occur in [684] any society. It hardly seems possible that women were the cause of it when it is known, as it is known today, that mating and extramarital relationships are very strictly controlled by tradition and social training. Disregarding, therefore, such allusions to the moral life of the primitive peoples of the Orinoco, let us turn to our in- 000 formants for an understanding of their present mode of life. The

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603 604 educate and to assist him. However, his grandchildren belong to his own moiety and the children of his daughters will be born in this camp and will live with him until the boys are old enough to seek wives in the other moiety. The bonds linking these nephews, uncles, grandparents, and grandchildren are morally strong and perhaps it explains why Kuma herself is thought of as being the grandmother of Hatchawa, rather than the mother. Several myths illustrate this uncle, nephew, grandfather, and grandchild relationship. It is curious to note that occasionally the uncle in these myths plays tricks on the nephew and may even be represented as being exceedingly wicked, but the grandfather is always benevolent.

[591] The children of a man's sons are brought up in a different hunting group, since the boys will live with their wives' groups, and although these grandchildren belong to the same moiety, the old man's contact with them is rather limited. It is different with the children of his daughter.

182 582 The basis of Yaruro social organization is cross-cousin marriage. Each hunting group tends to consist of one family and other groups hunting nearby are probably closely related to it. The chance of a member of one group meeting members of a group hunting far away from his hunting grounds would be quite insignificant. It would appear, therefore, that a Yaruro man would have the option to marry his sister's cousins, aunts, grandchildren, and grandparents. Of these [584] it is considered incest to marry his sisters, his mother, and the sisters of his mother, whom he calls mother also, the children of his father's brothers, whom he calls father, and the children of his mother's sisters, whom he calls sister also. The only two classes of women whom he can legitimately marry are the daughters of his mother's brothers and the daughters of his father's sisters. The latter, how- [616] ever, belong to the same moiety as himself and are therefore excluded. His choice is restricted to the daughters of his mother's sisters.

However, a number of factors may enter to allow a man a wife other than his cross cousins on his mother's side, and in fact in some cases he is forced to marry others than his cross cousins on his mother's side, who may not be available. Theoretically he may marry any of the following: His father's sisters, his father's mother's sisters, his daughters' daughters, his wife's sisters, his wife's mother's sisters, and his wife's mother's mother and her sisters. We find in actual practice that this is done. At Landaeta there was one young man married to a woman of about 40 whom we would call his aunt-in-law, that is, his wife's mother's sister.

587 This class of women whom he is allowed to marry he is also obligated to look after should their husbands die. For instance, should

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Even if there were stronger interest in sex than seemed to exist, there would be little opportunity for the youngsters to indulge in any sexual relations, since their playmates tend to be parallel cousins and very often playmates are lacking altogether. In the small hunting groups often there may be only one or two unmarried young people. Under such conditions a boy would either have to seek sex relations with one of his moiety sisters or practice adultery with a woman of the opposite moiety living with his own hunting group. We may presume that neither incest nor adultery are unknown to the Yaruros. During my stay among them there was no evidence of that.

Another factor which tends to help the Yaruros live a strictly moral life is that upon reaching puberty both boys and girls marry if a mate is available, even though the wife or husband may be considerably older. Premarital romantic love life may be entirely absent on this account, but one suspects that another type of romanticism may be built on what is available. For instance, practically from babyhood the boy or girl knows whom he or she will marry and in waiting for the promised day one would suspect an emotional attitude is built up. It is certain that after marriage strong bonds of affection are developed between husband and wife. Strictly limited in choice, there can be no free play for one's desires.

In the Yaruro society prostitution is probably absent. I believe that today some degree of prostitution has been forced upon them by the peoples with whom they come in contact. Perhaps we should call it purchasing of sexual rights, with the Yaruros playing a docile if not hostile part. After all, they are forced to acquiesce in a great many practices foreign to their ideas.

The above is the sexual ambient. As a result the adults act in the following manner. Sexual intercourse is considered one of the numerous natural acts. It is not exaggerated, little talked or joked about, and judging from the sort of life they lead not over indulged in.

Among the men, woman is not discussed. Neither virtue nor sin is the subject of comment. She is let strictly alone and uncensored. Obscenity is rare.

If any homosexuality exists it must be established by inference. It is common among the hunting tribes for a man to have a companion with whom he hunts, travels, and with whom he spends most of his time. Such companionship seems to be closer before marriage than after.

I have observed two boys, unmarried because no girls were available, engaged in such acts as we are accustomed to impute to love making—holding hands, etc. Yet, lest we jump at hasty conclusions, it must be said that affection between men is demonstrated much more so than

change of form in Yaruro society would be expected. Changes could occur only by virtue of a changed technology derived either from internal developments or diffusion. 182

It is justified to assert, I believe, that, given the technological and ecological conditions of the Yaruro, internal developments of an evolutionary sort would be unlikely, or, at best, exceedingly slow. It seems to the writer, that the nature of the wet and dry savana soils at least in the Cinaruco area precludes any possibility of cropping by means of slash-and-burn horticulture, or even, to any extent, by modern agricultural means. Therefore development would have been restricted to improvements in the existing technology such as the domestication of new plants or the improvement of old ones grown in the restricted areas along the streams. Maximum surpluses would still have been restricted, and the singular ecological relations of this region would nevertheless have been maintained. Improved fishing techniques might have increased output - the weir, the trap, poisons (used by some groups of Yaruro), nets and seines. fish pools would have increased the fish intake, but there are no salmon runs or the like, here, so that a maximum would soon have been reached in fishing too. 000

Of introduced food plants and animals, the same may be said, unless some plant growing with notable success in the dry sandy savana soils had appeared. However, no such plant was available from any surrounding source and still is not. It is doubtful whether techniques of fertilization could either have been internally evolved or brought in from other peoples which would have made a significant difference to production. In fact, even with a modern agronomical technology, as well as better soils than possessed by either the Cinaruco or Capanaparo Yaruro, the problem of fertilization of their savana lands has not been solved even by contemporary Venezuelans. Had it been possible to develop any form of fertilizer under native conditions, the best that might have occurred would have been to raise the swidden productivity somewhat, thus raising the population. But it is doubtful if it would have significantly changed the forms of surplus, the ecology, or social structure. Conceivably, however, villages might have become larger and more fixed and ranking somewhat more marked.

Among the Yaruro, water control would have been impossible, because the small streams, and even the larger caños, dry up in summer altogether while the rivers are reduced to relative trickles. Any significant irrigation system would have had to have been on such a scale as only a major state could undertake a state of greater proportions and wealth than contemporary Venezuela for example. Even had such been possible, it is doubtfult whether irrigation would have helped the sandy savanas of the Cinaruco, so heavily leached by rain, though water control might well permit a large increase in agricultural productivity in the loamier parts of the llanos. Thus, a major agricultural technique known to relatively near neighbors of the Yaruro was for ecological and social reasons not diffusable.

Finally, warfare, which might have elicited a more hierarchical form of social organization, had not evolved as a Yaruro culture trait. In the 182 72

182 72 first place, the ecological conditions to the north, west, and south were, if anything, more severe than their own, so that there was little advantage to gain by warring in these areas. To the east were the Orinoco highlands, mountainous and heavily wooded country, an ecology quite different from, and probably as difficult as, their own.

182 We may conclude then, that, with the given technology, and under the given ecological conditions peculiar to the Yaruro region, the possibility of evolving to a more advanced tropical forest type like the Kuikuru, or even the Carajá, who in a number of ecological respects are like the Yaruro, was extremely limited. Second, there was little possibility of circumventing this development by directly taking on Circum-Caribbean traits from nearby groups. The Yaruro had to remain, under native systems of [177] subsistence, which did not include the European-derived cattle herding now found in the llanos, at a fixed level of technology, with a fixed ecology, and hence with a fixed form of social structure. Only the recent exposure to cattle herding is breaking up the fundamental form of their economy.

Under any conceivable native conditions, the basic ecological relationships and forms would have had to remain essentially unchanged. We may therefore deduce that the concomitant socio-cultural structure would have had to remain unchanged. Yaruro society was, for ecological reasons, substantially at an evolutionary dead end.

000 With this view of Yaruro ecology and cultural development, we may turn to the question of what conditions of incipient tropical forest horticulture might have provided a foundation for evolution to a higher level. The inhibition of Yaruro development is a result of certain specific ecological limitations. Consequently, where those limitations do not exist or could be removed, one would find, other factors being equal, conditions under which incipient horticultural groups would evolve to higher levels of organization.

Holding technology constant, a much greater per cent of tillable to total land, say up to 50% [21]A instead of 0.5%, would allow for an enormous increase in population - up to a hypothetical 12,500-15,000 [22]A - which would permit or rather demand, a more elaborate social organization. A marked seasonal fluctuation in the productivity of these lands, that is, in the production of surpluses, would provide a situation in which forms of stratification could appear. A proportionally greater dependence on these food resources requiring intensive labor in order to maximize yield per acre, as in the case of corn or yams, would provide the basis for more elaborate socio-political organization. Thus, manioc which produces the largest tubers in relatively *poorer*, weakly nitrogenous, soils, requires much less effort to produce the several millions of calories per acre mentioned above than do corn and yams in better soils in order to push their productivity up to the maximum half-million calories per acre. Corn and yams appear to produce more with intensive care such as hilling and weeding, as well as the use of bird-watchers, and the like, as the papers on both the Taino and the Sub-Andean which follow clearly indicate. Where manioc will not conveniently grow

[21,22 [for footnotes see p. 44, category 116-- Analyst]

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

B) Petrullo restricted his visits to the sand banks along and in the river, and, after his first arrival, most of his travelling was done on the streams. Gardens are never to be found on the sand banks and bars, but rather, usually, on the affluent creeks which are just above flood level of the rivers in the rainy season. Therefore he was not in a position to see the gardens which Le Besnerais later saw in the same area when he explored back from the river.

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[11] The river fauna is more plentiful and accessible in dry season because, first, it is more concentrated, and, second, it is more visible. During the wet, flooding season, fish, and other animals spread even into smaller streams and out upon the watery llanos — we caught a small piranha on the grassy, watercovered plain itself. On the plains, the fish are lost among the grasses and are virtually impossible to spear or shoot with bow and arrow. The river turbulence of the rainy season, meanwhile, has brought so much mud from further upstream that many of the rivers are opaque, especially in those parts of the llanos constructed of mud rather than sandy soils. Fish and the water reptiles and mammals are well-cloaked by the murky stream. The waters and the plains clear in the dry season so that the fish are concentrated in the limpid, grassless waters of the rivers, while land animals and riparian fauna are all crowded together near the banks in their search for food and water.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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a pole. In general, therefore, organized play for child or adult is hardly present.

WAR

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The Yaruros did not speak much of war. None of their legends make any reference to it except in one case which says that they were killed by the "Racionales" and that they retaliated.[6] The known historical sources say nothing except Father Gumilla's account, which makes reference to the pacification of the "Saruri."

MORAL ATTITUDES

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On the subject of conduct, the outlook on life and the organization of life values, we must distinguish between theory and practice. The former grows out of reflection and represents the intellectualization of the universe as seen without much reference to practical life. The second springs from the social and economic relationships and the fusing of individual ends and purposes into the purposes and ends of the group, whereas the first is not strictly controlled by custom and practical needs. Both exist among the [791] Yaruros. For the first we have to turn to the shaman, who in addition to being a religious leader, a savant, is also a moralist; and for the second we turn to the entire social group and need to watch it in its behavior.

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In reading over the early account of the aborigines of the region, among which we must presumably include Yaruros, we gather that their moral concepts were different from those of the Christians, but perhaps neither better nor worse in practice. It must be doubted, however, whether a number of practices attributed to the Yaruros are authentic. We read, for instance, that a number of the aborigines were patricides, and we are given a picture of the male children, on reaching adolescence, rising against the fathers [682] through lust for the mother. Patricide is an abhorrent crime and [683] the motive behind it is equally abhorrent. It is to be doubted whether patricide, or even lesser acts, such as beating the father, were ever practiced, except in sporadic cases such as may occur in [684] any society. It hardly seems possible that women were the cause of it when it is known, as it is known today, that mating and extramarital relationships are very strictly controlled by tradition and social training. Disregarding, therefore, such allusions to the moral life of the primitive peoples of the Orinoco, let us turn to our informants for an understanding of their present mode of life. The

[6] It would appear probable that the nomadic Yaruros were too weak to ever develop any warlike spirit.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

hammock for me. They preferred to lie half buried in the sand, both for warmth and for protection from the mosquitoes.

Some of the bolder young men asked for rum. I had none with me. All along the road I had been told that rum was the only means of inducing the Indians to dance, but an ethnologist's work cannot be based on such an approach.

Through the diplomatic efforts of Maria, the Yaruros consented to sing and dance a little. I was able to arouse their interest in my flashlight, and to arouse their modesty and bewilderment when I flashed it upon them. My compass also drew an excited jabbering circle about me. But I was not able to engage them in conversation, and finally left them about midnight with the satisfaction that at least there had been no friction.

On the following day I sent them a pig, and later in the day again visited them. They were still shy and suspicious of me, but permitted me to go about the camp examining their artifacts.

There was not much to be done in this camp. The group was in a wretched state, still in mourning for their dead, living in fear of some fresh calamity, and although they were suffering hunger, too miserable to try to go back to the river where, at least, they would find food. Tribal customs prevented my engaging the old women in conversation and the men were too young and much too affected by llanero culture to tell me about their own people. Their advice, which I took, was to go farther south where we would find other Yaruro bands among whom I could find old men who could answer any questions.

I prevailed upon the leader of the band, Estaban, to accompany me. He was reluctant to go, not wanting to be separated from his young wife, and perhaps was afraid to trust himself alone with me. However, his desire for cloth and a mosquito netting was stronger than his fear. Estaban proved a loyal and faithful companion.

We found the next band encamped on a beach by the Capanaparo River. Here they were temporarily in the employ of a llanero engaged in building a house. For several days I had no more success with them than I had had with the other band, so during that time we studied whatever was on the surface. However, I was not doing all the studying. The Yaruros were watching me closely and weighing my statements carefully. During this time Estaban was busy building up my reputation. What impressed them most was that I did not ask for their women, and that all I wanted to do was to talk with them about themselves.

One night their attitude suddenly changed. I had been sitting for hours on the sands in the midst of these people, waiting for them to give me a sign of friendliness, but they were silent and apparently

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

B) Petrullo restricted his visits to the sand banks along and in the river, and, after his first arrival, most of his travelling was done on the streams. Gardens are never to be found on the sand banks and bars, but rather, usually, on the affluent creeks which are just above flood level of the rivers in the rainy season. Therefore he was not in a position to see the gardens which Le Besnerais later saw in the same area when he explored back from the river.

C) Petrullo was in the llanos in the dry season when the Yaruro move nearer the rivers both to secure a water supply as the water table lowers and to avail themselves of the much more plentiful and accessible river fauna[11] at a time when vegetable harvests are reduced because of drought. He was therefore observing dry-season subsistence — and perhaps only a part of it.

D) The probability that he observed only a part of the dry-season subsistence pattern in his area is reinforced by two considerations:

1) He reports the fact that 150 Yaruro had been massacred by Venezuelans a month before his arrival (p. 181). Their response under such circumstances is, as fast as possible, to get off the land that the Venezuelans want and to move to the rivers. I myself had occasion to observe such a diaspora, occurring in response to a smaller massacre. In view of this sort of response, it is likely, therefore, that Petrullo's group was living off river resources and away from their gardens at the time of his visit.

2) Maps indicate that in the lower part of the Capanaparo River, the flooding is greater and the number and size of side creeks suitable for horticulture is smaller than upstream on any of the large rivers. In other words, the available area for garden plots is much smaller, and riverine subsistence proportionately more important. Upriver, and more especially on the Sinaruco and on the middle and upper Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, there is much more tillable ground.

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

142 Among the llaneros the Yaruros have the reputation of being darker in color than any of the other tribes. This may be due to their daily exposure to the sun, for I have noticed that forest peoples tend to be lighter in color than those living in the open country. This observation was also made by the early Spanish missionaries. Gilii wrote:

> The color of the peoples of the Orinoco commonly is dark, but somewhat reddish. It is true that some tribes, for example the Otomachi' and the Guami', incline toward black. But they are of such a color, nevertheless, that there is no one among them who can be said to be similar to the Negroes, whose color they abhor. Generally the tribes close to the Orinoco like the Zaruvi (Jaruvos), and the Quaquari' are brown; even more whitish are the inhabitants of the interior, and of the forests. Whitish are the Maipuri, some Tamanachi, and above all the Macchiritari, and the Oji.[1]

The most striking thing in the appearance of the Yaruros is the skin condition referred to by the Racionales as "pintado," painted. When a Yaruro is first afflicted, some patch of his skin will become dry and almost sooty black in color. This will gradually lose all pigment and become as light as the skin of a white man. Practically every individual of the band I met at El Buron showed this patchy skin. The appearance is analogous to that of being profusely covered with [146] freckles. This condition does not affect the health of the individual in any way. By the Racionales it is attributed to the habit of eating crocodile meat and crocodile eggs. The Yaruros give no explanation for it.

304 They practice no mutilations except that the women drill small holes through the lower lip through which they thrust bone pins. One [752] woman wore 13 such pins. She often used them to prick blisters raised by insect bites.

516 The Yaruros seemed to be ambidextrous. In a group of approximately 150, I counted 6 cases of definite left-handedness, but generally, the left hand is used with a certain amount of dexterity. In addition to using the hands, the toes are used to pick up objects; for instance, if the man wishes to pick up his bow from the ground he will not stoop, but will pick it up with his toes and raise it to the level of his hands.

The posture of the Yaruros is an excellent adaptation to the soft sands on which they are forced to walk whenever they are out of their canoes. Their shoulders are thrown far back with the chest

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[1] Gilii, vol. 2, book 1, p. 34: Il colore degli Orinochesi, comunamente e fosco, ma inclinante alquanto all' rossicio. Vero e, che alcune nazioni, a cagion di esempio, gli Ottomachi, ed i Guani, tirano piutosto al nero. Ma sono di color tale nondimeno, che niuno tra essi vi e, che possa dirsi simile a Negri, il cual colore aborriscono moltissimo. Generalmente le nazioni vicine all 'Orinoco, siccome le suddette, i Zaurui, e i Quaquari, sono piu brune; piu bianchi gli abitanti delle macchie interne, e de'monti. Bianchicci sono dunque i Mapoi, i Maipuri, alcuni Tamanachi, e sopra tutti i Macchiritari, e gli Oji.

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1:Petrullo E-6 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Without the aid of the Yaruros the crossing of the Orinoco would have been impossible. They are expert canoeists and safely ferried our baggage to the other side. Believing that I could handle a canoe, for by this time according to the Yaruros there wasn't anything that I could not do, since their gods had told them that I was one of them, I was asked to cross in an empty canoe, with the help of a 12-year-old boy. The canoe had several gaping holes in stern and bow about 10 inches in diameter. With serious misgivings, I embarked with the youngster paddling in the bow. Cross-currents, winds, and whirlpools made the half hour a very exciting one. Several times I gave up hope of crossing safely or of returning to our starting point, only to be encouraged by the laughter of my young companion who, when we were in extreme danger, would turn and grin happily at me. However, we crossed safely and soon afterwards we hoisted sail, which consisted of my mosquito net tied to an improvised mast, and with the east wind behind us and with gunwales even with the water, we went flying up the Capanaparo. Our sailing was far from being monotonous, for every few minutes it was necessary to use strength and skill to keep the canoe upright. Three days later we reached Landaeta's camp.

The trip to Urbana had been exciting and interesting, but I brought back with me ulcers on my feet which incapacitated me for the rest of my stay with the Yaruros. My feet, swollen to immense proportions and with open sores, refused to support my body, and I was forced to forego any further trips, short or long. My life consisted from now on, for about six weeks, of lying on the sand or in a hammock, surrounded by my affectionate friends, talking about the universe, the Yaruros, and their ideas.

In order to make it possible for Landaeta and his people to stay with me on this particular beach rather than move about in search of food, I turned over all of my food stock to them, which was consumed in two days, and thereafter they shared equally with me the products of the hunt. From that day on, I was completely in their care and Landaeta never left me. The burden of hunting fell on the younger men who went out every morning in search of crocodiles and turtles, of honey, palm nuts, roots, and fish. My illness was of great concern to the Yaruros. They did what they could to make me comfortable and they went to special trouble to bring titbits, such as honey and nuts. Landaeta and a woman shaman sang over me often. This illness was a fortunate event in a way, for it permitted an uninterrupted intimacy between us.

There is a sharp contrast between the simple primitive material culture of the Yaruros and the wealth and poetic intensity of the spiritual. The casual visitor would see merely a naked people plying

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pole in a circle but merely move forward and backward. During the performance it is prohibited for anyone to pass by the head of the sick person. The shaman will sing all night and if by morning the sick person has not shown any marked improvement the woman shaman will lie in a hammock with her head pointing to the east and will continue the singing. Other women will sit in the hammock with her and sing all day long. I myself underwent such attention. If the wife shows little interest in the welfare of her husband it is concrete proof that she does not love him and it is believed he will die. In this there are two factors to be considered from my observation of these people. The first is that a lack of wifely interest is the equivalent of bad medicine and that the husband himself will feel so disconsolate that all desire to live will be lost.

If the sick person dies during the night nothing is done except to stop the singing and dancing. At daybreak his people will drink vast quantities of chica and prepare for the funeral rites. If the sick person happens to be a woman in her menstrual period it is important to note that she is in the care of the woman shaman. The man shaman does not dare to sing to her.

In the morning the dead person is washed by the women and the body is wrapped in a hammock and taken to the burial place. The brothers and the uncles carry the body. The father and mother do not accompany the body to the grave, but in the case of a married man the widow does. The body is interred in the hammock with the head pointing to the east. The bow and arrows, whatever clothing he may have possessed, and any equipment are buried with him, but neither food nor water is necessary. The night after the burial there is a feast in the camp, but the taboo on fish is observed by everyone. The shaman and the people will sing the equivalent of:

> The dead one died here, now he has arrived in the Land of Kuma, and there he has been made young again (if a child dies, it becomes a young man or woman, according to the sex). He will know nothing but joy now and will have everything he may desire.

The widow goes on a strict diet for four days. All fires which were burning at the time of the death of the individual are put out and fresh ones are built. On the fourth day the two men, who have put the dead body into the pit, and the widow, bathe; they fast on the fifth. On the fifth night the shaman sings in order to find out if the dead person has reached Kuma, if he has been given a new name, if he has been made young, strong, and rich. For a month after this the widow keeps a strict diet and she is not married for a long time. It is believed that if a man marries a widow soon after her husband has died he will die soon of the same sickness.

1: Petrullo SS19 Yaruro SS19

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/The author refers throughout the monograph to male and female shamans. The male shamans qualify both for category 756 and 791, but since their principal activities fall under 787, they are considered here in category 791. When activities of either shaman are specifically psychotherapeutic, these activities will be classified under category 755./

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

captive turtles; and a few human beings were sitting or lying in the midst of all this, and exposed to all of the elements.

Among primitive people news travels rapidly. Landaeta, in this case, received me with the air of one who was expecting a visitor and it turned out that my reputation had preceded me. Not only did he know that I was in the country, but also why I was there. He was expecting me in order to teach me his ways and the ways of his people, and to learn my ways and the ways of my people. To him I was a shaman, no different than himself, who knew their mother goddess intimately and who was perhaps related to the gods themselves. He asked me for pictures of Kuma and Kuma's land. I soon discovered that he was under the illusion that in some way I was on intimate terms with the Yaruro's god.

A little to one side a branch was planted in the sand, and lying in its thin shade a girl was waiting to die. She was burning with fever and delirious. Her people were hovering over her, without being able to alleviate her sufferings or to help her to the end of life. Her malady was a new one to them, passed on by the newcomers to their world, and therefore they had no remedy for it.

The sick girl was Landaeta's daughter and as one physician to another, he came to me requesting that I save his daughter from death. Being neither physician, magician, nor priest, I responded to his plea the best way I could. Lest I be drawn into a situation of attempting to cure a sick person without adequate knowledge of the sickness or its remedy, I moved off the same day to seek other Yaruros; but only after Landaeta had promised that he would commence his journey in the cool of the evening and rejoin me several days later.

It has often been said that to accept the promise of a primitive Indian is to abandon all thought of its being remembered. Perhaps it would seem that I put too much faith and trust in my friends in sitting down to wait for them to join me. But a promise made and accepted without coercion is to the Indian one that has to be kept; and, as in many other cases of my experience with primitive people, this one was kept.

That the feeling of suspicion had not disappeared completely was proven by the attitude of another hunting group which I visited. I went alone among them, and unarmed. On my arrival in a canoe, carrying no equipment, they sullenly warned me to keep away from them and their camp. However, good will is never unproductive, and when they saw that I merely squatted on the sands, shared my tobacco with them, said nothing, and then cheerfully paddled away, their hearts must have melted, for several days later they too had joined my band of friends, later becoming among those most deeply attached to me.

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pole in a circle but merely move forward and backward. During the performance it is prohibited for anyone to pass by the head of the sick person. The shaman will sing all night and if by morning the sick person has not shown any marked improvement the woman shaman will lie in a hammock with her head pointing to the east and will continue the singing. Other women will sit in the hammock with her and sing all day long. I myself underwent such attention. If the wife shows little interest in the welfare of her husband it is concrete proof that she does not love him and it is believed he will die. In this there are two factors to be considered from my observation of these people. The first is that a lack of wifely interest is the equivalent of bad medicine and that the husband himself will feel so disconsolate that all desire to live will be lost.

If the sick person dies during the night nothing is done except to stop the singing and dancing. At daybreak his people will drink vast quantities of chica and prepare for the funeral rites. If the sick person happens to be a woman in her menstrual period it is important to note that she is in the care of the woman shaman. The man shaman does not dare to sing to her.

In the morning the dead person is washed by the women and the body is wrapped in a hammock and taken to the burial place. The brothers and the uncles carry the body. The father and mother do not accompany the body to the grave, but in the case of a married man the widow does. The body is interred in the hammock with the head pointing to the east. The bow and arrows, whatever clothing he may have possessed, and any equipment are buried with him, but neither food nor water is necessary. The night after the burial there is a feast in the camp, but the taboo on fish is observed by everyone. The shaman and the people will sing the equivalent of:

> The dead one died here, now he has arrived in the Land of Kuma, and there he has been made young again (if a child dies, it becomes a young man or woman, according to the sex). He will know nothing but joy now and will have everything he may desire.

The widow goes on a strict diet for four days. All fires which were burning at the time of the death of the individual are put out and fresh ones are built. On the fourth day the two men, who have put the dead body into the pit, and the widow, bathe; they fast on the fifth. On the fifth night the shaman sings in order to find out if the dead person has reached Kuma, if he has been given a new name, if he has been made young, strong, and rich. For a month after this the widow keeps a strict diet and she is not married for a long time. It is believed that if a man marries a widow soon after her husband has died he will die soon of the same sickness.

221 262 Finally, the Yaruro deny any considerable long-term oscillations in the environment and consequently in the resources. The extremes, particularly the minima, of habitat factors which regulate food and population balances, according to Liebig's Law, fall within narrow limits and again elicit no special institutions of management or of equilibrium maintenance to compensate for them, as in the case of the potlatches of the Northwest Coast of America, the buffalo hunts in the Great Plains of the United States, or the use of pigs in Melanesia.[23]

VI

868 One more point may be made regarding the ecology as limiter of chieftainship among the Yaruro. The tools, techniques, and resources require no very extensive, highly specialized or esoteric knowledge. In fact any man or woman, and any child as well, has access to such knowledge, and it is easily acquired by all members of the society who thus have, at least potentially, equal access to control over the means of life. There is no specialized knowledge, at least with respect to technology and habitat, which requires a specialized repository in the form of a chief or learned person. Yaruro knowledge, itself dependent upon the inventory of tools, techniques, and resources, inhibits any tendency towards the development of any [463] sort of specialists in technical or managerial knowledge. As one might expect, there are no true specialists in Yaruro society. Here and there women make pots and certain women seem to have a special bent for making woven sacks but these [756] are not properly specialities. Nor, from a technological or ecological point of view, is male or female shamanism in any way a speciality. They do not appear to be specialists even in esoteric knowledge. Knowledge of the general type described here might be called 'dispersive' or 'egalitarian' since it tends to become more or less uniformly distributed among the members of the society. A consequence of the existence of this type of knowledge, associated with the kind of technology described, is that there will be no specialised training of any specialists and, of course, no specialised personnel to do such training. This is the situation which obtains among the Yaruro both with respect to technical and managerial activities. Thus, in Yaruro knowledge, there is no source for the support of an institutionalized and strong chieftainship.

VII

221 241 361 622 In one respect, the ecology encourages chiefly functions. A balance is struck between the cultural resources, the possibilities that the habitat affords for their production, and the length of time that areas of land can be exploited. This is particularly true of the horticultural lands since they can no longer be used after three years of cropping, and it becomes necessary to move on. The result is that there is a slow migration of resource areas, chiefly of horticultural areas across the tribal territory. The lands in cultivation move further and further from any given village until a point of suspension is reached at which the walking and working

[23] Cf. Suttles, 1960 a, 1960 b; Llewelly and Hoebel, 1941; Vayda, 1961; Vayda, Leeds, and Smith, 1961.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

776 775 return to earth and guide the community. In this manner, Ku'maⁿ is a center of gravity of the Yaruro ideological life. She is the center of a communications network which ties the Yaruro of the hither-world, those of the other-worlds, and the gods all in one continuous system of personal and social relations. This is somewhat the position of the spokesman or 'capitan' in the community life of the Yaruro, though he has proportionally much less influence in his village than Ku'maⁿ has in her universe. [622]

775 776 772 In sum, the gods and the dead are conceptualized as continuous with those of us on earth. Conceptually they appear to constitute the two highest steps in the age levels: infant, child, young adult, elder, the dead, and the gods. The last four classes are increasingly instrumental in teaching the ethics of living in tranquility, of respect and deference to one's spouse and to all members of one's people, and in teaching the values of the community. They exhort but never compel the community to follow these ideals. These precepts are followed not only among the egalitarian gods in their autonomous other-world communities, but in the personal and social relations between the gods and the hither-world *pumé*. The relations between men and gods, the communication between the hither-and other-worlds, the cosmography itself, all show quite clearly that there is no separation of "natural" and "supernatural" as discrete classes of events. The cosmos, society, and man are a single system in Yaruro thought. [771]

796 771 The nexus through which the flow of life in the other-world and the ongoing rhythm of daily life in the hither-world are meshed into a single system is the religious ceremony, the *tonghé*. Some description of the *tonghé* will afford us further insight into Yaruro ideology.

796 756 787 During the night-long *tonghés*, the entire community sits behind the shaman, ranged roughly by age levels. The women sit to his right, the men to his left. At dusk he begins to sing as he starts his journey to the land of Ku'maⁿ through the dark, cold land of Kiberó, the toad who gave man fire. In hundreds of improvised verses and melodies, he describes his journey, and then, after his arrival about midnight, his adventures in the lands of Ku'maⁿ and subsequently of the other gods. In each verse, the shaman sings an intonation which the entire community repeats in an identical antiphon. Thus the full experience of the shaman is transmitted to and shared by every member of the community. All is public; there is no secret knowledge. The shaman urges his people to sing with him and the other-worldly beings, to share in the responsibilities and joys of the community in supporting their individual members whether the shaman in his journey or the sick person for whom the *tonghé* may be being held. At the same time, in Ku'maⁿ land, he urges the other-worldly beings to come to advise his people and teach them. Later, the verses are no longer sung by the shaman, but rather by the dead and the gods who arrive in the husk of the shaman which he has left behind as a channel of communications for the other-worldly beings while his divisible self travels abroad. As these beings arrive in the shaman's husk, all members of the community may greet them by putting their arms around them or giving them cigarettes or drink. This is done separately by women, sometimes in groups, and by men. Throughout the ceremony the chief link between the sexually divided community is the shaman or the gods in the shaman's husk upon whom both sexes are focusing [757] [776]

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

their attention. The shaman's position as link is emphasized by the fact that his wife invariably sits next to him during the *tonghés* to minister to him and to supply him cigarettes and drink. Thus, the socio-economic link of the household is also the unique link between the sexes in ceremonial life.

The various forms of socio-economic and ceremonial division of the sexes is even more remarkably underscored by the existence of female shamanism. As one might expect, shamanesses behave differently from shamans. Shamanesses sing only in the day-time. They, like Ku'man, sing from hammocks whereas men sing sitting on the ground or dancing. Furthermore, messages trasmitted to them from Ku'man are sent only to them, though the men hear and understand them. The men listen to these messages with care and respect and with the air that there are things to be learned from them which they would otherwise not hear. The shamanesses cannot receive male gods or their messages. Female shamanism seems to be an affirmation of the kin-bonds of the matri-centered local group as well as a means of asserting the values and rights pertaining to the women's world. The women's experience ideologically, as well as socially and biologically, is recognized as being systematically distinct from men's experience in life.

Behavior in the *tonghés* is very relaxed. Villagers laugh, joke, sleep, play, get up, walk about. Sometimes persons may even fail to attend if they have chosen to go to work the next day. The only thing explicitly forbidden, because Ku'man would consider it most indelicate, is sexual intercourse. Otherwise, the lack of formalism and freedom of individual behavior so often noted before is again found here.

The importance of the *tonghés* as the foremost way of reinforcing social relations and communal values as well as for curing is seen in several ways. First, when there has been no *tonghé* for several days, one begins to feel and hear a bruiting for *another* tonghé. It is felt that much time has elapsed since the last *tonghé*. Someone asks what's wrong that we haven't had a *tonghé* in so long. Another says we need a *tonghé*. Rumors of *tonghé* begin to be heard. By the fifth or sixth day another *tonghé* is held and community bonds are again reasserted. Again, the sexual division of labor and social life observed in the other- and hither-worlds is systematically carried through into religious observances. We have mentioned the seating of men separate from women and the separate greetings given to the gods. This theme is carried still further in the exclusive women's shamanism and the equally exclusive capacity of men to do curing, either as shamans or as purely private individuals.

The *tonghé* illuminates much about Yaruro ideology. First, shamans both male and female are not considered authorities possessed of special gifts and prerogatives who interpret lore for the entire community. Rather they are considered merely the comunity religious spokesmen for the public expression of community values and for curing, who, by their own choice, enjoy and are willing to undertake the long, arduous work of training and practice. They reaffirm community bonds by repeating in endless verses the precepts and knowledge contained in the Yaruro ideology. All knowledge and all experience is, at least potentially, open to all members of the community and even the private or personal experience of each is made known to all. Any member of

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

the community may do the shaman's work if he chooses, just as any can travel to the other-world or commune with the gods, although, because of age, temperament, or individual taste, not every one does so. There were, in fact, two shamans among the nine men of the writer's village, as well as a number of men who cured and who occasionally sang verse intonations in the *tonghés* although they were not shamans. The shamans are no more than respected community members outside the ceremony. Here again we observe the egalitarianism and individual self-determinism which is so much a pattern of this culture.

The *tonghé* also clearly shows the relationships which prevail between men and gods. The shamans and the other adults of the village converse with the gods in great mutual respect. They do not manipulate them nor minister to them, nor implore them. Before the gods, they are in a position corresponding to active and adept junior members of the village before their elders and especially their lineal ascendants. Furthermore, in a very real sense, no individual person, *qua* person, deals with the gods. The community, with its religious catalyst, the shaman, is the unit of action. The only individual relations with the gods occur in dreams, unconsciousness, and death. Dreams about gods are made public by singing aloud in sleep, the experience of unconsciousness is recounted publicly, and death, too, becomes public because the dead man is accessible through the *tonghés*.

The directness of contact between man and gods again emphasizes the unity of cosmos, society, and man. Within this unity, the sharp division of a male sphere from a female sphere is found. These quite coordinate spheres, in the other-worlds as in the hither-world, in religion as in socio-economic life, are linked through the household.

In conclusion, I would like briefly to review the major dimensions of Yaruro ideology. We may state these as a set of propositions, each presenting a major dimension of the ideology.

1. Cosmic structure. *The cosmos is static, limited, concrete, and internally continuous in that no barriers separate man and his society in the physical world from the nonphysical world.* The parts of the universe together form a rather rigid, symmetrical, architectonic structure, although each individual Yaruro may vary the description of the whole to suit his particular taste. All parts are of roughly coordinate importance. The major motions of nature, such as thunder and lightning, the revolutions of sun and moon, are often embodied, personalized, and independently operating entities, moved by semi-human motivations.

2. The good. *Goodness inheres generally in the cosmos as a system. The goodness manifests itself in understood causes and concretely and describably known parts of the cosmos which, whether places, persons, or things, are given exact locations.* Conversely all known and localizable objects, persons, or places and understood causes are generally good.

3. The not-good. *Evil, which is not polar to good, finds its locus in specific persons, things, or events inside or outside the cosmos, and is manifest in specific results. The underlying causes of evil, however, are inac-*

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3. The Population.

162 a) Demography (see Tables III, IV, and V).

On the Capanaparo and the Riecito we have taken a census of 519 Yaruro (29 communities out of 30). Two-thirds (65.1%) of this population are adults (we do not have a breakdown by age) and the remainder (34.9%) prepuberal children. Among the adults the sexes are divided into two almost equal figures: 173 (51.2%) are men and 165 (48.8%) women. We have the /118/ /Table III appears here/ /119/ /Table IV and Table V appear here/ /120/ breakdown by sexes for children only in five communities; the totals for each of them gives us, there also, twofigures which are practically equal: 23 male children to 21 female.

163 165 Our statistics on births and mortality bear on only three communities with a total of 38 inhabitants in 1947; they are thus rather imprecise. During the period 1947 to 1950, i.e., during three years, we registered 6 births and 9 deaths (6 adults--2 men and 4 women--and 3 young children), that is, two births for three deaths (150% mortality) or, for the total population of the three villages, the respective percentages of 15.8% births and 23.7% deaths. The young children who died comprise one-third of the total of deaths (33.3%) and one half of the total births, which gives, for these 38 Yaruro, a 50% infant mortality.

161 On the basis of these statistics the Yaruro are on the way to extinction. This appears to be confirmed by the Indians themselves who state that they were formerly more numerous and that their number is going down each year. "We die with the first sickness," our old informant, Pedro Ramon Camacho (1) [115] [756]

1. Head and shaman of community 6.

told us, "and that's why there are so few of us. We are disappearing."

[text continues on p. 16]

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II. Notes on the Otomaco

101 From information gathered principally from Pedro Ramón
186 Camacho (10) it seems that the Otomaco or Tomaco were the

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10. Chief and shaman of community No. 6, our best informant.

object on the part of the Yaruro of a regard completely different from that they had for the other Indians who were their neighbors (11).

101 11. In addition to the neighbors already cited in a previous article (see "infra" IV List...36) names of other Indians, known, it seems, by the Yaruro, were mentioned to us by various informants in the course of our investigations. Some appear to live at present in Colombia; the Mayaredo or Mayarero, "very far to the west of Yaruro territory, there where the savanna ends," which no doubt means at the foot of the Andes; the Saliba and Taparito cya korome more particularly on the upper Meta; and the Tiapaco, Tiarua, and Mapoyó without fixed localization. The others seem to have disappeared: the Piquero (tabe pume in Yaruro), who "cultivated conucos and had a game with a ball" and seem to have inhabited the banks of the Orinoco on the Cinaruco side, and the Guamo, Tamanaco, Tamanachi, and Guaruro.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

social features reported, ideological features reported, and relations with other tribes mentioned. The card sets will be arranged by geographical location of the tribe so that for any given time period one may pull out all the sets and arrange the tribes in their spatial order. Thus for any time period a picture of the trait distributions, cultural-ecological conditions, inter-tribal socio-ecological relations, and acculturational-social contacts and events should be obtainable.

V

Though, to date, I have been concerned mainly with collecting bibliography and documentary materials rather than with their analysis, I should like to hazard several very tentative conclusions, or perhaps guesses, with respect to the ethnohistory of the llanos, and particularly of the Yaruro, based on the geographic, ethnographic, archeological, linguistic, and historical data known to me now. Some, however, are presented more as hypotheses for proof or disproof through continued research.

First, Petrullo's description is erroneous at least as respects the subsistence economy. Late Nineteenth Century travellers like Crévaux and Vela and several persons in this century mention horticulture. Still earlier reports go back to the earlier Eighteenth Century when missionaries speak of horticulture. Their reports apply to the Yaruro, Otomaco, Guahibo, and other groups. It has not yet been possible to decide whether they introduced or found horticulture among these peoples. Petrullo's error appears to have several explanations:

A) That he was incapacitated for several weeks by sore feet and was unable to travel about the land away from the rivers. In my experience, a careful criss-crossing of the land on foot is an absolute necessity if one is to know how these peoples carry on their subsistence activities. I have paced off with a pedometer the entire area used by the group I worked with. In the course of so doing I discovered all kinds of gardens, houses, and other evidences of their land use. These would not otherwise have been discovered by an observer nor mentioned by the Yaruro, since mainly what is physically present is, to them, worthy of mention.[10] I should say a great portion of my most important data came from such accidental discoveries made while walking about.

[10] I would stand at a certain spot in a garden and ask "Whose garden is this?" "Juan's." Then I might walk perhaps ten feet and say, "Juan keeps his garden well." "But this is not Juan's garden." "You just said that this was Juan's garden." "That was over there on the other side of that row of corn." This happened a number of times. I also asked once, "Is there female shamanism here?" "No." Several days later, a group from an neighboring village came to visit. After an all-night session of the *tou'be*, several women performed shamanistic rites. I said, "I thought you said there is no female shamanism here?" "There isn't anyone here [i. e. in our locality] who practices — these women are from upstream." The same cleaving to locus was observed with respect to time. I was told that Miguel was a shaman ("musico"). I said "Miguel, are you not a musico?" "I am not a musico. I cannot sing." A few weeks later, he was singing. I said,

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

B) Petrullo restricted his visits to the sand banks along and in the river, and, after his first arrival, most of his travelling was done on the streams. Gardens are never to be found on the sand banks and bars, but rather, usually, on the affluent creeks which are just above flood level of the rivers in the rainy season. Therefore he was not in a position to see the gardens which Le Besnerais later saw in the same area when he explored back from the river.

C) Petrullo was in the llanos in the dry season when the Yaruro move nearer the rivers both to secure a water supply as the water table lowers and to avail themselves of the much more plentiful and accessible river fauna[11] at a time when vegetable harvests are reduced because of drought. He was therefore observing dry-season subsistence — and perhaps only a part of it.

D) The probability that he observed only a part of the dry-season subsistence pattern in his area is reinforced by two considerations:

1) He reports the fact that 150 Yaruro had been massacred by Venezuelans a month before his arrival (p. 181). Their response under such circumstances is, as fast as possible, to get off the land that the Venezuelans want and to move to the rivers. I myself had occasion to observe such a diaspora, occurring in response to a smaller massacre. In view of this sort of response, it is likely, therefore, that Petrullo's group was living off river resources and away from their gardens at the time of his visit.

2) Maps indicate that in the lower part of the Capanaparo River, the flooding is greater and the number and size of side creeks suitable for horticulture is smaller than upstream on any of the large rivers. In other words, the available area for garden plots is much smaller, and riverine subsistence proportionately more important. Upriver, and more especially on the Sinaruco and on the middle and upper Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, there is much more tillable ground.

"I thought you said you could not sing and were not a musico?" "Yes, that was true last week when I had the grippe, but now my grippe is better I can be a musico again." And many similar examples of the extreme caution one needed to exercise regarding negative responses in order to be sure they were not merely descriptive of the place and moment. If Petrullo asked "Do you raise crops?", his informants would most likely have said, "No, we have no crops here", under the circumstances in which he found them.

[11] The river fauna is more plentiful and accessible in dry season because, first, it is more concentrated, and, second, it is more visible. During the wet, flooding season, fish, and other animals spread even into smaller streams and out upon the watery llanos — we caught a small piranha on the grassy, watercovered plain itself. On the plains, the fish are lost among the grasses and are virtually impossible to spear or shoot with bow and arrow. The river turbulence of the rainy season, meanwhile, has brought so much mud from further upstream that many of the rivers are opaque, especially in those parts of the llanos constructed of mud rather than sandy soils. Fish and the water reptiles and mammals are well-cloaked by the murky stream. The waters and the plains clear in the dry season so that the fish are concentrated in the limpid, grassless waters of the rivers, while land animals and riparian fauna are all crowded together near the banks in their search for food and water.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

841 piece of cloth. (Among the peoples of the Xingu in Brazil she is made to wear her hair over her face, and she is kept from the sight of men.) Whether during this period special initiatory rites are performed I was not able to find out. This part of Yaruro culture is considered to be in the women's domain, and, being a man, I was kept from delving into it.

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MARRIAGE

527 The Yaruros are poor in social ceremonies. Anciently they may have practiced a great many of them but today social life is comparatively simple.

885 When a boy is ready to marry he may approach his father, or as a matter of fact, the father may approach the son. In any case he is 791 sent to the shaman, who informs him that now he should be ready 584 to assume the duties of a man, and proceeds to instruct him in the nature of those duties. He is told that he must love and cherish his [183] wife; supply her plentifully with food, clothing, ornaments, and children; that he must never use harsh words toward her and that [577] he must take care of her when she is sick; that he must never quarrel with her family, with whom he is expected to live; and of particular importance, that he must remember to take care of his father-in-law and mother-in-law. All of this is ordained by Kuma.

584 The shaman will then approach the boy's uncle who has a marriage- 585 able daughter. No special ceremony seems to take place. The boy 791 simply goes to live with the wife's family and assumes his duties of taking care of her as well as of his parents-in-law.

SICKNESS AND DEATH

751 Not much material was available on sickness. It must be remem- 757 bered that the Yaruros have been in contact with European ideas for several centuries and that they understand the use of medicine for the cure of a specific illness.

753 Nevertheless, Kiberoh, the evil night spirit, is in some fashion asso- 757 ciated with illness. If Kiberoh enters the body of a person, the latter will become ill. In such cases the only cure is the intercession of Kuma, who can be called upon to help by the shaman or musico, a term adapted from the Spanish to describe the singing shaman.

755 The sick person is laid on the ground with his head pointing to the east. At sundown the shaman will stand to the north of the sick person and will proceed to sing, accompanying himself with the [841] rattle. The rest of the people, with the exception of any woman in her menstrual period, line up behind the shaman and sing and dance as they generally do during any of the shamanistic performances. If they indulge in any dancing, however, they do not go around a

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776 775 return to earth and guide the community. In this manner, Ku'maⁿ is a center of gravity of the Yaruro ideological life. She is the center of a communications network which ties the Yaruro of the hither-world, those of the other-worlds, and the gods all in one continuous system of personal and social relations. This is somewhat the position of the spokesman or 'capitan' in the community [622] life of the Yaruro, though he has proportionally much less influence in his village than Ku'maⁿ has in her universe.

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

LIFE AFTER DEATH

761 775 To the modern Yaruro death is a desirable event. It holds great promise rather than terror for him. He believes that the dead will continue to live in the Land of Kuma. That is, in the land of the Mother Goddess, where he will be restored to a life of pristine happiness in the world which is identical with that which existed before the coming of the white man. In that world, in the Land of Kuma, he will have freedom to hunt if he pleases, he will have an abundance of food, he will have horses, cattle, and tobacco. He will lead a life of eternal bliss, watching over the affairs of his relatives and descendants on this earth, visiting them occasionally through the shaman and conversing with them. Apparently his only wish is that his people will die and join him in the Land of Kuma at the earliest possible time. A better idea of this life after death can be obtained by turning to the chapters on the shamanistic performances and legends.

PLAY

522 152 The spirit of play is known to the Yaruros. In fact, they laugh so much and so often that one might get the impression that they take life very lightly. For instance, their response to any accident is laughter. A man may fall out of his canoe or hurt himself in some way, or a woman may break a pot; any such accident is taken as a fine joke by everyone else.

616 606 There is inner-moiety and joking relationship, but members of one moiety do not play pranks on members of the other moiety. In fact, even in camp the mother-in-law will keep aloof from any levity engaged in by the son-in-law, and vice versa.

533 535 524 In the dancing and singing there is gaiety, especially when Puaná visits his people. Then is a time for much laughter and joking. However, there is no formalized play among the Yaruros. Anciently it is reported that the Otomacos had a ball game. Gilii has given us a description of it.[6]

857 462 861 The most common form of play among the children is an imitation of the activities of the grown-ups. The little boys will pretend that they are hunting and fishing or canoeing; the little girls will pretend that they are making pottery, basketry, or painting their bodies. The toys which the children use are miniature implements of hunting and food gathering. The only objects made differently for children to play with which are not an imitation of anything used by the adults are small clay figures representing human beings. These are arranged by the child in imitation of human beings dancing around

524 323 532

[6] If the Yaruros knew this ball game they have forgotten it since then.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

captive turtles; and a few human beings were sitting or lying in the midst of all this, and exposed to all of the elements.

Among primitive people news travels rapidly. Landaeta, in this case, received me with the air of one who was expecting a visitor and it turned out that my reputation had preceded me. Not only did he know that I was in the country, but also why I was there. He was expecting me in order to teach me his ways and the ways of his people, and to learn my ways and the ways of my people. To him I was a shaman, no different than himself, who knew their mother goddess intimately and who was perhaps related to the gods themselves. He asked me for pictures of Kuma and Kuma's land. I soon discovered that he was under the illusion that in some way I was on intimate terms with the Yaruro's god.

A little to one side a branch was planted in the sand, and lying in its thin shade a girl was waiting to die. She was burning with fever and delirious. Her people were hovering over her, without being able to alleviate her sufferings or to help her to the end of life. Her malady was a new one to them, passed on by the newcomers to their world, and therefore they had no remedy for it.

The sick girl was Landaeta's daughter and as one physician to another, he came to me requesting that I save his daughter from death. Being neither physician, magician, nor priest, I responded to his plea the best way I could. Lest I be drawn into a situation of attempting to cure a sick person without adequate knowledge of the sickness or its remedy, I moved off the same day to seek other Yaruros; but only after Landaeta had promised that he would commence his journey in the cool of the evening and rejoin me several days later.

It has often been said that to accept the promise of a primitive Indian is to abandon all thought of its being remembered. Perhaps it would seem that I put too much faith and trust in my friends in sitting down to wait for them to join me. But a promise made and accepted without coercion is to the Indian one that has to be kept; and, as in many other cases of my experience with primitive people, this one was kept.

That the feeling of suspicion had not disappeared completely was proven by the attitude of another hunting group which I visited. I went alone among them, and unarmed. On my arrival in a canoe, carrying no equipment, they sullenly warned me to keep away from them and their camp. However, good will is never unproductive, and when they saw that I merely squatted on the sands, shared my tobacco with them, said nothing, and then cheerfully paddled away, their hearts must have melted, for several days later they too had joined my band of friends, later becoming among those most deeply attached to me.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

pole in a circle but merely move forward and backward. During the performance it is prohibited for anyone to pass by the head of the sick person. The shaman will sing all night and if by morning the sick person has not shown any marked improvement the woman shaman will lie in a hammock with her head pointing to the east and will continue the singing. Other women will sit in the hammock with her and sing all day long. I myself underwent such attention. If the wife shows little interest in the welfare of her husband it is concrete proof that she does not love him and it is believed he will die. In this there are two factors to be considered from my observation of these people. The first is that a lack of wifely interest is the equivalent of bad medicine and that the husband himself will feel so disconsolate that all desire to live will be lost.

If the sick person dies during the night nothing is done except to stop the singing and dancing. At daybreak his people will drink vast quantities of chica and prepare for the funeral rites. If the sick person happens to be a woman in her menstrual period it is important to note that she is in the care of the woman shaman. The man shaman does not dare to sing to her.

In the morning the dead person is washed by the women and the body is wrapped in a hammock and taken to the burial place. The brothers and the uncles carry the body. The father and mother do not accompany the body to the grave, but in the case of a married man the widow does. The body is interred in the hammock with the head pointing to the east. The bow and arrows, whatever clothing he may have possessed, and any equipment are buried with him, but neither food nor water is necessary. The night after the burial there is a feast in the camp, but the taboo on fish is observed by everyone. The shaman and the people will sing the equivalent of:

"The dead one died here, now he has arrived in the Land of Kuma, and there he has been made young again (if a child dies, it becomes a young man or woman, according to the sex). He will know nothing but joy now and will have everything he may desire.

The widow goes on a strict diet for four days. All fires which were burning at the time of the death of the individual are put out and fresh ones are built. On the fourth day the two men, who have put the dead body into the pit, and the widow, bathe; they fast on the fifth. On the fifth night the shaman sings in order to find out if the dead person has reached Kuma, if he has been given a new name, if he has been made young, strong, and rich. For a month after this the widow keeps a strict diet and she is not married for a long time. It is believed that if a man marries a widow soon after her husband has died he will die soon of the same sickness.

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

The first fact that holds our attention is that Yaruros are strongly ethically conscious. Every shamanistic performance is the means for the propagation of ethical teachings. The shaman, or as the Yaruros believe, the gods and their dead ancestors speaking through the shaman, admonish various individuals and lay down the law for proper conduct. They hold the threat also that misconduct will be displeasing to the mother goddess and as a result life with her will not be as pleasant as it would be if they followed her precepts in this world.

According to the Yaruro philosophy the world is, by its nature, good and it was created by Kuma as a good thing. If any evil exists it has been introduced by men, who have forgotten or come to disregard the laws laid down by the goddess. The world, if unsullied by men, is a perfect integration of the elements which function for the good of mankind. Unfortunately, at times men will disturb the structure. There is implied in this the existence of free will for mankind, since it can change or disturb what was created by Kuma. And if we have recourse to the legends, we find that perhaps the lower animals have free will also, although it is exercised by them much more rarely than by mankind.

Kuma appears also as the teacher of ethical laws. She told the people, told Hatchawa, and now tells the shamans: to live in peace with each other; to respect each other; to help each other; to live good lives; to take care of the parents-in-law and the children-in law. When the wife is ill or otherwise the mother-in-law should look after the needs of her son-in-law, although they do not speak to each other. The Yaruros will find recompense for such moral living after death. They are poor on this earth but will be rich like Kuma in the other world.

During my stay the women remained bashful, never speaking directly to me, and when I approached generally looking away. In the latter days they would laugh merrily as they fled. Their culture does not permit free social intercourse with men, but any request on my part relayed to them through their husbands or brothers was eagerly complied with, and with better than good humor.

All were helpful toward each other and there did not appear to be any dissension. Extreme care was taken that a person's rights and prerogatives were not infringed upon. The husband never seemed to request anything of his wife that did not lie in her province, and when strange demands were made to please me, entire freedom was given to the wife, or daughter, to do as it pleased her. Any misfortune, however slight or serious, that would produce some expression of anger among white people was met by the Yaruros with merry laughter. At night each family group lay on the sands

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

781 Of great importance is the fact that the Yaruros live in a world which they understand perfectly. At night they watch the heavens for signs from their gods. Each night they read a new chapter in a great story book. During the day the winds, the skies, the sun, have much to tell them, and they watch and listen eagerly. Their world is not one of fear but one which, as created by Kuma, is excessively friendly and hopeful. Terror has been introduced by the white man.

771 For every species of plant and animal life a gigantic counterpart exists in the Land of Kuma. Originally the plants and animals, which have been domesticated by the white man, were given to the Yaruros, but the size of the horse and cattle frightened the Yaruros so much that they refused to mount one or tame the other. The white man seized the opportunity which has since made him master of the Yaruro country. However, they have no explanation for the superiority of the white race except sheer wickedness. This superiority is so startling sometimes that the Yaruros feel that the white man in some way must be closely affiliated with gods, good or bad. The appearance of the white man on the plains of Apure is a legendary event. A white man, the Yaruros say, appeared on a huge horse. He was covered with foul sores and destroyed everything in his path. The Yaruros are content to hunt and cultivate the soil. The result is that the civilized peoples raise crops, store them, but the Yaruros are condemned to wander about hunting for a daily dinner.

186 776

825 Many of the animal species, natural formations and constellations are to the Yaruros metamorphosed races of man. One explanation for the monkeys, especially the araguatos (the howlers), is that they are the descendants of a group of people who, to save themselves, climbed to the top of a tree during the time of the flood. The caymans represent another race of men who failed to take advantage of Hatchawa's rope to be lifted out of the hole in the ground. The toninos also are a race of metamorphosed humans.

186 773 The Yaruro, according to their conception of mankind, were Kuma's chosen people. They were created first of all the Indian tribes and that is why they were given the open plains to live in with an open sky overhead so that they might be in close touch with Kuma day and night. The Guahibos, on the other hand, or as the Yaruros called them, the Tciricoi, the forest people, were created last and occupy an inferior position.

776 774 In addition to playing a purely religious role, the gods function as ethical teachers in every shamanistic performance, a function which is shared by the spirits who are close relatives of the living Yaruros. It is they who visit their living descendants and speak through the body of the shaman, correct abuses, scold the evildoers and praise the good.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

776 775 return to earth and guide the community. In this manner, Ku'man is a center of gravity of the Yaruro ideological life. She is the center of a communications network which ties the Yaruro of the hither-world, those of the other-worlds, and the gods all in one continuous system of personal and social relations. This is somewhat the position of the spokesman or 'capitan' in the community life of the Yaruro, though he has proportionally much less influence in his village than Ku'man has in her universe. [622]

775 776 772 In sum, the gods and the dead are conceptualized as continuous with those of us on earth. Conceptually they appear to constitute the two highest steps in the age levels: infant, child, young adult, elder, the dead, and the gods. The last four classes are increasingly instrumental in teaching the ethics of living in tranquility, of respect and deference to one's spouse and to all members of one's people, and in teaching the values of the community. They exhort but never compel the community to follow these ideals. These precepts are followed not only among the egalitarian gods in their autonomous other-world communities, but in the personal and social relations between the gods and the hither-world *pumé*. The relations between men and gods, the communication between the hither-and other-worlds, the cosmography itself, all show quite cleary that there is no separation of "natural" and "supernatural" as discrete classes of events. The cosmos, society, and man are a single system in Yaruro thought. [771]

796 771 The nexus through which the flow of life in the other-world and the ongoing rhythm of daily life in the hither-world are meshed into a single system is the religious ceremony, the *tonghé*. Some description of the *tonghé* will afford us further insight into Yaruro ideology.

796 756 787 During the night-long *tonghés*, the entire community sits behind the shaman, ranged roughly by age levels. The women sit to his right, the men to his left. At dusk he begins to sing as he starts his journey to the land of Ku'man through the dark, cold land of Kiberó, the toad who gave man fire. In hundreds of improvised verses and melodies, he describes his journey, and then, after his arrival about midnight, his adventures in the lands of Ku'man and subsequently of the other gods. In each verse, the shaman sings an intonation which the entire community repeats in an identical antiphon. Thus the full experience of the shaman is transmitted to and shared by every member of the community. All is public; there is no secret knowledge. The shaman urges his people to sing with him and the other-worldly beings, to share in the responsibilities and joys of the community in supporting their individual members whether the shaman in his journey or the sick person for whom the *tonghé* may be being held. At the same time, in Ku'man land, he urges the other-worldly beings to come to advise his people and teach them. Later, the verses are no longer sung by the shaman, but rather by the dead and the gods who arrive in the husk of the shaman which he has left behind as a channel of communications for the other-worldly beings while his divisible self travels abroad. As these beings arrive in the shaman's husk, all members of the community may greet them by putting their arms around them or giving them cigarettes or drink. This is done separately by women, sometimes in groups, and by men. Throughout the ceremony the chief link between the sexually divided community is the shaman or the gods in the shaman's husk upon whom both sexes are focusing [757] [776]

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

significantly hunters and fishers. The distribution of these peoples suggests a geographical radiation from a common location that is implied as well by the relationships among the languages — probably from the west or southwest of present Yaruro country. Work on the centuries of separation, on the degrees of relationship of these languages among themselves and to other groups of the putative Andean-Equatorial family is urgently needed as is archeology in the supposed area of radiation.

Second, archeology would provide most interesting evidence. Petrullo (1939 *b*) collected a series of artifacts, mainly potsherds, which suggest a degree of culture well beyond minimal Tropical Forest level. Le Besnerais (Ms.) mentions not only the variety of potsherds to be found but also polished stone axes and funerary urns (cf., also, Vernau, 1901). I myself saw an immense number of crude, friable, slipped potsherds; many potsherds generally of the Arauquín type; a polished stone celt; a polished stone mano, beautifully made (cf. photo), and so on. None of these objects, except the crude potsherds, have been found in situ, but the Indians assert that they dig them up all the time.

The archeological items would suggest that cultures previously in the area, whether Yaruro or not, were horticultural. Though no archeology of any kind has been done in the South Venezuelan llanos, these meager indications suggest that the Kirchhoff-Steward hypothesis is erroneous since the Yaruro of our times could not be a remnant of aboriginal hunters and gatherers if the area was previously at a much higher cultural level. The general hypotheses of Cruxent and Rouse (1958-1959: 263 *ff.*) — especially that relating to a fusion between a western corn area and an eastern manioc area — would further tend to cast doubts on the whole Handbook scheme since the obvious routes for this fusion to have taken place are the great east-west llanos rivers. Archeological work is desperately needed here, and seems to me of central theoretical importance. It is hard to understand why so many workers have skirted the area.[5]

Before turning to written history I wish to take up some minor lines of evidence which are suggestive for the resolution of the ethnographic discrepancies. One has to do with the content of the ideology. Quite a number of items such as the earth mother, the ancestor cult, the serpent rainbow, the anaconda god, and so on (cf., Antolínez, 1939; Steward and Métraux, 1948, esp. p. 628; etc.), appear to connect the Yaruro with tribes to the west and southwest including the Chibcha and the Jívaro.

[5] No one has done systematic work in the llanos. Only sporadic finds have been made there (e. g., Petrullo, 1939 *b*; Vernau, 1901). The intensive archeological fieldwork has all been in the great circle around the llanos (cf. a great many works by Cruxent cited in Cruxent and Rouse, 1958-1959; Evans and Meggers, n.d.; Howard, 1943; Kidder, 1944; Marcano, 1893; Meggers and Evans, 1955; Osgood, 1943; Osgood and Howard, 1943; Rouse, 1956; Rouse and Cruxent, 1957, and many other Rouse articles listed in Cruxent and Rouse, 1958-1959. Cf., also, unpublished work by P. Gallagher, by M. Sanoja, and by E. Wagner.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

123 resentful of my presence. Acting on a sudden impulse, I asked one of the men sitting near me for a gourd rattle. There followed a discussion among the men, and finally they decided to give me one. Without much heart, and no will, I began to sing a song of the Bororos of Brazil, accompanying myself with the rattle. It was the song of another tribe, and I sang it badly; but my unwilling hosts were listening, recognizing the musical pattern as being akin to theirs. I sang another when I had finished the first, and then still another, not failing to notice at the same time that they were listening carefully, and passing comments to one another. When my repertoire was exhausted, I placed the rattle on the sands and smoked in silence. Nothing was said for some time. Then a hand reached for the rattle and a voice said in Spanish:

"Ahora canto yo." (Now I will sing.)

533 The speaker sat on the sands, facing east. He began a song, the melody of which sounded as wild as the medley brought to us by the wind. His people joined us and, sitting behind him in a semicircle, took up the chorus at the end of every stanza. The song was first a murmur and then a shout, but maintained its steady rhythm. When the moon brightened the tropical night with its colorless light, sharpening the many shadows and turning the waving palm leaves into quivering ribbons of silver, the Yaruros forgot all about the stranger
535 in their midst. As though on a prearranged signal, they arose and began to dance, as they sang, around a pole. Women danced as well as men, and the children joined in too. They danced all night, and it was not until the sun rose above the hills of Guiana that they stopped to seek an hour or two of sleep before setting off on the daily task of hunting their dinner.

123 During the day I noticed that their fear of me had disappeared, but
791 it was not until that evening that I discovered the reason for the change. I gathered a confused tale that the one who had led the singing was a shaman. My singing and gourd rattling had indicated to him that I was a shaman also, since only the shamans use the rattle among the Yaruros. Furthermore, he had asked the Yaruro gods who I was, and the gods, as well as the spirits of the dead Yaruros living with the mother goddess Kuma, had instructed him to tell these primitive hunters that I was different from the "Racionales" (name applied to the "civilized" llaneros) and, as evidenced by my singing, that I intended no harm to them; in short, that I was a Pumeh, one of Kuma's people, and lived very close to her land.

772 From the recital of the night's performance I gathered that the Yaruro's universe is presided over by a famale being called Kuma, who lives in the west and who waits for the living Yaruros to return to her land; that in some fashion the water snake and the jaguar are

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

772 considered to be their ancestorial relatives; that once upon a time
[173] the Yaruros were very many and now very few; that the Yaruros had been visited with great calamities the preceding year, and many of their people had died through sickness and other destructive forces.

Also, I learned that, though I could gather inklings of a rich
123 spiritual culture and a good cross section of the material phases from this band, I had to go farther down river to meet the spiritual leaders of the remnants of this race if I wanted to reach the heart of the Yaruros' religion, cosmology, mythology, and ethics.

791 In all of the primitive groups with which I have come in contact,
123 certain individuals are recognized as the leaders and authorities, especially on such matters as religion and social organization. The younger people hesitate and often refuse to discuss such matters altogether, but age alone is not enough to qualify an individual as the mouthpiece of the group. The Yaruros were no exception. As soon as they grasped that I wanted to know a great deal about their history and culture they urged me to talk to "Landaeta", their leader and great "musico" or shaman. He, with his family, was hunting on the lower Capanaparo. They offered to guide me to him. Accordingly, we journeyed downstream by moonlight to avoid the heat of the day, and as I subsequently discovered, to avoid meeting with crocodile hunters.

361 About noon the next day we sighted several empty canoes drawn up
482 on the bank, and knew that there must be more Yaruros nearby. We
462 landed on the sandy beach and awaited their return. They came early in the afternoon, the men carrying turtles and crocodiles slung on poles, the women with baskets filled with changuango, leaning forward as they walked, looking not unlike grotesque apes under their heavy loads; and also, little children carrying their share of food,
[152] straggling behind. Upon seeing me they were frightened, but did not run away.

123 My Yaruro paddlers acted the part of mediators perfectly, for soon afterwards we were all embarked and moving downstream to join the main body of Landaeta's band which, I was told, was encamped
[152] several miles downstream. Their good humor almost amounted to
462 gaiety. The three canoes moved steadily down the river, the men paddling hard, and the women sitting quietly and casting shy inquisitive glances in my direction.

361 We found Landaeta and his people on a large exposed wind-swept beach. There was the white sand, the strong wind blowing from the east raising it into dust clouds, and the intense glare from river and sand; a few water jars, a few baskets, several refuse heaps with buzzards feeding at them, canoes drawn up on the beach, and some

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

185 775 culture or themselves against a superior culture and ruthless "civilized" bandits. Their only consolation is Kuma and the Land of Kuma.

781 821 Nevertheless, being realists they not only continue their daily activities of hunting and gathering foods, but also in finding daily solace through their environment and the [illegible]manistic contact with Kuma. The Yaruro is nature conscious. Perhaps his lonely existence has made him ecstatically responsible to the world about him, for often they talked of the beauty of various phenomena; but stronger than any such feeling is their sense of intimate relationship with the sun, the moon, the stars, their animal life. The falling stars at night are interpreted by them to be messengers sent by Kuma to encourage her people, the Yaruros; the moon is friendly, and on moonless nights the stars represent the crowds of their ancestors 825 who live with Kuma. The wind blows incessantly and it blows to them the roar of the araguatos (the howlers), which, to them, represent distant relatives once human beings, but changed into monkeys by life in the trees at the time of the great flood; the toninos, frolicking at night in the water, are also another race who failed to climb the rope which Hatchawa let down to bring his people to the surface. It is in such a friendly world that the Yaruro literally sits, listens, 154 and looks, almost communing with his environment. Perhaps it is not out of place to mention at this point that this reaction on the part of the Yaruros is not difficult to understand, that perhaps we ought not to rationalize this attitude of the Yaruro entirely on the basis of superstition or religious ideas; anyone who has lived on the plains, exposed day and night to nature, soon loses any feeling of lonesomeness. This response on the part of the Yaruros is shared by the llaneros, who do not seem to be so perfectly at ease as when they are alone in the plains.

THE YARURO UNIVERSE

772 According to the Yaruros the world has experienced a series of metamorphoses. Some of the events which have transformed the world from its original form are attributed to the direct intervention of the various gods and races of mankind, but others remain unexplainable.

772 177 How much of Yaruro cosmic ideas have been borrowed from the missionaries it is difficult to say at this point. Missionaries have been among them from time to time but the Yaruros have been abandoned so completely so many times that the result and confusion is difficult if not impossible to unravel—a thing which can be done only when we have thorough descriptive studies of the various tribes of the Columbian plains and the tribes of Guiana. The comparative ma-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

772 177 175 terial existing in the literature at the present time is too scant to give us much of a lead. For the Llanos of Venezuela we have only the missionaries' accounts of the middle of the eighteenth century, meager accounts at best, and highly colored by the ideas of the missionaries themselves. But even these give us no idea as to how the Yaruros thought and behaved in those days. They give us notes only on the Otomacos and the Saliva. Perhaps material exists in unpublished form, but it must remain unknown for the purpose of the study.

773 In the mythology and in the shamanistic cult a number of figures stand out: Kuma, the mother goddess; Puaná, the great snake; Hatchawa, the culture hero; and Itciai, the jaguar. A more obscure figure is Kiberoh, who seems to be identified with a female evil spirit, but in one legend appears as the mate of Kuma. And an even more confused figure is India Rosa. It is known that the patron saint of the early Spaniards was Santa Rosa de Lima. If India Rosa is to be identified with Santa Rosa among the Yaruros, only the name has persisted. The confusion will become evident on reading the text.

773 177 The creation legend exists in various forms, but which of them represents the purely aboriginal one it is difficult if not impossible to determine. It seems best to give all versions. The myth of the flood appears also, and whether or not this is a foreign element in Yaruro mythology cannot be determined at this time. Of great interest to us are the ethical elements present in these stories. In the legend of the impregnation of Kuma, presumably by Puaná, the water snake, one may see a parallel to the story of Eve and the Serpent. Be that as it may, Puaná the Snake, Itciai the Jaguar, Kuma the Mother Goddess, and Hatchawa, the culture hero, are living spiritual forces among the Yaruros today, godheads who visit the Yaruro frequently during shamanistic performances and speak to the Yaruros through the mouth of the shaman. It would be too much to expect that all our facts should fit together into a logical pattern. The legendary world is never a well-ordered one and it speaks for the genuineness of Yaruro culture that we find such complex.

773 It will be noted that Kuma is definitely the Mother Goddess who gave birth to Hatchawa and to human beings. The latter were found by Hatchawa living under the ground. Hatchawa is always the culture hero. It is he who takes compassion on humanity and gives the fire, the bow and the arrow, and presumably a great many other things. Puaná, the Water Snake, is not only the shaper of the earth, but it is he who is given credit for great wisdom. Itciai, on the other hand, plays a very small role. In our legends he appears as a shaper or creator of the waters but plays no other part. But perhaps this [616] obscurity of Itciai is to be attributed to the fact that my informants belong to the Puaná moiety.

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criticism of Kuma, and there is even an implication that she always acts with the greatest wisdom.

THE LAND OF KUMA

Kuma lives in the west, apparently beyond the horizon. In the month of March and in early April, about 9 o'clock in the evening, there is a glow in the western sky, a beautiful phenomenon, which the Yaruros explained is the reflection from Kuma's land. Its exact geographic position does not seem to be known and is as hazy as a Catholic's idea of the position of Heaven. For instance, we are told that the stars are both the lights from Kuma Land and the people from that land walking about at night, and yet the Land of Kuma is localized somewhere in the west.

This land is described sometimes as a vast and clean savanna, treeless and full of game, and at other times as a savanna with a huge town in which Kuma and her people live. This latter conception springs from the association the modern Yaruros have between wealth, comfort, power, and those material things which the civilized peoples possess. Towns are included among the products of the civilized. In the same way we find that although the Yaruros are a horseless people, Kuma and her people seem to have an abundance of horses. Apparently those things which are denied the Yaruros in this land are to be found in the next and shamanism is the means of expressing the longings of the living Yaruros.

THE LAND OF KIBEROH

In contrast with the beautiful world in which Kuma lives and to which all Yaruros expect to go, Kiberoh rules over a dark land inhabited by those unfortunate races of mankind left in the hole when the rope dropped by Hatchawa was broken by a too-heavy pregnant woman. Not much is known, nor is there much interest on the part of the Yaruros about this unpleasant region. However, this must not be taken that they have a belief in hell as Father Gumilla reported. According to this author the Yaruros believed in an evil spirit called Tighitighi. On the contrary, my informants identified Tighitighi merely as a large hawk which has no relation to the devil.

PUANÁ

Puaná stands out as the indulgent parent and teacher of Hatchawa. He is also the artisan who invented all of the implements now used by the Yaruros. He is conceived of as the great snake, and in fact is so portrayed on the gourd rattles of the shamans, yet there is a

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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789 that follow describe this land as well as the gods and the spirits of the Yaruros.

It is to be noted that it is the ornaments worn by Kuma rather than the person of the gods which are described. We are told that she wears golden necklaces, fine clothes, and belts and bands typical of the ancient Yaruro woman's costume. She is represented vaguely as being in the form of a human being, who, on the other hand, is never described. Try as I might, I was not able to obtain any idea of her appearance. Hatchawa, as we know, is a little boy, but Itciai again lacks any definite form.

787 The shaman claims that during his ordinary life he has no idea of what he sees in the Land of Kuma, therefore these descriptions can only be gathered from due sources through the songs which he sings in shamanistic performances and through the figures which he etches out on the shamanistic gourd rattle. Several of these rattles are reproduced on plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27.

The shaman does not claim special power to reveal anything, nor does he claim to have the power to cure. He is merely a vehicle or instrument through which the gods can visit the Yaruros by substituting themselves for the soul of the shaman. The only power that he claims is the ability to let his soul leave his body and travel to the Land of Kuma. His soulless body subsequently becomes possessed by various spirits who wish to communicate with their relatives on earth. As explained above, the shaman only sings the first songs hesitantly and in a poor voice which is in direct contrast to the violent and beautiful singing which the spirits exhibit when they are in possession of his body.

772 Kuma's Land is a perfect heaven for the Yaruro, who has endowed it with all the comforts and liberty denied to him in this world. In Kuma's Land food is abundant, the weather is ideal, there are no forests, no diseases, and most important of all, no civilized being to desolate them. We are confronted here with the creation on the part of the Yaruro of a superlative heaven which furnishes an escape for him from the woes of this life.

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177 We have noted before that primitive peoples, when faced for a time with a hopeless situation in this world, such as extinction, tend to seek and discover an escape by creating such a heaven. The Guarani sought a heaven in the West where there was no death and no persecution. More recently our own Indians on the reservations have turned to Peyoteism, which also supplies a heaven. In all these cases there is a renunciation of this world. The will to live is practically gone because there is no need to worry about maintaining life in this world, an impossible thing to do when in competition with civilization. But a heaven which cannot be touched by any civilized

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village to village, since each village constitutes a separate and independent center of relationships with neighboring villages and consequently has its own unique assortment of outside relationships, based partly on choice. This situation, like so many other aspects of the socio-economic organization is reflected in the cosmology.

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According to the Yaruro, the cosmos originally lacked not only humans, but even gods. There existed only three concentric, rigid, blue, celestial domes; below them, a flat, undifferentiated, vast savana all of sand; and a cold, dark, flat underworld. Beyond these there was, and is, nothing. Thunder, already then, was to be found between the upper celestial domes, while Sun, his wife, Moon, and their children, the stars, were already revolving between the lower two.

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Into this cosmos were spontaneously born the primordial gods. The goddess Ku'maⁿ, the grandmother of us all, who lives in a land to the west, out of the savana created the discrete lands of her fellow gods and of the Yaruro. She created the non-Yaruro peoples, the *nivé*, first, and the Yaruro, the *pumé*, last, which is why there are so few - there were few left to create. She ordered Kiberó, the female toad who lives in the dark underworld to give fire, which she belched from her belly. Ku'maⁿ created the foods wich are collected and the modes of preparing them. She instructed the men and the women in their crafts. She ordained the social order. Her husband, Poa'naⁿ, the snake god, who lives in a land to the south, created the characteristic savana features: the rivers, the woods, the grasses for the animals to eat.

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He taught men the technology of horticulture and gave them the seeds of the garden crops. He, with his fellow god, Icial, who lives in a land to the north and was born a boy given to troublemaking though he later matured, then taught the arts of hunting and fishing. Poa'naⁿ son, Hachawa, who lives in a land to the east, created only the ceremonial cigarettes. The four godly other-worlds lie beyond the Great Water which surrounds, but is not quite contiguous to, the Yaruro hither world. This geographical break in the cosmos is negligible, however, since the hither-world and the other-worlds become continuous in the thought and action of the Yaruro. The Great Water continues in an endless expanse beyond the four other-worlds, according to one interpretation, while in another, it is said to be enclosed by limitless, unpeopled and empty savanas. The four Yaruro other-worlds are also inhabited by a younger generation of gods all possessing Spanish names. Some interpreters identify these with the primordial gods. Others do not. According to some informants, they live in the same lands as the older gods. Others say they live in different lands. Such variations of religious interpretation occur frequently despite general agreement in all essentials. Individual freedom of choice and interpretation, already noted in connection with economic choice and social interrelationships, is also found in relation to ideology.

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The godly other-worlds are generally described as idealized versions of the Yaruro hab'tat. This is true also of a fifth otherworld, one which is discontinuous geographically, conceptually, and behaviorally with the rest of the Yaruro worlds, though similar in form. This is the land of Dios, the God of

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Christian Venezuelans, which lies between the two lower celestial domes and existed prior to Ku'maⁿ.

It is to be noted that Ku'maⁿ was not responsible for creating her fellow primordial gods. She is not an omnipotent creator but is fundamentally limited to creating other-world and hither-world things familiar to the Yaruro. She exists in an independent but loosely coordinate status with other celestial beings or phenomena like Thunder, Sun, Moon, the stars, the rainbow, and possibly Dios — the prototype for personal status among the Yaruro. Furthermore, despite wide variation in creation myths, the fact stands out, too, that she must almost equal honors with Poa'naⁿ in the creation of all that is vital to the Yaruro in the hither-world in a creational division of labor closely paralleling the division of labor found in the actual economy. Further, Ku'maⁿ and Poa'naⁿ, by the link of marriage, provide a prototype for the essential productive and distributional unit, the household. Kachawa, their son according to some informants, and Icial, Poa'naⁿ sister's son, both boys at the time of the creation, contribute little and are as much nuisance as help until they have matured, an apt reflection of the position of children in Yaruro economy. Today Poa'naⁿ and Ku'maⁿ seem preeminent in status among the gods, but at the same time are definitely merely *primi inter pares*, occupying the position of more experienced elders within the community of the gods, each of whom acts autonomously according to his own dictates.

The community of the gods is again prototypic for Yaruro hither-world life. Each god and his land constitutes a sort of village community populated by the god or gods, by dead *pumé*, by dead animals, and by the regular other-worldly animal population especially jaguars in human form and dress. The human-like inhabitants of the other-world eat, drink, dance, have sex relations, and visit from god's land to god's land. They enter into the web of kinship which ties the gods to each other, to the dead Yaruro, and to the live *pumé* of the hither-world in complex, if varying, genealogical connections. Even the great jaguar god, T'ó whose bailiwick is the first celestial dome and whose main task, under the general direction of Ku'maⁿ, is to cure, is considered distantly related and of the family of Poa'naⁿ. A number of animal species are similarly distantly related, but like those Yaruro who cannot be fitted into the kinship system, are merely connected to us nominally. The gods, the dead, and the live *pumé* equally observe kinship obligations. Thus kinship and visits among the autonomous lands of the gods are the chief ties holding the four other-worlds together, a prototype for Yaruro village and social structure. (3)

However, in relationship to the living, Ku'maⁿ is 'our chief'. More than any other god, she is turned to for advice, for ethical reaffirmations, and for fulfilment of needs. It is first to Ku'maⁿ bright and golden land that the *pumé* go at death, during unconsciousness, in dreams, and during the religious ceremonies, the *tonghés*. The other lands are visited later and are less important in the other-worldly journeys made by the living. The dead of Ku'maⁿ land are the first to be called upon by the shaman when, during the *tonghés*, he arrives in the other-worlds. He asks them, as well as Ku'maⁿ and the other gods, to

(3) Eliade (1964) emphasizes this prototypic quality of "primitive" ideologies throughout the book.

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776 775 return to earth and guide the community. In this manner, Ku'man is a center of gravity of the Yaruro ideological life. She is the center of a communications network which ties the Yaruro of the hither-world, those of the other-worlds, and the gods all in one continuous system of personal and social relations. This is somewhat the position of the spokesman or 'capitan' in the community [622] life of the Yaruro, though he has proportionately much less influence in his village than Ku'man has in her universe.

775 776 772 In sum, the gods and the dead are conceptualized as continuous with those of us on earth. Conceptually they appear to constitute the two highest steps in the age levels: infant, child, young adult, elder, the dead, and the gods. The last four classes are increasingly instrumental in teaching the ethics of living in tranquility, of respect and deference to one's spouse and to all members of one's people, and in teaching the values of the community. They exhort but never compel the community to follow these ideals. These precepts are followed not only among the egalitarian gods in their autonomous other-world communities, but in the personal and social relations between the gods and the hither-world *pumé*. The relations between men and gods, the communication between the hither-and other-worlds, the cosmography itself, all show quite clearly that [771] there is no separation of "natural" and "supernatural" as discrete classes of events. The cosmos, society, and man are a single system in Yaruro thought.

796 771 The nexus through which the flow of life in the other-world and the ongoing rhythm of daily life in the hither-world are meshed into a single system is the religious ceremony, the *tonghé*. Some description of the *tonghé* will afford us further insight into Yaruro ideology.

796 756 787 During the night-long *tonghés*, the entire community sits behind the shaman, ranged roughly by age levels. The women sit to his right, the men to his left. At dusk he begins to sing as he starts his journey to the land of Ku'man through the dark, cold land of Kiberó, the toad who gave man fire. In hundreds of improvised verses and melodies, he describes his journey, and then, after his arrival about midnight, his adventures in the lands of Ku'man and subsequently of the other gods. In each verse, the shaman sings an intonation which the entire community repeats in an identical antiphon. Thus the full experience of the shaman is transmitted to and shared by every member of the community. All is public; there is no secret knowledge. The shaman urges his people to sing with him and the other-worldly beings, to share in the responsibilities and joys of the community in supporting their individual members whether the [757] shaman in his journey or the sick person for whom the *tonghé* may be being held. At the same time, in Ku'man land, he urges the other-worldly beings to come to advise his people and teach them. Later, the verses are no longer sung by the shaman, but rather by the dead and the gods who arrive in the husk of [776] the shaman which he has left behind as a channel of communications for the other-worldly beings while his divisible self travels abroad. As these beings arrive in the shaman's husk, all members of the community may greet them by putting their arms around them or giving them cigarettes or drink. This is done separately by women, sometimes in groups, and by men. Throughout the ceremony the chief link between the sexually divided community is the shaman or the gods in the shaman's husk upon whom both sexes are focusing

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the community may do the shaman's work if he chooses, just as any can travel to the other-world or commune with the gods, although, because of age, temperament, or individual taste, not every one does so. There were, in fact, two shamans among the nine men of the writer's village, as well as a number of men who cured and who occasionally sang verse intonations in the *tonghés* although they were not shamans. The shamans are no more than respected community members outside the ceremony. Here again we observe the egalitarianism and individual self-determinism which is so much a pattern of this culture.

The *tonghé* also clearly shows the relationships which prevail between men and gods. The shamans and the other adults of the village converse with the gods in great mutual respect. They do not manipulate them nor minister to them, nor implore them. Before the gods, they are in a position corresponding to active and adept junior members of the village before their elders and especially their lineal ascendants. Furthermore, in a very real sense, no individual person, *qua* person, deals with the gods. The community, with its religious catalyst, the shaman, is the unit of action. The only individual relations with the gods occur in dreams, unconsciousness, and death. Dreams about gods are made public by singing aloud in sleep, the experience of unconsciousness is recounted publicly, and death, too, becomes public because the dead man is accessible through the *tonghés*.

The directness of contact between man and gods again emphasizes the unity of cosmos, society, and man. Within this unity, the sharp division of a male sphere from a female sphere is found. These quite coordinate spheres, in the other-worlds as in the hither-world, in religion as in socio-economic life, are linked through the household.

In conclusion, I would like briefly to review the major dimensions of Yaruro ideology. We may state these as a set of propositions, each presenting a major dimension of the ideology.

1. Cosmic structure. *The cosmos is static, limited, concrete, and internally continuous in that no barriers separate man and his society in the physical world from the nonphysical world.* The parts of the universe together form a rather rigid, symmetrical, architectonic structure, although each individual Yaruro may vary the description of the whole to suit his particular taste. All parts are of roughly coordinate importance. The major motions of nature, such as thunder and lightning, the revolutions of sun and moon, are often embodied, personalized, and independently operating entities, moved by semi-human motivations.

2. The good. *Goodness inheres generally in the cosmos as a system. The goodness manifests itself in understood causes and concretely and describably known parts of the cosmos which, whether places, persons, or things, are given exact locations.* Conversely all known and localizable objects, persons, or places and understood causes are generally good.

3. The not-good. *Evil, which is not polar to good, finds its locus in specific persons, things, or events inside or outside the cosmos, and is manifest in specific results. The underlying causes of evil, however, are inac-*

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ecssible to the senses or to understanding. For example, all cosmic or extra-cosmic personnel whose locations are variable, vague, or unknown, are capable of doing evil. Being neither known nor localizable, they are not part of the unified kin and cosmic structure in which gods, the dead, and men and their respective lands are tied together. They exist outside society, hence only loosely attached to, or even outside of, the cosmos. Thus disease and death are both caused by sorcerers (*brujos*, Sp; *yareké*, Y.). These are described as wandering about freely in the savanas where they attack persons. Not only can the Yaruro advert to them only in the most indefinite way with regard to form, but they also specifically deny that human beings are or can be sorcerers or that human beings practice witchcraft. Thus, to the Yaruro, the major evils of disease and of wicked hearts (*corazones malos*) of individual Yaruros are caused by unknowable spirits. Even the chief and father of the *yareké*, Abakári, is as indefinite in form as his sons, and the Yaruro either do not locate him at all, or are very much disagreed as to his locus. No proper Yaruro self has any personal contact with him. Though the *yareké* are kin-related among themselves, they are not "of our family" (*de la familia de nosotros*), hence outside of our society.

4. The good society. *In the good cosmos, the good society consists of kin-related gods, the dead, communities and individuals of largely coordinate and reciprocal statuses living in tranquility and sharing all things.* Gods, community, and individuals are all actors knowing the general principles of the cosmic society. Such principles include kinship, equivalent rights and privileges for all.

5. The determinants of action. *In the good society, action is guided by precept, suggestion, and by sensibility to the wants of others and of self, but compulsion and hostility are not permissible.*

6. Nature of precepts and principles of action. *In the good society, precepts and principles are general rather than specific and prescriptive.* The result is that patterns of behavior and thought in Yaruro society are quite unformalized, unritualized, and unspecified. All classes of behavior show a great range of variability and flexibility. The individual can choose to fulfil his obligations to the community, an the community to the cosmos, in various ways.

7. Freedom or restriction of will. *The individual not only has a broad range of choice of actions but is not compelled by the nature of the cosmos nor by the personel in it to follow any particular path. He has free will with regard to the ordained order of things* (4) .Each man is, in theory, as in fact, to a remarkable degree self-determining in actions and thought. Except in extreme divergences, he need not account to anyone.

Several dimensions which appear as dualistic distinctions in western thought are conceptually single in Yaruro ideology. The self, as the expe- [828]

(4) Petrullo (1939, p. 229) first noted this aspect.

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riences in shamanism, dreams, unconsciousness, and immediately after death show, is conceived as being undifferentiated and unitary, though divisible into like, but unequally active parts. No mind-body distinction is made. Again in a static and limited universe within which, however, all parts, visible and invisible, sensible or not directly sensible, are in a flux of interaction, all things have some degree of reality. The distinction "real-unreal" as it is understood in the West is lacking among the Yaruro. Further, in this same universe, those parts which we might designate "immaterial" are, to the Yaruro, quite as concrete and sensed as the so-called "material" objects and events. The western distinction between "material" and "immaterial" is not a meaningful one to the Yaruro. Finally, the unity and continuity of what westerners would call "natural" and "supernatural" has been discussed above. Such a distinction is not made by the Yaruro.

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where they believe their gods live. It was only when the sun began to burn our bodies that they approached me to chat. They expressed their concern over my illness and soon busied themselves to make me as comfortable as possible. While I distributed among them a few presents bought for them in Urbana, and turned all of the food over to Landaeta, the younger men were busy building a sun shelter, an arbor of the sweet-smelling guava bush, though for themselves they had only branches thrust into the sands, giving only a thin shade. From now on, I was completely in their care, and they were careful nurses and tender friends. The best of the hunt was mine, and even the women delighted in taking care of my clothing, and in bringing me delicacies.

They were glad to see me, and the women shamans soon began their chants while the men surrounded me and told me in their own language and in broken Spanish what had occurred the previous night. [562] Men are prohibited from singing during the day, but the women sit in swinging hammocks and chant their songs. I learned, too, that Landaeta's daughter had not died, for there she was, grateful and shyly looking at me, completely well. They attributed her cure to me, though I was not at all responsible for it. During the night, they told me, the gods had come among us, and told them that I, too, was one of Kuma's children, and again they insisted that I was related to them.

I learned that Puaná and Itciai are cocreators with Kuma, the mother goddess, and they are directly responsible for the actual creation of the world. Hatchawa, in the form of a litttle boy, is another god who has given mankind fire, the bow and arrow, and many other blessings. Now, when the shaman sings at night his soul leaves his body and travels to the land of Kuma, leaving his body behind. The gods may come then, enter his body in the form of songs, and transmit their messages to the Yaruros. They had come the night before to greet me and to reassure my friends of my goodness and my own powers of shamanism.

We sat, smoked, and talked all day. In the afternoon we feasted on crocodile, turtle eggs, wild roots, palm nuts, and honey. Finishing our dinner, we sat quietly facing the west, watching the skies. As the sun set low again, rays of gold, blue, and white shot into the sky from the horizon, and my friends rejoiced at this certain greeting of Kuma to us.

Darkness came upon us, and in anticipation of a long night of singing and dancing—I could sing but could not dance, since I could not stand up—I lay on the sands to rest before the beginning of the ceremonies, but the skies interested the Yaruros and they came to tell me what they read there. The brightness of the stars and the changing

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251 During the rainy season the seed of the chigua is gathered. It is crushed, toasted, and stored in small quantities in the same way as the changuango, provided, of course, that a spot is found high enough to keep it dry.

Social Organization and Social Customs

596 616 622 791 554 Economically the family hunting group is the basic unit, as has been shown in the previous chapter. In social matters, however, it is the moiety. Each family hunting group recognizes a headman and each moiety recognizes a chief who in all cases is the shaman. Both of these positions of authority are acquired only through personal merit. There is no inheritance of chieftainship or shamanism. If the nephew of a headman shows ability he may inherit his uncle's position, and theoretically this is the scheme. In natural practices we find that not only the Yaruros but perhaps a great many other primitive peoples are very realistic and are loath to give authority to an individual whose personality does not stand for leadership.

616 428 Every Yaruro is born in either the "Itciai" or "Puaná" moiety. Descent, with its social affinities, prerogatives, and obligations, being traced through the female line, the child belongs to its mother's moiety. Nothing is inherited from the father, who belongs to the other moiety, except obligations.

616 773 There is a legend among the Yaruros that two young men not finding any marriageable girls among their own people mated with the Jaguar and with the Snake. From these two unions are descended the two moieties. Since only among animals do brothers and sisters mate it has become a rule that two descendants of the Jaguar, "Itciai", cannot marry with each other; nor can two descendants of the Snake, "Puaná", marry with each other. They must seek a mate from the other group. Thus an "Itciai" must always marry a "Puaná", and vice versa. Cross-cousin marriage solves this problem.

582 604 In this system, therefore, a man's children belong to his wife's moiety, from which he is socially excluded. His sister's children, on the other hand, are socially close to him since they too inherit moiety membership from their mother which is the same as his own. Deprived of his own children to carry on his traditions, a man looks to his sister's children to take their place. It is his nephews who will help him in hunting, who will come to his defence, who will take care of him in old age. As if in payment of such attention he gives them his daughters in marriage. Thus his sisters' sons become his sons-in-law.

621 596 Yaruro society is built around the hunting group, which in numbers is never stable. The hunt and the gathering of food such as roots and fruits calls for a certain amount of cooperative effort, but

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Biological conception is clearly understood. One of the myths tells of Kuma's desire to have a child. She asked Puaná to impregnate her in the thumb, but Puaná, who in these myths appears both as trickster and wise man, told her that such impregnation would result in an overpopulation and advised her to allow herself to be impregnated in the ordinary way. She allowed herself to be persuaded, and Hatchawa was born. It may be worth noting that though Hatchawa was the issue, he is referred to as the grandson of Kuma. Whether this inconsistency is to us merely an unexplainable situation, or whether it has greater significance, I was not able to find out.

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When delivery is imminent a shelter is built for the prospective mother, apart from all other people. Her husband's moiety brothers build a similar structure for him also apart from the camp. The woman is tended by the women of her family and moiety and the husband by the men belonging to his moiety. Both abstain from eating fish, turtle, and crocodile. Iguana and deer meat and the usual vegetable diet are allowed. During delivery and for 10 days after the husband lies in a hammock and engages in no physical activity. Ordinarily he would sleep on the ground. His moiety brothers bring him food. After 10 days he visits his wife but continues to live alone and apart for a month. Now he hunts in the company of other men and is expected to supply his wife with food. The food taboos continue in effect for the full month for both husband and wife. Strict continence is practiced by the husband. When the month is over the family is reunited.

MENSTRUATION

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The Yaruro's actual attitude toward menstruation is not one of fear or wonder. The phenomenon is accepted much as it is among us, as a disturbing but unavoidable event. In the literature on primitive peoples it is often reported that menstruation is held to be a dangerous period for the woman and for the people. One may question the correctness of this observation, if observation it be, with the suspicion that because certain taboos are observed fear is the motivating response. I have found the observance of taboos among a dozen South American tribes with whom I have had personal contact but there has been no indication of actual fear. One wonders if such events have not been too highly dramatized and rationalized by the civilized visitor rather than by the primitives.

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Among the Yaruros the first period in a girl calls for special treatment at the hands of the women. The girl's face is covered with a

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

772 177 terial existing in the literature at the present time is too scant to give us much of a lead. For the Llanos of Venezuela we have only the missionaries' accounts of the middle of the eighteenth century, meager accounts at best, and highly colored by the ideas of the missionaries themselves. But even these give us no idea as to how the Yaruros thought and behaved in those days. They give us notes only on the Otomacos and the Saliva. Perhaps material exists in unpublished form, but it must remain unknown for the purpose of the study.

• 773 In the mythology and in the shamanistic cult a number of figures stand out: Kuma, the mother goddess; Puaná, the great snake; Hatchawa, the culture hero; and Itciai, the jaguar. A more obscure figure is Kiberoh, who seems to be identified with a female evil spirit, but in one legend appears as the mate of Kuma. And an even more confused figure is India Rosa. It is known that the patron saint of the early Spaniards was Santa Rosa de Lima. If India Rosa is to be identified with Santa Rosa among the Yaruros, only the name has persisted. The confusion will become evident on reading the text.

773 177 The creation legend exists in various forms, but which of them represents the purely aboriginal one it is difficult if not impossible to determine. It seems best to give all versions. The myth of the flood appears also, and whether or not this is a foreign element in Yaruro mythology cannot be determined at this time. Of great interest to us are the ethical elements present in these stories. In the legend of the impregnation of Kuma, presumably by Puaná, the water snake, one may see a parallel to the story of Eve and the Serpent. Be that as it may, Puaná the Snake, Itciai the Jaguar, Kuma the Mother Goddess, and Hatchawa, the culture hero, are living spiritual forces among the Yaruros today, godheads who visit the Yaruro frequently during shamanistic performances and speak to the Yaruros through the mouth of the shaman. It would be too much to expect that all our facts should fit together into a logical pattern. The legendary world is never a well-ordered one and it speaks for the genuineness of Yaruro culture that we find such complex.

773 It will be noted that Kuma is definitely the Mother Goddess who gave birth to Hatchawa and to human beings. The latter were found by Hatchawa living under the ground. Hatchawa is always the culture hero. It is he who takes compassion on humanity and gives the fire, the bow and the arrow, and presumably a great many other things. Puaná, the Water Snake, is not only the shaper of the earth, but it is he who is given credit for great wisdom. Itciai, on the other hand, plays a very small role. In our legends he appears as a shaper or creator of the waters but plays no other part. But perhaps this [216] obscurity of Itciai is to be attributed to the fact that my informants belong to the Puaná moiety.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

781 Of great importance is the fact that the Yaruros live in a world which they understand perfectly. At night they watch the heavens for signs from their gods. Each night they read a new chapter in a great story book. During the day the winds, the skies, the sun, have much to tell them, and they watch and listen eagerly. Their world is not one of fear but one which, as created by Kuma, is excessively friendly and hopeful. Terror has been introduced by the white man.

771 For every species of plant and animal life a gigantic counterpart exists in the Land of Kuma. Originally the plants and animals, which have been domesticated by the white man, were given to the Yaruros, but the size of the horse and cattle frightened the Yaruros so much that they refused to mount one or tame the other. The white man seized the opportunity which has since made him master of the Yaruro country. However, they have no explanation for the superiority of the white race except sheer wickedness. This superiority is so startling sometimes that the Yaruros feel that the white man in some way must be closely affiliated with gods, good or bad. The appearance of the white man on the plains of Apure is a legendary event. A white man, the Yaruros say, appeared on a huge horse. He was covered with foul sores and destroyed everything in his path. The Yaruros are content to hunt and cultivate the soil. The result is that the civilized peoples raise crops, store them, but the Yaruros are condemned to wander about hunting for a daily dinner.

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825 Many of the animal species, natural formations and constellations are to the Yaruros metamorphosed races of man. One explanation for the monkeys, especially the araguatos (the howlers), is that they are the descendants of a group of people who, to save themselves, climbed to the top of a tree during the time of the flood. The caymans represent another race of men who failed to take advantage of Hatchawa's rope to be lifted out of the hole in the ground. The toninos also are a race of metamorphosed humans.

186 773 The Yaruro, according to their conception of mankind, were Kuma's chosen people. They were created first of all the Indian tribes and that is why they were given the open plains to live in with an open sky overhead so that they might be in close touch with Kuma day and night. The Guahibos, on the other hand, or as the Yaruros called them, the Tciricoi, the forest people, were created last and occupy an inferior position.

776 774 In addition to playing a purely religious role, the gods function as ethical teachers in every shamanistic performance, a function which is shared by the spirits who are close relatives of the living Yaruros. It is they who visit their living descendants and speak through the body of the shaman, correct abuses, scold the evildoers, and praise the good.

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CREATION LEGEND

VERSION I

At first there was nothing. Then Puaná the Snake, who came first, created the world and everything in it, including the river courses, except the water. Itciai the Jaguar created the water. Kuma was the first person to people the land. Then the other people were created. Then came India Rosa from the east. The Guahibos were created last. That is the reason that they live in the forest.

Horses and cattle were given to the Yaruros. However, they were so large that the Yaruros were afraid to mount them. The "Racionales" were not afraid, and so the horses were given to them.

The sun travels in a canoe from east to west. At night it goes to Kuma's land. The stars are her children and they wander about at night. The moon, which is a sister to the sun, travels in a boat.

On the land of Kuma exists a large plant of each species. The plants which are cultivated by the Racionales were first given to the Yaruros. The Yaruros cut them down in such a way that the tops fell in the land of the Racionales. The roots remained in the land of the Yaruros, but the Racionales got the seed and that is why they have bananas, plantains, maize, tobacco, and the Yaruros have none of those things.

VERSION II

Everything sprang from Kuma, and everything that the Yaruros do was established by her. She is dressed like a shaman, only her ornaments are of gold and much more beautiful.

With Kuma sprang Puaná and Itciai; Hatchawa is her grandson and Puaná made a bow and arrow for him. Puaná taught Hatchawa to hunt and fish. When Hatchawa saw the people at the bottom of a hole and wished to bring them to the top Puaná made him a rope and a hook.

Another figure that sprang with Kuma was Kiberoh. She carried fire in her breast and at Kuma's request gave it to the boy Hatchawa. But when the boy wanted to give it to the people Kuma refused and he cleverly threw live fish in the fire, spreading coals all about. The people seized the hot coals and ran away to start fires of their own. Everything was at first made and given to the boy and he passed it on to the people. Everybody sprang from Kuma, but she was not made pregnant in the ordinary way. It was not necessary.

VERSION III

The first to appear was Kuma, the chief of all of us and the entire world. Itciai, Puaná, and Kiberoh appeared with her. There was nothing then. Nothing had been created. Kuma was made

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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pregnant. She wanted to be impregnated in the thumb but Puaná told her that too much progeny would be produced that way. So she was made pregnant in the ordinary way. Hatchawa was born, grandchild (?) of Kuma, Puaná, and Itciai. From then on the attention of the three was centered on the boy. Puaná created the land; Itciai the water in the rivers. Hatchawa was very small, but soon grew to a very large size. Kuma and Puaná took care of his education, though Puaná took more care of him. Puaná made a bow and arrow for him and told him to hunt and fish. Hatchawa found a hole in the ground one day and looked into it. He saw many people. He went back to his grandparents to ask them to get some of the people out. Kuma did not want to let the people come out, but Hatchawa insisted on it. Pauná made a thin rope and hook and dropped it into the hole. The people came out, just as many men as women. Finally a pregnant woman tried to come out and she broke the thin rope in getting out. That is the reason there are few people.

The world was dark and cold. There was no fire. Puaná had made the earth and everything on it, and Itciai had created the water. Hatchawa took a live jagupa (a fish) and threw it into the fire which was kept burning in the center of Kuma-land, a high circular pasture. The little fish struggled and knocked coals all about, and the people ran away in all directions with the coals. One part of these people were the Yaruros. Then Kuma wanted to give the horse to them, but the Pumeh (Yaruros) were afraid to mount it.

Of every plant in Kuma land there exists (or existed) a gigantic type, so big that an ax can't cut it. Of every animal there exists a gigantic representative.

Version IV

India Rosa is the same as big Kuma. This Kuma lives in her city in the east. She is either the wife or sister of the sun. She is the younger sister of the other Kuma. She taught the women to make pottery and weave basketry in the same way as Puaná taught the men. Itciai and the other Kuma look after everything.

Version V

At first there was nothing. The snake, who came first, created the world and everything in it, including the water courses, but did not create the water itself. The jaguar, the brother of the snake, created the water. The people of India Rosa were the first to people the land. After them, the other people were created. India Rosa came from the east. The Guahibos were created last. That is the reason that they live in the bush.

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Horses and cattle were given first to the Yaruros. However, they were so large that the Yaruros were afraid to mount them. The "Racionales" were not afraid, and so they were given the horse.

The sun travels in a boat from the east. It goes to a town at night. The stars are his children and they go out from the town at night. The moon, who is a sister of the sun, also travels in a boat.

VERSION VI

A woman who came from the east went to live with the sun at his village in the west. She taught women how to do everything which women do. The sun taught the men. The sun and India Rosa are married, and probably were the first people from whom everyone has sprung. But the sun and India Rosa came out of the ground. They had children. Everything was dark at that time. The children dispersed in all directions. They became the different peoples of the world. Then everything was covered with water. Horses were given to the people but they were afraid and would not ride them. But a white man sick with smallpox rode the horse, and then the horse was given to his people. He asked the Yaruros to kill him and they did. Then his people killed the Yaruros.

VERSION VII

India Rosa came first. She gave birth to a son and a daughter. The son impregnated his sister, who gave birth to all humanity. India Rosa went west, the daughter went east. The son is the sun. The moon is the daughter. The snake came afterwards, and the jaguar created the water.

VERSION VIII

Kuma was first. God appeared. Had two children, brother and sister, and they married. There were no human beings at that time. One day Kuma said, "Let us have some people". So God went out to see about it. He found a man in a hole. He went back to Kuma, consulted with her, and went back to the man with a hook and a rope. A pregnant woman wanted to be the first to come out of the hole, but she was left to the last. Many people were brought out. The last to be brought out was the pregnant woman, and then the rope broke. The world was dark and cold. So God made a fire. A fish appeared and scattered it, so that each person could take a little of the fire. That is why all people have fire today. The people married among themselves. One of the woman descendants of India Rosa married a man of the new race and from them sprang the Yaruros. This was welcomed because the father of the girl said,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

773 "Here, a son-in-law will take care of me now!" Then the Yaruros
539 lived. The shaman had a nephew and a son. The nephew fell in love with his own sister and married—he was changed into a jaguar and she into a snake (?). If it had not been for this there would not have been any snakes and jaguars. Human beings should not marry their own sisters. It was ordered by Kuma. Animals are different.

Then one man found a tree with all the fruits on it. He did not tell the others. A white man appeared on horseback. Said he would come back in eight days. He came back in a boat. Scattered seeds everywhere. Thus he changed the country. Before it was all open savanna, but now forests and agricultural products grew.

India Rosa taught the women. God taught the men. God wanted to give the horse to the Yaruros, but they were afraid to mount, so he gave it to the Racionales instead.

KUMA

791 Presumably, Kuma is anthropomorphic. The only ones among
776 the Yaruros who have any knowledge of this mythical being who is re-
787 sponsible for the world are the shamans. These individuals are loath to discuss what they see in their dreams, claiming that all they have to say about such things are said during their shamanistic performances. Besides, they claim that they do not remember what they see during their trances.

531 Nevertheless, on the rattles appear graphic representations of what
776 Kuma is supposed to look like. In all cases, she seems to resemble
534 a human being, standing with her arms extended upward in greeting to her people. Such figures are represented on the gourd rattles shown in plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27. It was explained that the lines
[301] appearing on the body of Kuma represent body painting and ornaments.

776 Of all the godheads or spirit forces of the Yaruros, Kuma is the most clear-cut. She is the creator of all things, and everything emanates from her. Her associates, Puaná, Itciai, and Hatchawa, function according to the laws of Kuma. Apparently they are not able to do anything without her consent, but occasionally she may be tricked. For instance, when Hatchawa decided to give fire to the people he threw a live fish into Kuma's fire. The wriggling of the fish scattered the coals, which the people seized and carried away.

Kuma is represented neither as an indulgent mother nor as an entirely benevolent creature in the myths. It is Hatchawa and Puaná who favor human beings. In fact, Kuma was opposed to peopling the earth with the human race. In spite of this there is no

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

776 [616] strong implication both in the myths and the saying he attends to his people, especially those belonging to the snake moiety, that Puaná is also anthropomorphic. I believe that the conception of the godheads is not quite as clear among the Yaruros as we who attempt to rationalize his beliefs would like it to be. Puaná stands closer to the members of his moiety than does even Kuma. During the shamanistic performances led by Landaeta the singing and dancing were rather sluggish until it was announced by the shaman that Puaná was on his way, and when Puaná reached the shaman's body there was unbounded rejoicing which put fresh spirit into the singing and the dancing. No such enthusiasm was apparent even when Kuma approached. We may contrast the attitude toward Kuma and Puaná as one of respect and one of familiar love.

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HATCHAWA

Hatchawa is the culture hero of the Yaruros. It is he who interceded with Kuma about giving fire to the human race, and it is he who begged Puaná to make a bow which he passed on to his people. He is credited with being the direct instrument and also the means by which the Yaruros have acquired knowledge of hunting. When Hatchawa arrives among the Yaruros during shamanistic performances he is received gladly and thankfully.

ITCIAI

All of the shamans with whom I spoke and whose performances I attended belong to the Puaná clan. They knew little of Itciai and were not interested in telling me much about this rival to Puaná. Itciai seems to be identified with the jaguar, but he is not anthropomorphic. He is given credit for having created the water in the rivers, but, as if they were jealous of even this attribute, my informants said that "Itciai created only the water in the rivers."

FLOOD LEGEND

773 539 After the people were created and had lived on this earth a long time they began to forget to do the right thing. They no longer believed that Kuma is the mother of water and the entire universe and everything that there is in it. So Kuma, in order to show them that she was the creator of the universe and everything therein, caused a rain to begin which continued until everything was covered over with water except a tree on the upper Capanaparo, and the top of a hill. A man and his sister took refuge on the very topmost branches of the tree, and a man with his aunt saved themselves by staying on top of this hill.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Everything was covered with water and these four survivors of the human race suffered great hunger for many days. Those on the tree ate the leaves, and the bark, and some of the wood itself. Those on the hill not only suffered great hunger but were menaced also by a huge fish that wanted to eat them and kept on swimming around and around the hill. Finally Kuma stopped the rain. The first day after the rain stopped the waters withdrew one arm's length. The people ate what they found on the exposed land. The second day the waters withdrew two arm lengths. The people had nothing to hunt with. There were no trees out of which to make bows and arrows, since everything had been destroyed by the waters. Finally the turtles began to come out of the water and the people were able to catch some of them. Everything was clean of vegetation and flat, but they managed to gather food enough to live. After some days the one man said to the other, "Look here! We are all alone. Why don't you marry my sister and I will marry your aunt!" The other replied, "Very good; but I must ask my aunt if she is willing to marry you." So he asked his aunt and she consented to marry the man. The two men then married the women. They then had children. The man's aunt gave birth to a girl, and the sister of the other man gave birth to two boys. When the older boy was sufficiently grown up his father told him to marry the girl who was his cousin. The boy answered his father that he was no good for marriage, that he was not able to hunt enough food, or do anything else well, and that he could not have sexual relations with women. So the man waited until the younger son was old enough, and this boy married the girl. They had children and they married each other. But there were not enough girls, so the two boys married the children of the snake and the jaguar and went to live with them.

The uncle of these children, he who had not been able to marry, and who knew many things, did not like brother and sister marriage. To show them that they were like wild beasts he changed the boys into a jaguar and a snake. Then he tried to change them back again, but after twelve days he gave it up. He was not able to do it. Then he called the people together and told them that in the future they should not marry their sisters, since marriage between brother and sister is practiced only by the wild animals, and that if they did they also would be changed to snakes and jaguars, and that he was powerless to change them back again. He told them to marry their cousins, that is, the cross cousins. And he told them that those who descended from the snake should marry those who descended from the jaguar. That is how the Yaruros, who are the descendants of these people, are related to the snakes and jaguars.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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village to village, since each village constitutes a separate and independent center of relationships with neighboring villages and consequently has its own unique assortment of outside relationships, based partly on choice. This situation, like so many other aspects of the socio-economic organization is reflected in the cosmology.

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According to the Yaruro, the cosmos originally lacked not only humans, but even gods. There existed only three concentric, rigid, blue, celestial domes; below them, a flat, undifferentiated, vast savana all of sand; and a cold, dark, flat underworld. Beyond these there was, and is, nothing. Thunder, already then, was to be found between the upper celestial domes, while Sun, his wife, Moon, and their children, the stars, were already revolving between the lower two.

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Into this cosmos were spontaneously born the primordial gods. The goddess Ku'ma^{n}, the grandmother of us all, who lives in a land to the west, out of the savana created the discrete lands of her fellow gods and of the Yaruro. She created the non-Yaruro peoples, the *nivé*, first, and the Yaruro, the *pumé*, last, which is why there are so few - there were few left to create. She ordered Kiberó, the female toad who lives in the dark underworld to give fire, which she belched from her belly. Ku'ma^{n} created the foods wich are collected and the modes of preparing them. She instructed the men and the women in their crafts. She ordained the social order. Her husband, Poa'na^{n}, the snake god, who lives in a land to the south, created the characteristic savana features: the rivers, the woods, the grasses for the animals to eat.

He taught men the technology of horticulture and gave them the seeds of the garden crops. He, with his fellow god, Icial, who lives in a land to the north and was born a boy given to troublemaking though he later matured, then taught the arts of hunting and fishing. Poa'na^{n} son, Hachawa, who lives in a land to the east, created only the ceremonial cigarettes. The four godly other-worlds lie beyond the Great Water which surrounds, but is not quite contiguous to, the Yaruro hither world. This geographical break in the cosmos is negligible, however, since the hither-world and the other-worlds become continuous in the thought and action of the Yaruro. The Great Water continues in an endless expanse beyond the four other-worlds, according to one interpretation, while in another, it is said to be enclosed by limitless, unpeopled and empty savanas. The four Yaruro other-worlds are also inhabited by a younger generation of gods all possessing Spanish names. Some interpreters identify these with the primordial gods. Others do not. According to some informants, they live in the same lands as the older gods. Others say they live in different lands. Such variations of religious interpretation occur frequently despite general agreement in all essentials. Individual freedom of choice and interpretation, already noted in connection with economic choice and social interrelationships, is also found in relation to ideology.

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The godly other-worlds are generally described as idealized versions of the Yaruro hab'tat. This is true also of a fifth otherworld, one which is discontinuous geographically, conceptually, and behaviorally with the rest of the Yaruro worlds, though similar in form. This is the land of Dios, the God of

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Christian Venezuelans, which lies between the two lower celestial domes and existed prior to Ku'maⁿ.

It is to be noted that Ku'maⁿ was not responsible for creating her fellow primordial gods. She is not an omnipotent creator but is fundamentally limited to creating other-world and hither-world things familiar to the Yaruro. She exists in an independent but loosely coordinate status with other celestial beings or phenomena like Thunder, Sun, Moon, the stars, the rainbow, and possibly Dios — the prototype for personal status among the Yaruro. Furthermore, despite wide variation in creation myths, the fact stands out, too, that she must almost equal honors with Poa'naⁿ in the creation of all that is vital to the Yaruro in the hither-world in a creational division of labor closely paralleling the division of labor found in the actual economy. Further, Ku'maⁿ and Poa'naⁿ, by the link of marriage, provide a prototype for the essential productive and distributional unit, the household. Hachawa, their son according to some informants, and Icial, Poa'naⁿ s'ster's son, both boys at the time of the creation, contribute little and are as much nuisance as help until they have matured, an apt reflection of the position of children in Yaruro economy. Today Poa'naⁿ and Ku'maⁿ seem preeminent in status among the gods, but at the same time are definitely merely *primi inter pares*, occupying the position of more experienced elders within the community of the gods, each of whom acts autonomously according to his own dictates.

The community of the gods is again prototypic for Yaruro hither-world life. Each god and his land constitutes a sort of village community populated by the god or gods, by dead *pumé*, by dead animals, and by the regular other-worldly animal population especially jaguars in human form and dress. The human-like inhabitants of the other-world eat, drink, dance, have sex relations, and visit from god's land to god's land. They enter into the web of kinship which ties the gods to each other, to the dead Yaruro, and to the live *pumé* of the hither-world in complex, if varying, genealogical connections. Even the great jaguar god, T.ó whose bailiwick is the first celestial dome and whose main task, under the general direction of Ku'maⁿ, is to cure, is considered distantly related and of the family of Poa'naⁿ. A number of animal species are similarly distantly related, but like those Yaruro who cannot be fitted into the kinship system, are merely connected to us nominally. The gods, the dead, and the live *pumé* equally observe kinship obligations. Thus kinship and visits among the autonomous lands of the gods are the chief ties holding the four other-worlds together, a prototype for Yaruro village and social structure. (3)

However, in relationship to the living, Ku'maⁿ is 'our chief'. More than any other god, she is turned to for advice, for ethical reaffirmations, and for fulfilment of needs. It is first to Ku'maⁿ bright and golden land that the *pumé* go at death, during unconsciousness, in dreams, and during the religious ceremonies, the *tonghés*. The other lands are visited later and are less important in the other-worldly journeys made by the living. The dead of Ku'maⁿ land are the first to be called upon by the shaman when, during the *tonghés*, he arrives in the other-worlds. He asks them, as well as Ku'maⁿ and the other gods, to

(3) Eliade (1954) emphasizes this prototypic quality of "primitive" ideologies throughout the book.

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Y 186 10 These are in fact presented as enemies or inferiors. The Otomaco, on the contrary, appear to have been friends or relatives who were superior to them. This hierarchy is apparently confirmed by the Yaruro myth of the creation of men (12) where

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12. See "infra" IV List...38.

the Otomaco were the first brought out of a hole in the ground by the masculine divinity Iţiai, the Yaruro arriving only in second place, followed by the other Indians and the Racionales who were the last born. Their birth took place, in addition, just after that of Iţiai but before the flood which submerged the world and only after which the Yaruro were born.

O Y 773 776 The Otomaco seem to have the same divinities and religious manifestations as the Yaruro, as comes out from the words of our informant, Pedro Ramón Camacho, reproduced word for word below.

"They knew who the Kuma (13) was and they were loved by

13. Female Yaruro divinity.

O 776 the Gods. Now in the other world whereas the dead of the other Indians inhabit an isolated village located at the edge of the Universe, on the shore of the sea and some leagues from the Kuma's village, the Otomaco live a little lower than the Kuma's village, like from here to the corridor of forest (some 200 meters), in a village perched on the /11/ mountain. They called the Kuma, Iţiai, and Puana (14) by their names.

14. Another masculine Yaruro divinity, Iţiai's brother.

O Y 775 776 They had, like us, tiyo (protecting spirits represented by stones or pottery remains) and when my spirit walks along the

/11 cont./

O Y 775 776 way which leads to the other world it will meet after the village of the tiyo of Ijiai, at the left, on the same side, the tiyo of the Otomaco. They sang and danced (shamanistic ceremony) during the day when Kuma and Ijiai were still living on earth. When they ran off into the other world they continued to sing and dance but at night. During their songs they walked, the old men of past times used to say."

Y 533 539 Pedro Ramón Camacho completed his account with a quatrain of this song which had been repeated to him by a grandfather, but the meaning of which he did not know:

gwačarka hihi gwačarka hihi
gwačarka hihi gwačarka hihi
pidęruba pidęruba pidęruba hihi
pidęruba pidęruba pidęruba hihi

Y 773 825 136 The Otomaco are presented in Yaruro legends as being in the beginning three animals: the mono (15), the araguato (16),

15. Monkey (Cebus nigrivittatus), in Venezuelan.

16. Howling monkey (Alouetta ursina), in Venezuelan.

and the chigüíre (17).

17. Capybara, large amphibious rodent (Hydrochoerus hydrochoeris), in Venezuelan.

Y 773 825 The transformation of the Otomaco into monos and araguatos seems to have occurred at the time of the flood unleashed by Ijiai to cleanse the world of all the moral disorder which reigned there. Some Otomaco took refuge in the trees

/11 cont./

773 825 out of reach of the waters, having refused to shelter themselves on an elevated knoll as Iʃiai ordered them to do. The latter, to punish them, condemned them and all their family to become "monos and araguatos who will eat henceforth," he told them, "leaves, fruit, chiga (18), etc...."

[137] [252]

18. Chigo grain (Campsiandra comosa), from which the Yaruro apparently extract flour.

The origin of the chigüíre is illustrated on its part by the text reproduced next:

1st version (literal translation)

"Once upon a time, when the Kuma still lived on earth, an old Otomaco pume (19). The Kuma had a little gourd

19. In Yaruro: man or Yaruro.

full of mosquitos (20) and plaga (21) and one day the Otomaco

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20. Diurnal wounding gnats (Similium haemapotum Malloch), in Venezuelan.

21. Nocturnal mosquitoes, in Venezuelan.

asked her: "What is this, grandmother?" "No, son," she answered him, "do not try to uncork it because they are Iʃiai's sons. If you uncork it, /12/ the little beasts will eat you." The Otomaco, the old pume, was stubborn and in an inattentive moment of the Kuma uncorked the little receptacle near a river. In an instant he was covered with bites and threw himself into the water. Then Iʃiai said to him that for

Y /12 cont./
773 having been disobediant he was going to serve as food for the
825 pumę's and be transformed into chigüíre. In the same instant he was transformed into chigüíre."

2nd version (literal translation)

"The Kuma had a little receptacle filled with plaga and all kinds of zancudos (22). A pumę, the chigüíre, the

Y [136]

22. Anopheles mosquitoes (Cellia argyritarsis), in Venezuelan.

Otomaco asked Kuma what kind of animal was in the receptacle. She answered that they were dangerous zancudos and that he must not open it because that would present danger. The Otomaco said: "I am going to open it." Then he opened the receptacle and thus the plaga came. If he had not opened it there would have been no plaga. When he had opened the receptacle, the mosquitoes began to bite him. The Otomaco threw himself into the water because he could not stand the bites and was transformed into chigüíre because he had disobeyed. Iţiai said to him: "You did not want to obey, you will be transformed into chigüíre which the pumę's will kill to feed upon." The bristles of the chigüíres are the zancudos. The present chigüíres are the sons of those who have disobeyed."

O 101 131 Otomaco territory seems to have been situated north of that of the Yaruro, around the place where they supposedly were created: Los Caballos, near the Río Cunaviche. "All these dunes," Pedro Ramón Camacho said to us word for word, and at the same time his hand made a one-quarter turn of the horizon toward the north, "were once covered with Otomaco villages. The remains of pimpina (23), of plates, of

D 172 415
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23. A pitcher of porous earthenware used as a water-cooler in Venezuelan.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

781 Of great importance is the fact that the Yaruros live in a world which they understand perfectly. At night they watch the heavens for signs from their gods. Each night they read a new chapter in a great story book. During the day the winds, the skies, the sun, have much to tell them, and they watch and listen eagerly. Their world is not one of fear but one which, as created by Kuma, is excessively friendly and hopeful. Terror has been introduced by the white man.

771 For every species of plant and animal life a gigantic counterpart exists in the Land of Kuma. Originally the plants and animals, which have been domesticated by the white man, were given to the Yaruros, but the size of the horse and cattle frightened the Yaruros so much that they refused to mount one or tame the other. The white man seized the opportunity which has since made him master of the Yaruro country. However, they have no explanation for the 182 superiority of the white race except sheer wickedness. This superior- 776 ity is so startling sometimes that the Yaruros feel that the white man in some way must be closely affiliated with gods, good or bad. The appearance of the white man on the plains of Apure is a legendary event. A white man, the Yaruros say, appeared on a huge horse. He was covered with foul sores and destroyed everything in his path. The Yaruros are content to hunt and cultivate the soil. The result is that the civilized peoples raise crops, store them, but the Yaruros are condemned to wander about hunting for a daily dinner.

825 Many of the animal species, natural formations and constellations are to the Yaruros metamorphosed races of man. One explanation for the monkeys, especially the araguatos (the howlers), is that they are the descendants of a group of people who, to save themselves, climbed to the top of a tree during the time of the flood. The caymans represent another race of men who failed to take advantage of Hatchawa's rope to be lifted out of the hole in the ground. The toninos also are a race of metamorphosed humans.

186 The Yaruro, according to their conception of mankind, were 773 Kuma's chosen people. They were created first of all the Indian tribes and that is why they were given the open plains to live in with an open sky overhead so that they might be in close touch with Kuma day and night. The Guahibos, on the other hand, or as the Yaruros called them, the Tciricoi, the forest people, were created last and occupy an inferior position.

776 In addition to playing a purely religious role, the gods function 779 as ethical teachers in every shamanistic performance, a function which is shared by the spirits who are close relatives of the living Yaruros. It is they who visit their living descendants and speak through the body of the shaman, correct abuses, scold the evildoers, and praise the good.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

pole in a circle but merely move forward and backward. During the performance it is prohibited for anyone to pass by the head of the sick person. The shaman will sing all night and if by morning the sick person has not shown any marked improvement the woman shaman will lie in a hammock with her head pointing to the east and will continue the singing. Other women will sit in the hammock with her and sing all day long. I myself underwent such attention. If the wife shows little interest in the welfare of her husband it is concrete proof that she does not love him and it is believed he will die. In this there are two factors to be considered from my observation of these people. The first is that a lack of wifely interest is the equivalent of bad medicine and that the husband himself will feel so disconsolate that all desire to live will be lost.

If the sick person dies during the night nothing is done except to stop the singing and dancing. At daybreak his people will drink vast quantities of chica and prepare for the funeral rites. If the sick person happens to be a woman in her menstrual period it is important to note that she is in the care of the woman shaman. The man shaman does not dare to sing to her.

In the morning the dead person is washed by the women and the body is wrapped in a hammock and taken to the burial place. The brothers and the uncles carry the body. The father and mother do not accompany the body to the grave, but in the case of a married man the widow does. The body is interred in the hammock with the head pointing to the east. The bow and arrows, whatever clothing he may have possessed, and any equipment are buried with him, but neither food nor water is necessary. The night after the burial there is a feast in the camp, but the taboo on fish is observed by everyone. The shaman and the people will sing the equivalent of:

The dead one died here, now he has arrived in the Land of Kuma, and there he has been made young again (if a child dies, it becomes a young man or woman, according to the sex). He will know nothing but joy now and will have everything he may desire.

The widow goes on a strict diet for four days. All fires which were burning at the time of the death of the individual are put out and fresh ones are built. On the fourth day the two men, who have put the dead body into the pit, and the widow, bathe; they fast on the fifth. On the fifth night the shaman sings in order to find out if the dead person has reached Kuma, if he has been given a new name, if he has been made young, strong, and rich. For a month after this the widow keeps a strict diet and she is not married for a long time. It is believed that if a man marries a widow soon after her husband has died he will die soon of the same sickness.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

LIFE AFTER DEATH

761 775 To the modern Yaruro death is a desirable event. It holds great promise rather than terror for him. He believes that the dead will continue to live in the Land of Kuma. That is, in the land of the Mother Goddess, where he will be restored to a life of pristine happiness in the world which is identical with that which existed before the coming of the white man. In that world, in the Land of Kuma, he will have freedom to hunt if he pleases, he will have an abundance of food, he will have horses, cattle, and tobacco. He will lead a life of eternal bliss, watching over the affairs of his relatives and descendants on this earth, visiting them occasionally through the shaman and conversing with them. Apparently his only wish is that his people will die and join him in the Land of Kuma at the earliest possible time. A better idea of this life after death can be obtained by turning to the chapters on the shamanistic performances and legends.

PLAY

522 152 The spirit of play is known to the Yaruros. In fact, they laugh so much and so often that one might get the impression that they take life very lightly. For instance, their response to any accident is laughter. A man may fall out of his canoe or hurt himself in some way, or a woman may break a pot; any such accident is taken as a fine joke by everyone else.

616 606 There is inner-moiety and joking relationship, but members of one moiety do not play pranks on members of the other moiety. In fact, even in camp the mother-in-law will keep aloof from any levity engaged in by the son-in-law, and vice versa.

533 535 524 In the dancing and singing there is gaiety, especially when Puaná visits his people. Then is a time for much laughter and joking. However, there is no formalized play among the Yaruros. Anciently it is reported that the Otomacos had a ball game. Gilii has given us a description of it.[6]

857 462 861 The most common form of play among the children is an imitation of the activities of the grown-ups. The little boys will pretend that they are hunting and fishing or canoeing; the little girls will pretend that they are making pottery, basketry, or painting their bodies. The toys which the children use are miniature implements of hunting and food gathering. The only objects made differently for children to play with which are not an imitation of anything used by the adults are small clay figures representing human beings. These are arranged by the child in imitation of human beings dancing around

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[6] If the Yaruros knew this ball game they have forgotten it since then.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

182 515 been in motion, with sound production, as if in anticipation of something to be swallowed. Commonly, swallowing ensues, if the object is not disagreeable. Such behavior is conspicuous in chimpansee, which for purposes of comparison will be used in this report as type. Such familiar expressions as fleapicking, hairdressing, skintreatment, toiletmaking, frequently are used to refer to forms or aspects of the pattern of primate behavior which has been described.

Grooming is a biological habit, and like all such habits can either be perpetuated by a culture or smothered, "repressed". Among the very primitive peoples of South America I have seen habits that approximate the definition given by Yerkes. Delousing is the most common form. The lice are generally picked off and crushed between the teeth. Ticks that cover one in great numbers are likewise taken off. In this the subject of the attention generally sits very quietly, while the performer acts with evident pleasure. He or she may talk and jest much more than the subject.

515 Among the Yaruros the most common forms of social grooming are the removal of lice, ticks, and the crushing of insect-bite blisters. For this latter function carved sticks are used. One end of it is used to search for the lice and to crush them and the other end is used for the blisters. This attention is generally given by the mothers to the children and the wives to their husbands, generally on the return from the day's hunt. I myself have been the recipient of such attention from Yaruro women. Not having a wife of my own, my sisters by courtesy, or adoption, took care of my body.

182 515 It is difficult to say that the talk, jesting, smiles, that accompany these attentions are a result of the biological instinct. I am inclined to think that the culture pattern is here at work with its attendant repressions. For instance, often I have seen grimaces on the faces of the performer, the subject, and even of those standing about when a louse is crushed or a blister is broken. Is this a purely biological reaction or does it follow the pattern of conduct? Even primitive peoples are slaves to culture.

Religion and Shamanism

The Yaruro World

185 775 Uppermost in the Yaruro consciousness is their conviction that they are faced with extinction—that Kuma exists and that she is waiting for them in her land. It was easy to prevail upon my informants to talk about Kuma and the world to which they will go upon dying. The other phases of their beliefs were difficult to bring to their attention, for the Yaruro life in this world has practically ceased. As a group, the desire to live and to continue has died. They see the hopelessness of any struggle to preserve their traditional

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

culture or themselves against a superior culture and ruthless "civilized" bandits. Their only consolation is Kuma and the Land of Kuma.

Nevertheless, being realists they not only continue their daily activities of hunting and gathering foods, but also in finding daily solace through their environment and the shamanistic contact with Kuma. The Yaruro is nature conscious. Perhaps his lonely existence has made him ecstatically responsible to the world about him, for often they talked of the beauty of various phenomena; but stronger than any such feeling is their sense of intimate relationship with the sun, the moon, the stars, their animal life. The falling stars at night are interpreted by them to be messengers sent by Kuma to encourage her people, the Yaruros; the moon is friendly, and on moonless nights the stars represent the crowds of their ancestors who live with Kuma. The wind blows incessantly and it blows to them the roar of the araguatos (the howlers), which, to them, represent distant relatives once human beings, but changed into monkeys by life in the trees at the time of the great flood; the toninos, frolicking at night in the water, are also another race who failed to climb the rope which Hatchawa let down to bring his people to the surface. It is in such a friendly world that the Yaruro literally sits, listens, and looks, almost communing with his environment. Perhaps it is not out of place to mention at this point that this reaction on the part of the Yaruros is not difficult to understand, that perhaps we ought not to rationalize this attitude of the Yaruro entirely on the basis of superstition or religious ideas; anyone who has lived on the plains, exposed day and night to nature, soon loses any feeling of lonesomeness. This response on the part of the Yaruros is shared by the llaneros, who do not seem to be so perfectly at ease as when they are alone in the plains.

THE YARURO UNIVERSE

According to the Yaruros the world has experienced a series of metamorphoses. Some of the events which have transformed the world from its original form are attributed to the direct intervention of the various gods and races of mankind, but others remain unexplainable.

How much of Yaruro cosmic ideas have been borrowed from the missionaries it is difficult to say at this point. Missionaries have been among them from time to time but the Yaruros have been abandoned so completely so many times that the result and confusion is difficult if not impossible to unravel—a thing which can be done only when we have thorough descriptive studies of the various tribes of the Columbian plains and the tribes of Guiana. The comparative ma-

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Christian Venezuelans, which lies between the two lower celestial domes and existed prior to Ku'maⁿ.

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It is to be noted that Ku'maⁿ was not responsible for creating her fellow primordial gods. She is not an omnipotent creator but is fundamentally limited to creating other-world and hither-world things familiar to the Yaruro. She exists in an independent but loosely coordinate status with other celestial beings or phenomena like Thunder, Sun, Moon, the stars, the rainbow, and possibly Dios — the prototype for personal status among the Yaruro. Furthermore, despite wide variation in creation myths, the fact stands out, too, that she must almost equal honors with Poa'naⁿ in the creation of all that is vital to the Yaruro in the hither-world in a creational division of labor closely paralleling the division of labor found in the actual economy. Further, Ku'maⁿ and Poa'naⁿ, by the link of marriage, provide a prototype for the essential productive and distributional unit, the household. Hachawa, their son according to some informants, and Icial, Poa'naⁿ s'ster's son, both boys at the time of the creation, contribute little and are as much nuisance as help until they have matured, an apt reflection of the position of children in Yaruro economy. Today Poa'naⁿ and Ku'maⁿ seem preeminent in status among the gods, but at the same time are definitely merely *primi inter pares*, occupying the position of more experienced elders within the community of the gods, each of whom acts autonomously according to his own dictates.

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The community of the gods is again prototypic for Yaruro hither-world life. Each god and his land constitutes a sort of village community populated by the god or gods, by dead *pumé*, by dead animals, and by the regular other-worldly animal population especially jaguars in human form and dress. The human-like inhabitants of the other-world eat, drink, dance, have sex relations, and visit from god's land to god's land. They enter into the web of kinship which ties the gods to each other, to the dead Yaruro, and to the live *pumé* of the hither-world in complex, if varying, genealogical connections. Even the great jaguar god, T.ó whose bailiwick is the first celestial dome and whose main task, under the general direction of Ku'maⁿ, is to cure, is considered distantly related and of the family of Poa'naⁿ. A number of animal species are similarly distantly related, but like those Yaruro who cannot be fitted into the kinship system, are merely connected to us nominally. The gods, the dead, and the live *pumé* equally observe kinship obligations. Thus kinship and visits among the autonomous lands of the gods are the chief ties holding the four other-worlds together, a prototype for Yaruro village and social structure. (3)

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Howewer, in relationship to the living, Ku'maⁿ is 'our chief'. More than any other god, she is turned to for advice, for ethical reaffirmations, and for fulfillment of needs. It is first to Ku'maⁿ bright and golden land that the *pumé* go at death, during unconsciousness, in dreams, and during the religious ceremonies, the *tonghés*. The other lands are visited later and are less important in the other-worldly journeys made by the living. The dead of Ku'maⁿ land are the first to be called upon by the shaman when, during the *tonghés*, he arrives in the other-worlds. He asks them, as well as Ku'maⁿ and the other gods, to

(3) Eliade (1954) emphasizes this prototypic quality of "primitive" ideologies throughout the book.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

776 775 return to earth and guide the community. In this manner, Ku'maⁿ is a center of gravity of the Yaruro ideological life. She is the center of a communications network which ties the Yaruro of the hither-world, those of the other-worlds, and the gods all in one continuous system of personal and social relations. This is somewhat the position of the spokesman or 'capitan' in the community life of the Yaruro, though he has proportionally much less influence in his village than Ku'maⁿ has in her universe.

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775 776 772 In sum, the gods and the dead are conceptualized as continuous with those of us on earth. Conceptually they appear to constitute the two highest steps in the age levels: infant, child, young adult, elder, the dead, and the gods. The last four classes are increasingly instrumental in teaching the ethics of living in tranquility, of respect and deference to one's spouse and to all members of one's people, and in teaching the values of the community. They exhort but never compel the community to follow these ideals. These precepts are followed not only among the egalitarian gods in their autonomous other-world communities, but in the personal and social relations between the gods and the hither-world *pumé*. The relations between men and gods, the communication between the hither-and other-worlds, the cosmography itself, all show quite clearly that there is no separation of "natural" and "supernatural" as discrete classes of events. The cosmos, society, and man are a single system in Yaruro thought.

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796 771 The nexus through which the flow of life in the other-world and the ongoing rhythm of daily life in the hither-world are meshed into a single system is the religious ceremony, the *tonghé*. Some description of the *tonghé* will afford us further insight into Yaruro ideology.

796 756 787 During the night-long *tonghés*, the entire community sits behind the shaman, ranged roughly by age levels. The women sit to his right, the men to his left. At dusk he begins to sing as he starts his journey to the land of Ku'maⁿ through the dark, cold land of Kiberó, the toad who gave man fire. In hundreds of improvised verses and melodies, he describes his journey, and then, after his arrival about midnight, his adventures in the lands of Ku'maⁿ and subsequently of the other gods. In each verse, the shaman sings an intonation which the entire community repeats in an identical antiphon. Thus the full experience of the shaman is transmitted to and shared by every member of the community. All is public; there is no secret knowledge. The shaman urges his people to sing with him and the other-worldly beings, to share in the responsibilities and joys of the community in supporting their individual members whether the shaman in his journey or the sick person for whom the *tonghé* may be being held. At the same time, in Ku'maⁿ land, he urges the other-worldly beings to come to advise his people and teach them. Later, the verses are no longer sung by the shaman, but rather by the dead and the gods who arrive in the husk of the shaman which he has left behind as a channel of communications for the other-worldly beings while his divisible self travels abroad. As these beings arrive in the shaman's husk, all members of the community may greet them by putting their arms around them or giving them cigarettes or drink. This is done separately by women, sometimes in groups, and by men. Throughout the ceremony the chief link between the sexually divided community is the shaman or the gods in the shaman's husk upon whom both sexes are focusing

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Y 186 10 These are in fact presented as enemies or inferiors. The Otomaco, on the contrary, appear to have been friends or relatives who were superior to them. This hierarchy is apparently Y 186 773 confirmed by the Yaruro myth of the creation of men (12) where

12. See "infra" IV List...38.

the Otomaco were the first brought out of a hole in the ground by the masculine divinity Iţiai, the Yaruro arriving only in second place, followed by the other Indians and the Racionales who were the last born. Their birth took place, in addition, just after that of Iţiai but before the flood which submerged the world and only after which the Yaruro were born.

O Y 773 776 The Otomaco seem to have the same divinities and religious manifestations as the Yaruro, as comes out from the words of our informant, Pedro Ramón Camacho, reproduced word for word below.

"They knew who the Kuma (13) was and they were loved by

13. Female Yaruro divinity.

O 776 the Gods. Now in the other world whereas the dead of the other Indians inhabit an isolated village located at the edge of the Universe, on the shore of the sea and some leagues from the Kuma's village, the Otomaco live a little lower than the Kuma's village, like from here to the corridor of forest (some 200 meters), in a village perched on the /11/ mountain. They called the Kuma, Iţiai, and Puana (14) by their names.

14. Another masculine Yaruro divinity, Iţiai's brother.

O Y 775 776 They had, like us, tiyo (protecting spirits represented by stones or pottery remains) and when my spirit walks along the

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way which leads to the other world it will meet after the village of the tiyo of Iţiai, at the left, on the same side, the tiyo of the Otomaco. They sang and danced (shamanistic ceremony) during the day when Kuma and Iţiai were still living on earth. When they ran off into the other world they continued to sing and dance but at night. During their songs they walked, the old men of past times used to say."

Pedro Ramón Camacho completed his account with a quatrain of this song which had been repeated to him by a grandfather, but the meaning of which he did not know:

gwačarka hihi gwačarka hihi
gwačarka hihi gwačarka hihi
pideruba pideruba pideruba hihi
pideruba pideruba pideruba hihi

The Otomaco are presented in Yaruro legends as being in the beginning three animals: the mono (15), the araguato (16),

15. Monkey (Cebus nigrivittatus), in Venezuelan.

16. Howling monkey (Alouetta ursina), in Venezuelan.

and the chigüire (17).

17. Capybara, large amphibious rodent (Hydrochoerus hydrochoeris), in Venezuelan.

The transformation of the Otomaco into monos and araguatos seems to have occurred at the time of the flood unleashed by Iţiai to cleanse the world of all the moral disorder which reigned there. Some Otomaco took refuge in the trees

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

512 grains of sand, they wait patiently and quietly, though hungry.
461 They seek no shelter from the wind, preferring it to the myriads of insects lurking in any sheltered spot. And then, too, it is cool in the wind, terrifically hot away from it.

512 About midafternoon the hunters and food gatherers straggle in.
224 They bring small crocodiles and turtles, crocodile eggs, turtle eggs,
222 perhaps some honey; and the women return with full baskets containing changuango, a wild root that they have dug up in the savanna. They, too, may bring turtle eggs. Not always, of course. The men and the women may return with empty hands and empty baskets. In any event there is no boisterous reception, but the same silence, the same quiet acceptance of the day and what it brings as they have shown at its beginning. Fires are built larger, the women roast the
512 roots, the men help with the turtles and the crocodiles. These are
252 placed whole on the fire until the shells are toasted and then they
515 are cracked open. Wives become busy delousing their husbands, using a carved stick to help in the search. Sometimes the lice are picked and eaten. But the bodies of the men are covered with numerous black blisters, showing that they have suffered the daily torment from the insects. The wife crushes all of these blisters with the same delousing tool.

512 Dinner is a gala time. Calabash dishes containing the various
264 courses are placed in the center of the ring formed by each family.
262 The food is picked up and carried to the mouth with the fingers. There are crocodile eggs. These are opened and the contents are sucked up raw. The same is done with the turtle eggs. There is the course of roasted changuango, and the pieces of turtle meat. But the real delicacy is crocodile, the best meat of all. The crocodile is eaten in its entirety, except for the entrails, and when the dinner is over some of it is left by the fire, an open invitation to anyone to fill any empty portion of his stomach. The stomachs become distended as tremendous quantities of food are swallowed. This is the only real meal of the day, and the fear of a dinnerless tomorrow drives the eaters to exceptional feats of gourmandizing until their bodies can hold no more. The lean dogs fight among themselves over the refuse heaps. The vultures glide overhead or are busy at crocodile entrails.

512 There is no after dinner work—no kitchen or table ware to wash,
517 nothing to spoil the proper enjoyment of a full stomach. They eat
776 until they have had enough, and then they move to the east of the fires to lie on the clean sands and watch the sun hide beneath the western horizon. For about half an hour they watch the ever-changing colorful western sky and when rays of light emanate from below the horizon to streak the heavens with blue and gold and white, they

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

512 rejoice, for they know that Kuma, the goddess creator of all things,
517 is content with them and is sending them a greeting in token thereof.
776 On the wings of the wind comes the roar of the araguatos.

But life starts in the east and ends in the west. The day is done and the night comes on. The Yaruros turn to face the east to watch
821 the beginning of star travel and also the fiery appearance of the
776 moon and its transformation to a chaste white. The sands glisten and above flash "falling stars", but the Yaruros say that these are messengers of Kuma doing their errands.

512 Then the women roll cigars, light them, and pass them to their men.
296 Everyone smokes and there is great contentment. There is reluctance
462 to stand up, so if a woman has to fetch some object, say a firebrand,
[516] she will crawl on all fours, looking not unlike some large but indescribably graceful ape.

When several stars of the big dipper have appeared the women
512 rise in a body and walk into the darkness west of the camp. They
462 disappear from sight and hearing. What mysteries they perform they only know. The men are left alone and they talk about heaven. The children play merrily.

The women return and quietly take their places, ready to prepare more cigars. It is good to lie naked on the sand looking at the sky,
000 listening to nature's symphony. With the same persistent effortless rhythm of the pulse beat the world outside of the individual is felt. There is the merry laughter of the children and the soft, deep, contented gurgle of the women; the soft voice of the shaman painting religious pictures, explaining existence; the murmur of the wind as a background to the calls of night birds, and the blowing of toninos, the splash of frolicsome fishes, the intermittent howl of the monkeys, the bark of the wolf, the roar of the jaguar; and the warmth of a full stomach.

512 A figure may detach itself from the camp shadows and disappear
796 in the darkness of the west. Several young men may afterwards take the same path—to join the shaman in his preparations for communion with the gods. They leave behind them a feeling of expectation but nothing is said. Someone has put up a bare pole where the sand is hard packed.

796 The shaman returns and goes to sit in front of the pole facing the
791 east. He sits quietly and alone in deep reverie. Later he may ask for a cigar. His wife will supply him with one.

After a period of contemplation he may begin to sing and dance. His people will join him. The music will become more and more animated, the singing and dancing will be done with increasing abandon. The stars and the moon will go their ways to rest in the west.
512 It is only when the sun peeps over the eastern horizon that they will

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19 sia RC1

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where they believe their gods live. It was only when the sun began to burn our bodies that they approached me to chat. They expressed their concern over my illness and soon busied themselves to make me as comfortable as possible. While I distributed among them a few presents bought for them in Urbana, and turned all of the food over to Landaeta, the younger men were busy building a sun shelter, an arbor of the sweet-smelling guava bush, though for themselves they had only branches thrust into the sands, giving only a thin shade. From now on, I was completely in their care, and they were careful nurses and tender friends. The best of the hunt was mine, and even the women delighted in taking care of my clothing, and in bringing me delicacies.

They were glad to see me, and the women shamans soon began their chants while the men surrounded me and told me in their own language and in broken Spanish what had occurred the previous night.

[562]

Men are prohibited from singing during the day, but the women sit in swinging hammocks and chant their songs. I learned, too, that Landaeta's daughter had not died, for there she was, grateful and shyly looking at me, completely well. They attributed her cure to me, though I was not at all responsible for it. During the night, they told me, the gods had come among us, and told them that I, too, was one of Kuma's children, and again they insisted that I was related to them.

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I learned that Puaná and Itciai are cocreators with Kuma, the mother goddess, and they are directly responsible for the actual creation of the world. Hatchawa, in the form of a litttle boy, is another god who has given mankind fire, the bow and arrow, and many other blessings. Now, when the shaman sings at night his soul leaves his body and travels to the land of Kuma, leaving his body behind. The gods may come then, enter his body in the form of songs, and transmit their messages to the Yaruros. They had come the night before to greet me and to reassure my friends of my goodness and my own powers of shamanism.

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We sat, smoked, and talked all day. In the afternoon we feasted on crocodile, turtle eggs, wild roots, palm nuts, and honey. Finishing our dinner, we sat quietly facing the west, watching the skies. As the sun set low again, rays of gold, blue, and white shot into the sky from the horizon, and my friends rejoiced at this certain greeting of Kuma to us.

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Darkness came upon us, and in anticipation of a long night of singing and dancing—I could sing but could not dance, since I could not stand up—I lay on the sands to rest before the beginning of the ceremonies. but the skies interested the Yaruros and they came to tell me what they read there. The brightness of the stars and the changing

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

the first fact that holds our attention is that Yaruros are strongly ethically conscious. Every shamanistic performance is the means for the propagation of ethical teachings. The shaman, or as the Yaruros believe, the gods and their dead ancestors speaking through the shaman, admonish various individuals and lay down the law for proper conduct. They hold the threat also that misconduct will be displeasing to the mother goddess and as a result life with her will not be as pleasant as it would be if they followed her precepts in this world.

According to the Yaruro philosophy the world is, by its nature, good and it was created by Kuma as a good thing. If any evil exists it has been introduced by man, who have forgotten or come to disregard the laws laid down by the goddess. The world, if unsullied by men, is a perfect integration of the elements which function for the good of mankind. Unfortunately, at times men will disturb the structure. There is implied in this the existence of free will for mankind, since it can change or disturb what was created by Kuma. And if we have recourse to the legends, we find that perhaps the lower animals have free will also, although it is exercised by them much more rarely than by mankind.

Kuma appears also as the teacher of ethical laws. She told the people, told Hatchawa, and now tells the shamans: to live in peace with each other; to respect each other; to help each other; to live good lives; to take care of the parents-in-law and the children-in law. When the wife is ill or otherwise the mother-in-law should look after the needs of her son-in-law, although they do not speak to each other. The Yaruros will find recompense for such moral living after death. They are poor on this earth but will be rich like Kuma in the other world.

During my stay the women remained bashful, never speaking directly to me, and when I approached generally looking away. In the latter days they would laugh merrily as they fled. Their culture does not permit free social intercourse with men, but any request on my part relayed to them through their husbands or brothers was eagerly complied with, and with better than good humor.

All were helpful toward each other and there did not appear to be any dissension. Extreme care was taken that a person's rights and prerogatives were not infringed upon. The husband never seemed to request anything of his wife that did not lie in her province, and when strange demands were made to please me, entire freedom was given to the wife, or daughter, to do as it pleased her. Any misfortune, however slight or serious, that would produce some expression of anger among white people was met by the Yaruros with merry laughter. At night each family group lay on the sands

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

781 Of great importance is the fact that the Yaruros live in a world which they understand perfectly. At night they watch the heavens for signs from their gods. Each night they read a new chapter in a great story book. During the day the winds, the skies, the sun, have much to tell them, and they watch and listen eagerly. Their world is not one of fear but one which, as created by Kuma, is excessively friendly and hopeful. Terror has been introduced by the white man.

771 For every species of plant and animal life a gigantic counterpart exists in the Land of Kuma. Originally the plants and animals, which have been domesticated by the white man, were given to the Yaruros, but the size of the horse and cattle frightened the Yaruros so much that they refused to mount one or tame the other. The white man seized the opportunity which has since made him master of the Yaruro country. However, they have no explanation for the superiority of the white race except sheer wickedness. This superiority is so startling sometimes that the Yaruros feel that the white man in some way must be closely affiliated with gods, good or bad. The appearance of the white man on the plains of Apure is a legendary event. A white man, the Yaruros say, appeared on a huge horse. He was covered with foul sores and destroyed everything in his path. The Yaruros are content to hunt and cultivate the soil. The result is that the civilized peoples raise crops, store them, but the Yaruros are condemned to wander about hunting for a daily dinner.

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825 Many of the animal species, natural formations and constellations are to the Yaruros metamorphosed races of man. One explanation for the monkeys, especially the araguatos (the howlers), is that they are the descendants of a group of people who, to save themselves, climbed to the top of a tree during the time of the flood. The caymans represent another race of men who failed to take advantage of Hatchawa's rope to be lifted out of the hole in the ground. The toninos also are a race of metamorphosed humans.

182 773 The Yaruro, according to their conception of mankind, were Kuma's chosen people. They were created first of all the Indian tribes and that is why they were given the open plains to live in with an open sky overhead so that they might be in close touch with Kuma day and night. The Guahibos, on the other hand, or as the Yaruros called them, the Tciricoi, the forest people, were created last and occupy an inferior position.

776 774 In addition to playing a purely religious role, the gods function as ethical teachers in every shamanistic performance, a function which is shared by the spirits who are close relatives of the living Yaruros. It is they who visit their living descendants and speak through the body of the shaman, correct abuses, scold the evildoers, and praise the good.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

773 "Here, a son-in-law will take care of me now!" Then the Yaruros
539 lived. The shaman had a nephew and a son. The nephew fell in love with his own sister and married—he was changed into a jaguar and she into a snake (?). If it had not been for this there would not have been any snakes and jaguars. Human beings should not marry their own sisters. It was ordered by Kuma. Animals are different.

Then one man found a tree with all the fruits on it. He did not tell the others. A white man appeared on horseback. Said he would come back in eight days. He came back in a boat. Scattered seeds everywhere. Thus he changed the country. Before it was all open savanna, but now forests and agricultural products grew.

India Rosa taught the women. God taught the men. God wanted to give the horse to the Yaruros, but they were afraid to mount, so he gave it to the Racionales instead.

KUMA

791 Presumably, Kuma is anthropomorphic. The only ones among
● 776 the Yaruros who have any knowledge of this mythical being who is responsible for the world are the shamans. These individuals are
787 loath to discuss what they see in their dreams, claiming that all they have to say about such things are said during their shamanistic performances. Besides, they claim that they do not remember what they see during their trances.

531 Nevertheless, on the rattles appear graphic representations of what
776 Kuma is supposed to look like. In all cases, she seems to resemble a human being, standing with her arms extended upward in greeting
534 to her people. Such figures are represented on the gourd rattles shown in plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27. It was explained that the lines
[30] appearing on the body of Kuma represent body painting and ornaments.

776 Of all the godheads or spirit forces of the Yaruros, Kuma is the most clear-cut. She is the creator of all things, and everything emanates from her. Her associates, Puaná, Itciai, and Hatchawa, function according to the laws of Kuma. Apparently they are not able to do anything without her consent, but occasionally she may be tricked. For instance, when Hatchawa decided to give fire to the people he threw a live fish into Kuma's fire. The wriggling of the fish scattered the coals, which the people seized and carried away.

Kuma is represented neither as an indulgent mother nor as an entirely benevolent creature in the myths. It is Hatchawa and Puaná who favor human beings. In fact, Kuma was opposed to peopling the earth with the human race. In spite of this there is no

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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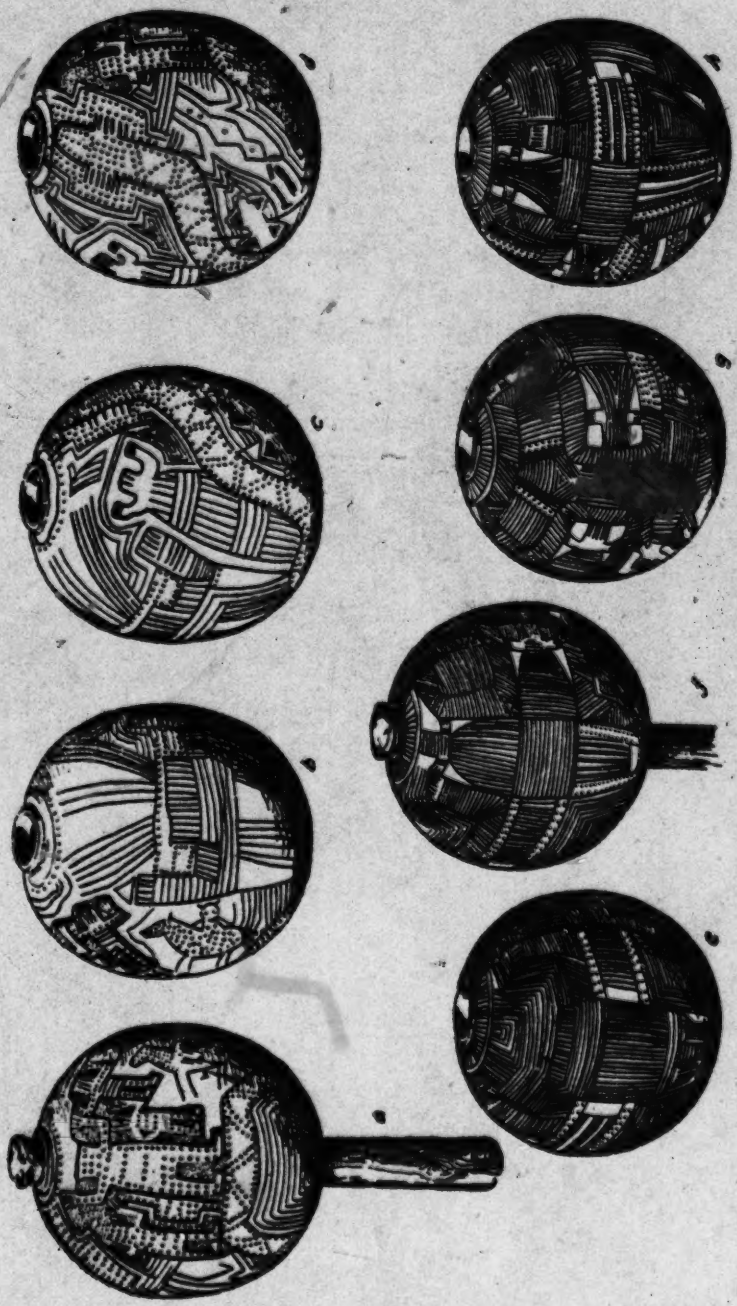

FIGURE 25.—Decorated gourd rattles of the shamans. a, b, c, d, Views of Landaeta's favorite instrument (rotating toward the left). e, f, g, h, Gourd rattle decorated by Landaeta after a night's shamanistic performance.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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FIGURE 26.—Shaman's gourd rattles. *a*, *b*, *c*, Views of same instrument. *a*, The long figure on the left represents Puaná. The next figure on the right is Hatchawa, next to which is standing Kuma. *b*, The three figures at the top are, reading left to right, Hatchawa, Kuma, and Iticiai. At the extreme right can be seen Puaná. In the lower portion the figures represent the Yaruros, except the figure of the bird, symbolism of which remained undisclosed. *d*, *e*, *f*, Views of same rattle. The figures represent the Yaruros dancing around a pole. The small figure in *e* represents a child.

FIGURE 27.—Shaman's gourd rattles. *a*, *b*, *c*, Views of same instrument. *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, Views of same instrument. *a* shows Kuma in the characteristic posture of greeting her people. *b* and *c* show Kuma dancing with her people. *d*, *e*, *f*, and *g* are views of the same rattle that show Kuma's people, the dead Yaruros, dancing in her land.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

criticism of Kuma, and there is even an implication that she always acts with the greatest wisdom.

THE LAND OF KUMA

Kuma lives in the west, apparently beyond the horizon. In the month of March and in early April, about 9 o'clock in the evening, there is a glow in the western sky, a beautiful phenomenon, which the Yaruros explained is the reflection from Kuma's land. Its exact geographic position does not seem to be known and is as hazy as a Catholic's idea of the position of Heaven. For instance, we are told that the stars are both the lights from Kuma Land and the people from that land walking about at night, and yet the Land of Kuma is localized somewhere in the west.

This land is described sometimes as a vast and clean savanna, treeless and full of game, and at other times as a savanna with a huge town in which Kuma and her people live. This latter conception springs from the association the modern Yaruros have between wealth, comfort, power, and those material things which the civilized peoples possess. Towns are included among the products of the civilized. In the same way we find that although the Yaruros are a horseless people, Kuma and her people seem to have an abundance of horses. Apparently those things which are denied the Yaruros in this land are to be found in the next and shamanism is the means of expressing the longings of the living Yaruros.

THE LAND OF KIBEROH

In contrast with the beautiful world in which Kuma lives and to which all Yaruros expect to go, Kiberoh rules over a dark land inhabited by those unfortunate races of mankind left in the hole when the rope dropped by Hatchawa was broken by a too-heavy pregnant woman. Not much is known, nor is there much interest on the part of the Yaruros about this unpleasant region. However, this must not be taken that they have a belief in hell as Father Gumilla reported. According to this author the Yaruros believed in an evil spirit called Tighitighi. On the contrary, my informants identified Tighitighi merely as a large hawk which has no relation to the devil.

PUANÁ

Puaná stands out as the indulgent parent and teacher of Hatchawa. He is also the artisan who invented all of the implements now used by the Yaruros. He is conceived of as the great snake, and in fact is so portrayed on the gourd rattles of the shamans, yet there is a

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

776 [616] strong implication both in the myths and the saying he attends to his people, especially those belonging to the snake moiety, that Puaná is also anthropomorphic. I believe that the conception of the godheads is not quite as clear among the Yaruros as we who attempt to rationalize his beliefs would like it to be. Puaná stands closer to the members of his moiety than does even Kuma. During the shamanistic performances led by Landaeta the singing and dancing were rather sluggish until it was announced by the shaman that Puaná was on his way, and when Puaná reached the shaman's body there was unbounded rejoicing which put fresh spirit into the singing and the dancing. No such enthusiasm was apparent even when Kuma approached. We may contrast the attitude toward Kuma and Puaná as one of respect and one of familiar love.

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HATCHAWA

Hatchawa is the culture hero of the Yaruros. It is he who interceded with Kuma about giving fire to the human race, and it is he who begged Puaná to make a bow which he passed on to his people. He is credited with being the direct instrument and also the means by which the Yaruros have acquired knowledge of hunting. When Hatchawa arrives among the Yaruros during shamanistic performances he is received gladly and thankfully.

ITCIAI

All of the shamans with whom I spoke and whose performances I attended belong to the Puaná clan. They knew little of Itciai and were not interested in telling me much about this rival to Puaná. Itciai seems to be identified with the jaguar, but he is not anthropomorphic. He is given credit for having created the water in the rivers, but, as if they were jealous of even this attribute, my informants said that "Itciai created only the water in the rivers."

FLOOD LEGEND

773 539 After the people were created and had lived on this earth a long time they began to forget to do the right thing. They no longer believed that Kuma is the mother of water and the entire universe and everything that there is in it. So Kuma, in order to show them that she was the creator of the universe and everything therein, caused a rain to begin which continued until everything was covered over with water except a tree on the upper Capanaparo, and the top of a hill. A man and his sister took refuge on the very topmost branches of the tree, and a man with his aunt saved themselves by staying on top of this hill.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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789 that follow describe this land as well as the gods and the spirits of the Yaruros.

It is to be noted that it is the ornaments worn by Kuma rather than
• 776 the person of the gods which are described. We are told that she
301 wears golden necklaces, fine clothes, and belts and bands typical of the ancient Yaruro woman's costume. She is represented vaguely as being in the form of a human being, who, on the other hand, is never described. Try as I might, I was not able to obtain any idea of her appearance. Hatchawa, as we know, is a little boy, but Itciai again lacks any definite form.

787 The shaman claims that during his ordinary life he has no idea of what he sees in the Land of Kuma, therefore these descriptions can only be gathered from due sources through the songs which he sings in shamanistic performances and through the figures which he etches out on the shamanistic gourd rattle. Several of these rattles are reproduced on plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27.

The shaman does not claim special power to reveal anything, nor does he claim to have the power to cure. He is merely a vehicle or instrument through which the gods can visit the Yaruros by substituting themselves for the soul of the shaman. The only power that he claims is the ability to let his soul leave his body and travel to the Land of
787 Kuma. His soulless body subsequently becomes possessed by various
533 spirits who wish to communicate with their relatives on earth. As explained above, the shaman only sings the first songs hesitantly and in a poor voice which is in direct contrast to the violent and beautiful singing which the spirits exhibit when they are in possession of his body.

772 Kuma's Land is a perfect heaven for the Yaruro, who has endowed it with all the comforts and liberty denied to him in this world. In Kuma's Land food is abundant, the weather is ideal, there are no forests, no diseases, and most important of all, no civilized being to desolate them. We are confronted here with the creation on the part of the Yaruro of a superlative heaven which furnishes an escape for him from the woes of this life.

181 We have noted before that primitive peoples, when faced for a
177 time with a hopeless situation in this world, such as extinction, tend to seek and discover an escape by creating such a heaven. The Guarani sought a heaven in the West where there was no death and no persecution. More recently our own Indians on the reservations have turned to Peyoteism, which also supplies a heaven. In all these cases there is a renunciation of this world. The will to live is practically gone because there is no need to worry about maintaining life in this world, an impossible thing to do when in competition with civilization. But a heaven which cannot be touched by any civilized

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

181 177 invention offers a perfect refuge, even though it is only a philosophical one.

Mechanical aids to the shaman, in addition to his own psychological make-up, are: music and dance; tobacco, which he consumes in great quantities during his performance; tcuipah, a root with narcotic properties; caroto, which is a fermented or unfermented mixture of crushed maize and water, or manioc and water, and when obtainable, white rum. The extent to which these stimulants are used can be illustrated by the observations which are made in the course of one all-night performance: The shaman consumed 42 cigarettes which I offered him, about 100 cigars, which consisted of several strips of tobacco leaf wrapped in a thick green leaf obtained from one of the trees along the bank, about 6 inches of the tcuipah root, and about 2 quarts of the fermented maize-and-water mixture. Since these narcotics and stimulants were taken hurriedlly and in great quantities, it must have had a terrific physiological effect upon him. For instance, every cigarette and cigar was smoked completely through in 10 seconds. Each musical stanza lasted from about 10 to 15 seconds. He sang it first and then it was repeated by his people. It was during this repetition of his song that the shaman inhaled as much of the tobacco smoke as possible and then exhaled it just before commencing a new stanza.

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In contrast with the rather violent shamanistic performance of the male shaman, the women do not seem to depend very much on narcotics. During the day the men are not permitted to sing or whistle, but the women may lie in their hammocks and sing. They may take small quantities of all of these narcotics, but as far as my observation went I never saw any of them consume any great quantity.

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The spiritual world of the shaman is quite different from the everyday realistic world. A comparison of the carvings on the gourd rattles with the realistic carvings of the asabache made by anyone greatly demonstrates this. In the latter form of art expression, animals, birds, and scenes are copied with great accuracy and skill. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that if the shaman were to attempt the realistic representation of the spirit world he could do so, but he has chosen to portray the various gods and spirits almost symbolically. Kuma and Hatchawa were always represented holding up their hands. It is this position which is read into the western skies whenever at sunset there occurs a phenomenon described above. The rays of light emanating from the horizon represent the fingers of the hands of the gods.

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The form of the dance has been described. It starts off as a simple walk around a pole and it may become a fast run in the evening,

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 791 with the stamping of the right foot on the off-beat, but whenever the shaman is giving a really good performance his whole body responds to the dance and he may shake as violently as the rattle in his hand. His people may also throw themselves into a dance, making a series of jerky movements, bending from the waist downward and up again.

533 539 One of the typical songs of Kuma was a greeting to me. She said:

> Greetings, man, greetings. Your wife is waiting. She is not dead, nor is she sick, but she is thinking that her husband has been away so long that perhaps he is dead. She is good and loves her husband who is sick, which is good. But it is good that he is with me (Kuma speaking) and with my people. He is a good man. He gives me a cigar. I shall give him a horse when he is born again in my (Kuma) land. I shall give him much silver when he is born again in Kuma Land. I love him, the good man, and I shall love him in my land. In the other land, my land, he gave me drink like you my people. Like you my people, everyone will come to my land, the Yaruro land.

FEMALE SHAMANISM

791 767 554 776 It proved impossible to learn much about those things in which the women are chiefly or exclusively interested. The shamans seem to be as influential among both sexes as the men are, and they seem to acquire their power and prestige through dreams or revelations in the same way as the male shamans do. In the case of the women it seems that India Rosa must appear in a dream rather than Kuma. In the legends it is India Rosa who taught the women the various arts and crafts, so in shamanism she is the chief spiritual power. During the day, both Kuma and India Rosa are pictured as resting in their hammocks. Because of that the women shamans sing sitting in their hammocks, swaying back and forth, during the day. Apparently it is believed that by imitating the picture of Kuma and India Rosa they can reach the two spiritual forces more easily. These shamans never perform at night, although they will sing with the male shaman when the latter is giving a performance.

535 791 554 The gourd rattle seems to be an instrument which only the shamans can use with immunity and as a means of conversing with Kuma. The women do not have these rattles. Their singing is done unaccompanied by any musical instrument or by any dancing. Dancing is performed only at night, when it is led by the male shaman.

609 123 The nature of the visions experienced by the female shamans remained unknown to me. As has been mentioned before, social intercourse between man and woman, unless closely related by blood or marriage, is prohibited. It is a social taboo which apparently is never violated and which no amount of bribery could break down. It seemed best to respect this custom, even though it were at the expense of remaining ignorant of many phases of Yaruro culture practiced by the women. So, in the case of shamanism, although the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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787 shaman eventually returned to us, being fed and greeted with affection by all.

The singing stopped at 6 o'clock. A number of rather remarkable facts are to be emphasized.

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796 1. By actual count the shaman sang no less than 3,000 musical phrases and verses and about 800 stanzas without any breaks or rest, ever changing the words, and subject matter, and jumping from one thing to another at a very fast tempo. How the shaman could make up his verses so quickly, while the people repeated the previous verse, is not easy to understand.

2. He shook the rattle without ceasing a moment, with the same sidewise motion of the hand, most violently for nine and a half hours.

[516] 3. He sat in the same posture—left leg doubled under him, right leg in cross-leg position, for the entire time. Not once did he move.

[276] 4. He smoked the long cigars with the thick leaves without taking them out of his mouth, producing so much smoke that I choked and my eyes smarted from it. He must have smoked at least 75 of them, and probably over a hundred. He smoked 35 cigarettes, in addition, in the same way.

[273] 5. He drank about 2 gallons of unfermented crushed maize in water.

The music was spirited and had a swing with the emphasis on the off beat that is as effective, if not more so, than the negro spiritual.

After the all-night singing there was a lull in the morning, everyone snatching a wink of sleep, but by the time I had finished writing and medicating my foot the men crowded around to tell me of the night's experiences. At noon the women started singing, sitting in their hammocks, and they kept this up until late in the day. They were singing mostly about me. I noticed that their songs seemed to be of a simpler sort and more monotonous than those of the men, generally consisting of one verse repeated over and over again to form the stanza. [198] They sang in the women's language.

JUAN BARIO ON THE EVENTS OF THE NIGHT

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776 Panemé Tsió brought a horse for the shaman to go to Kuma's house. Panemé Tsió is represented as a sort of "boss" of the figurines found in the sands. Then came the father of Fernando. He said that they should live well here and warned him not to mistreat his wife (talking to son-in-law). Then came the father of Brigida. He said that the new wife of his grandson should treat her husband well and vice versa. Then came a brother of Brigida. He said that he is wealthy in Kuma's land, possessing cattle and horses. Then came the mother of Brigida. She counseled her grandchild not to

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

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mistreat his new wife, otherwise even his relatives in Kuma's land will lose their riches. She told Juan Bario, her brother, that she greeted him, that mother was happy (dead). Then came Garcia, the brother of Juan. He said that he had gone to the house of Kuma without having seen his relatives before dying (he died without being attended during his illness); that he was buried without even clothing, and thus he arrived at Kuma's without anything (his clothing was actually stolen); that the grandfather (father of Juan Bario) came to take him to Kuma's land since his uncle was far away and busy and did not know of the sickness (father rarely is mentioned as taking care of children).

Then came Itciai on horseback, shoes, hat, etc. He came to greet us, and said that he came to greet me also since I was also a Pumeh; he told Juan Bario to interpret what he was saying to me, since I didn't understand Yaruro very well; he loved me and my family very much; that he loved a man who visited his people with love in his heart like me; that when the world ends he will not be like the others but like you will be made rich in Kuma's land; to explain to me, since I lived near him, that his wife, son, and family are well and waiting for me; that he had made the world to live in as this man lived; that I was a very good man and knew very much, that is why I was waiting with a cigar for him; that Hatchawa was coming.

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Hatchawa came on horseback, with bow and arrow, shoes, and gold necklace. He said: "I have come to greet this man and all of you. What do you say and think of this man? Isn't it true that he loves you? The man came with love for you. There are no people like him about here. He is like you of the same family. Puaná will come now."

Puaná came on horseback, which makes a noise like the anaconda, "teio, teio"! "I have come to greet the man and you. Didn't you in his land? He has come with love for you. He is of your family; take care of him. Raise him as one of your family. He knows a great deal, like the shaman. That is the reason that he sings as you do. I have watched from very near. He lives in a land just like mine, mountainous and very beautiful. Where he lives it isn't warm as here. Sometimes it is very cold. Ask him if he wants a drink. Kuma is coming to get you."

[539]

Kuma arrived and said:

"How are you? The man has come here as I want it to be. He is of our family, not like the people about here. That is the reason he loves you so much. He knows as much as the shaman; that is why he is waiting with a cigar ready. That is as I like people to be. Tell him that when the earth ends he won't live here in a cold world like the (?) but will live with you and like you very rich. He is of our family. Where he lives is very beautiful. For this reason I made this earth that people like him should live on it. For this reason I told Puaná to come to greet him, for I love him very much."

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

in small pieces on the banks of the Capanaparo. It is about as hard to work as coal. It has much the same appearance. The carving tool is the ordinary knife which, in some cases, may be a broken machete. Yet, with such crude implements, they are able to produce exquisite realistic carvings of birds, fish, and other animals. These are generally perforated and strung into a necklace. Each woman possesses at least a few of these carved figures, the number depending on the industry of her husband. No symbolical significance seems to be attached to either the painting, the carving, or to any of the designs appearing on the stamps. There may be some magical meaning to them, but all inquiries were answered in the negative.

The gourd rattles present an entirely different manifestation. In the first place, only the male shaman can use a rattle. It is, in fact, the badge of shamanism. All the designs appearing on the rattle represent what he sees during his visits to Kuma's land. These carvings are made with the point of any sharp instrument, which cuts in just deep enough to expose the lighter colored inner wood of the rattle.

To become a shaman one must dream of Kuma and the other gods, and show his people that he can communicate with the godheads when occasion demands. Perhaps looking at shamanistic practices objectively this may mean primarily that the would-be shaman has a fertile imagination and some artistic talent. I do not think that we ought to doubt that he believes that he actually sees and talks with Kuma, Itciai, and the rest of the spirit world.

He commemorates his dreams on the sacred rattle, carving out on its surface the figures which appear in his dreams. Kuma and Hatchawa dominate the decorations on the gourd rattles, and since those collected came from the Puaná moiety, Puaná is also portrayed. In plate 24 various views of one of these gourd rattles are shown. The large geometric figure dominating the first drawing represents Kuma; the smaller one Hatchawa. Rotating the rattle toward the left we discover Puaná, the Snake.

In connection with these rattles one of the most interesting aesthetic features is the filling in of space. All of the specimens collected and shown in figures 25, 26, and 27 demonstrate this. In watching Landaeta at work I asked him why he did so; his reply was that a properly decorated rattle must be "tsaimui", that is "good", "proper", "beautiful."

Music

One would suspect that the Yaruros would have borrowed some of the musical instruments employed by the Llaneros. Among the lat-

1[See category 116, end p[ar]k 14 --- Analyst]
2[See category 116, pp. 242-243 --- Analyst]

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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village to village, since each village constitutes a separate and independent center of relationships with neighboring villages and consequently has its own unique assortment of outside relationships, based partly on choice. This situation, like so many other aspects of the socio-economic organization is reflected in the cosmology.

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According to the Yaruro, the cosmos originally lacked not only humans, but even gods. There existed only three concentric, rigid, blue, celestial domes; below them, a flat, undifferentiated, vast savana all of sand; and a cold, dark, flat underworld. Beyond these there was, and is, nothing. Thunder, already then, was to be found between the upper celestial domes, while Sun, his wife, Moon, and their children, the stars, were already revolving between the lower two.

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Into this cosmos were spontaneously born the primordial gods. The goddess Ku'ma^{n}, the grandmother of us all, who lives in a land to the west, out of the savana created the discrete lands of her fellow gods and of the Yaruro. She created the non-Yaruro peoples, the *nivé*, first, and the Yaruro, the *pumé*, last, which is why there are so few - there were few left to create. She ordered Kiberó, the female toad who lives in the dark underworld to give fire, which she belched from her belly. Ku'ma^{n} created the foods wich are collected and the modes of preparing them. She instructed the men and the women in their crafts. She ordained the social order. Her husband, Poa'na^{n}, the snake god, who lives in a land to the south, created the characteristic savana features: the rivers, the woods, the grasses for the animals to eat.

He taught men the technology of horticulture and gave them the seeds of the garden crops. He, with his fellow god, Icial, who lives in a land to the north and was born a boy given to troublemaking though he later matured, then taught the arts of hunting and fishing. Poa'na^{n} son, Hachawa, who lives in a land to the east, created only the ceremonial cigarettes. The four godly other-worlds lie beyond the Great Water which surrounds, but is not quite contiguous to, the Yaruro hither world. This geographical break in the cosmos is negligible, however, since the hither-world and the other-worlds become continuous in the thought and action of the Yaruro. The Great Water continues in an endless expanse beyond the four other-worlds, according to one interpretation, while in another, it is said to be enclosed by limitless, unpeopled and empty savanas. The four Yaruro other-worlds are also inhabited by a younger generation of gods all possessing Spanish names. Some interpreters identify these with the primordial gods. Others do not. According to some informants, they live in the same lands as the older gods. Others say they live in different lands. Such variations of religious interpretation occur frequently despite general agreement in all essentials. Individual freedom of choice and interpretation, already noted in connection with economic choice and social interrelationships, is also found in relation to ideology.

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The godly other-worlds are generally described as idealized versions of the Yaruro hab'tat. This is true also of a fifth otherworld, one which is discontinuous geographically, conceptually, and behaviorally with the rest of the Yaruro worlds, though similar in form. This is the land of Dios, the God of

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Christian Venezuelans, which lies between the two lower celestial domes and existed prior to Ku'maⁿ.

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It is to be noted that Ku'maⁿ was not responsible for creating her fellow primordial gods. She is not an omnipotent creator but is fundamentally limited to creating other-world and hither-world things familiar to the Yaruro. She exists in an independent but loosely coordinate status with other celestial beings or phenomena like Thunder, Sun, Moon, the stars, the rainbow, and possibly Dios — the prototype for personal status among the Yaruro. Furthermore, despite wide variation in creation myths, the fact stands out, too, that she must almost equal honors with Poa'naⁿ in the creation of all that is vital to the Yaruro in the hither-world in a creational division of labor closely paralleling the division of labor found in the actual economy. Further, Ku'maⁿ and Poa'naⁿ, by the link of marriage, provide a prototype for the essential productive and distributional unit, the household. Hachawa, their son according to some informants, and Icial, Poa'naⁿ sister's son, both boys at the time of the creation, contribute little and are as much nuisance as help until they have matured, an apt reflection of the position of children in Yaruro economy. Today Poa'naⁿ and Ku'maⁿ seem preeminent in status among the gods, but at the same time are definitely merely *primi inter pares*, occupying the position of more experienced elders within the community of the gods, each of whom acts autonomously according to his own dictates.

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The community of the gods is again prototypic for Yaruro hither-world life. Each god and his land constitutes a sort of village community populated by the god or gods, by dead *pumé*, by dead animals, and by the regular other-worldly animal population especially jaguars in human form and dress. The human-like inhabitants of the other-world eat, drink, dance, have sex relations, and visit from god's land to god's land. They enter into the web of kinship which ties the gods to each other, to the dead Yaruro, and to the live *pumé* of the hither-world in complex, if varying, genealogical connections. Even the great jaguar god, T:ó whose bailiwick is the first celestial dome and whose main task, under the general direction of Ku'maⁿ, is to cure, is considered distantly related and of the family of Poa'naⁿ. A number of animal species are similarly distantly related, but like those Yaruro who cannot be fitted into the kinship system, are merely connected to us nominally. The gods, the dead, and the live *pumé* equally observe kinship obligations. Thus kinship and visits among the autonomous lands of the gods are the chief ties holding the four other-worlds together, a prototype for Yaruro village and social structure. (3)

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However, in relationship to the living, Ku'maⁿ is 'our chief'. More than any other god, she is turned to for advice, for ethical reaffirmations, and for fulfillment of needs. It is first to Ku'maⁿ bright and golden land that the *pumé* go at death, during unconsciousness, in dreams, and during the religious ceremonies, the *tonghés*. The other lands are visited later and are less important in the other-worldly journeys made by the living. The dead of Ku'maⁿ land are the first to be called upon by the shaman when, during the *tonghés*, he arrives in the other-worlds. He asks them, as well as Ku'maⁿ and the other gods, to

(3) Eliade (1954) emphasizes this prototypic quality of "primitive" ideologies throughout the book.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

776 775 return to earth and guide the community. In this manner, Ku'maⁿ is a center of gravity of the Yaruro ideological life. She is the center of a communications network which ties the Yaruro of the hither-world, those of the other-worlds, and the gods all in one continuous system of personal and social relations. This is somewhat the position of the spokesman or 'capitan' in the community [622] life of the Yaruro, though he has proportionally much less influence in his village than Ku'maⁿ has in her universe.

775 776 772 In sum, the gods and the dead are conceptualized as continuous with those of us on earth. Conceptually they appear to constitute the two highest steps in the age levels: infant, child, young adult, elder, the dead, and the gods. The last four classes are increasingly instrumental in teaching the ethics of living in tranqu'lity, of respect and deference to one's spouse and to all members of one's people, and in teaching the values of the community. They exhort but never compel the community to follow these ideals. These precepts are followed not only among the egalitarian gods in their autonomous other-world communities, but in the personal and social relations between the gods and the hither-world *pumé*. The relations between men and gods, the communication between the hither-and other-worlds, the cosmography itself, all show quite clearly that [771] there is no separation of "natural" and "supernatural" as discrete classes of events. The cosmos, society, and man are a single system in Yaruro thought.

796 771 The nexus through which the flow of life in the other-world and the ongoing rhythm of daily life in the hither-world are meshed into a single system is the religious ceremony, the *tonghé*. Some description of the *tonghé* will afford us further insight into Yaruro ideology.

796 756 787 During the night-long *tonghés*, the entire community sits behind the shaman, ranged roughly by age levels. The women sit to his right, the men to his left. At dusk he begins to sing as he starts his journey to the land of Ku'maⁿ through the dark, cold land of Kiberó, the toad who gave man fire. In hundreds of improvised verses and melodies, he describes his journey, and then, after his arrival about midnight, his adventures in the lands of Ku'maⁿ and subsequently of the other gods. In each verse, the shaman sings an intonation which the entire community repeats in an identical antiphon. Thus the full experience of the shaman is transmitted to and shared by every member of the community. All is public; there is no secret knowledge. The shaman urges his people to sing with him and the other-worldly beings, to share in the responsibilities and joys of the community in supporting their individual members whether the [757] shaman in his journey or the sick person for whom the *tonghé* may be being held. At the same time, in Ku'maⁿ land, he urges the other-worldly beings to come to advise his people and teach them. Later, the verses are no longer sung by the shaman, but rather by the dead and the gods who arrive in the husk of the shaman which he has left behind as a channel of communications for the [776] other-worldly beings while his divisible self travels abroad. As these beings arrive in the shaman's husk, all members of the community may greet them by putting their arms around them or giving them cigarettes or drink. This is done separately by women, sometimes in groups, and by men. Throughout the ceremony the chief link between the sexually divided community is the shaman or the gods in the shaman's husk upon whom both sexes are focusing

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

the community may do the shaman's work if he chooses, just as any can travel to the other-world or commune with the gods, although, because of age, temperament, or individual taste, not every one does so. There were, in fact, two shamans among the nine men of the writer's village, as well as a number of men who cured and who occasionally sang verse intonations in the *tonghés* although they were not shamans. The shamans are no more than respected community members outside the ceremony. Here again we observe the egalitarianism and individual self-determinism which is so much a pattern of this culture.

The *tonghé* also clearly shows the relationships which prevail between men and gods. The shamans and the other adults of the village converse with the gods in great mutual respect. They do not manipulate them nor minister to them, nor implore them. Before the gods, they are in a position corresponding to active and adept junior members of the village before their elders and especially their lineal ascendants. Furthermore, in a very real sense, no individual person, *qua* person, deals with the gods. The community, with its religious catalyst, the shaman, is the unit of action. The only individual relations with the gods occur in dreams, unconsciousness, and death. Dreams about gods are made public by singing aloud in sleep, the experience of unconsciousness is recounted publicly, and death, too, becomes public because the dead man is accessible through the *tonghés*.

The directness of contact between man and gods again emphasizes the unity of cosmos, society, and man. Within this unity, the sharp division of a male sphere from a female sphere is found. These quite coordinate spheres, in the other-worlds as in the hither-world, in religion as in socio-economic life, are linked through the household.

In conclusion, I would like briefly to review the major dimensions of Yaruro ideology. We may state these as a set of propositions, each presenting a major dimension of the ideology.

1. Cosmic structure. ***The cosmos is static, limited, concrete, and internally continuous in that no barriers separate man and his society in the physical world from the nonphysical world.*** The parts of the universe together form a rather rigid, symmetrical, architectonic structure, although each individual Yaruro may vary the description of the whole to suit his particular taste. All parts are of roughly coordinate importance. The major motions of nature, such as thunder and lightning, the revolutions of sun and moon, are often embodied, personalized, and independently operating entities, moved by semi-human motivations.

2. The good. ***Goodness inheres generally in the cosmos as a system. The goodness manifests itself in understood causes and concretely and describably known parts of the cosmos which, whether places, persons, or things, are given exact locations.*** Conversely all known and localizable objects, persons, or places and understood causes are generally good.

3. The not-good. ***Evil, which is not polar to good, finds its locus in specific persons, things, or events inside or outside the cosmos, and is manifest in specific results. The underlying causes of evil, however, are inac-***

Y 186 10 /10 cont./ These are in fact presented as enemies or inferiors. The Otomaco, on the contrary, appear to have been friends or relatives who were superior to them. This hierarchy is apparently confirmed by the Yaruro myth of the creation of men (12) where

Y 186 773

12. See "infra" IV List...38.

the Otomaco were the first brought out of a hole in the ground by the masculine divinity Iţiai, the Yaruro arriving only in second place, followed by the other Indians and the Racionales who were the last born. Their birth took place, in addition, just after that of Iţiai but before the flood which submerged the world and only after which the Yaruro were born.

O Y 773 776 The Otomaco seem to have the same divinities and religious manifestations as the Yaruro, as comes out from the words of our informant, Pedro Ramón Camacho, reproduced word for word below.

"They knew who the Kuma (13) was and they were loved by

13. Female Yaruro divinity.

O 776 the Gods. Now in the other world whereas the dead of the other Indians inhabit an isolated village located at the edge of the Universe, on the shore of the sea and some leagues from the Kuma's village, the Otomaco live a little lower than the Kuma's village, like from here to the corridor of forest (some 200 meters), in a village perched on the /11/ mountain. They called the Kuma, Iţiai, and Puana (14) by their names.

14. Another masculine Yaruro divinity, Iţiai's brother.

O Y 775 776 They had, like us, tiyo (protecting spirits represented by stones or pottery remains) and when my spirit walks along the

/11 cont./

O Y 775 776 way which leads to the other world it will meet after the village of the tiyo of Iţiai, at the left, on the same side, the tiyo of the Otomaco. They sang and danced (shamanistic ceremony) during the day when Kuma and Iţiai were still living on earth. When they ran off into the other world they continued to sing and dance but at night. During their songs they walked, the old men of past times used to say."

Y 533 539 Pedro Ramón Camacho completed his account with a quatrain of this song which had been repeated to him by a grandfather, but the meaning of which he did not know:

gwačarka hihi gwačarka hihi
gwačarka hihi gwačarka hihi
pideruba pideruba pideruba hihi
pideruba pideruba pideruba hihi

Y 773 825 136 The Otomaco are presented in Yaruro legends as being in the beginning three animals: the mono (15), the araguato (16),

15. Monkey (Cebus nigrivittatus), in Venezuelan.

16. Howling monkey (Alouetta ursina), in Venezuelan.

and the chigüíre (17).

17. Capybara, large amphibious rodent (Hydrochoerus hydrochoeris), in Venezuelan.

Y 773 825 The transformation of the Otomaco into monos and araguatos seems to have occurred at the time of the flood unleashed by Iţiai to cleanse the world of all the moral disorder which reigned there. Some Otomaco took refuge in the trees

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

songs. His nephew went to stand behind him; his son went forward to stand at the left shoulder of his cousin. These two boys joined in the singing, repeating Landaeta's song stanza after stanza. A few women, led by Landaeta's wife and daughter, went to stand at his right side, and joined the boys in answering the songs of the shaman. They stood there in front of the pole singing until the Southern Cross hung high in the sky. Then Landaeta's wife took a gourd rattle from the basket and gave it to her husband, who immediately began to shake it, its liquid tone blending harmoniously with the voices. The singers became more animated when they heard the rattle, and soon they began to dance, jerking the body forward and backward, rhythmically and in unison. At times Landaeta would shake his rattle violently and his voice would betray his deep excitement. His wife from time to time would give a lighted cigarette to him, holding it to his mouth until it was consumed. At midnight the shaking of the rattle became more frequent and more violent, and finally, in the middle of one song, everyone began to move around the pole. The women put their right hands on the shoulder of the one ahead, and soon were running and stamping the right foot as they did so. The men formed an inner circle, dancing one behind the other. At the end of each song they paused for a moment lined up in their original positions. As the night wore on, both singing and dancing became more and more animated until the shaman appeared to be in a frenzy. His voice rose in pitch, his rhythm was faster, and more strongly accentuated, and all sang with greater feeling. The shaman danced in jerky movements, bending and twisting his body, half spinning about, first one way then the other, until he seemed to be quivering all over. The dance around the pole became almost a mad run, made more difficult by the soft sands and the complex movements of the body. The men would leap high and as the right foot was stamped in unison, a resonant beat was produced that seemed to blend with the pulsating roar of the howlers brought to us by the wind, and marked off by the rich rattling of the gourd and the choral singing. In the morning hours the wind rose again, blew more violently, and the roar of the monkeys became stronger, and the Yaruros sang passionately. It was then, when the morning star was already high, and dawn lighted the eastern horizon, that they stopped.

The sun awoke me, and though I had slept barely two hours I felt quite refreshed. I sat up to look about me. There was the vast stretch of sand, the fringe of jungle, and the sparkling river. My Yaruros were sleeping half buried in the sand, behind basketry to shelter themselves from the wind. The vultures were already at the piles of refuse, feasting on crocodiles and turtles. Soon the sun awoke my friends, and they too sat up to gaze quietly at the western sky where they believe their gods live.

1: Petrullo 5-3 (1933-36) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

791 ordinary citizen, receiving no compensation except the respect given
787 to an old man and a moral teacher. In the second place, shamanism
157 is a lifetime activity, and it would seem improbable that one would create such a life for himself which he would have to live until death if he were not suited to it. I saw cases of men who were striving to be shamans, some young and some old, with great regret admitting that they could not see the religious visions that others more successful had seen. In a primitive society such as that of the Yaruros, where life values are simple and evident to every one, where the intimacy existing between its members is thorough, there is very little incentive and very little opportunity for pretense.

791 Landaeta, my chief informant among the shamans, claimed that
787 he did not remember the specific events that he "dreams" when he
115 sang and that he could not sing during the day, nor could he remember the songs. He himself had to be told by the others what happened during a shamanistic performance. Thus he could tell me neither the words nor the tunes. I had to wait for another performance to try to take down both. Since the words were conversations between the shaman and the spirit forces, and thus varied at each performance, he was right. Yet there is a musical pattern and undoubtedly a word pattern also.

791 In the matter of making the sacred objects, he claimed that only
787 those who have "dreamed", have had religious experience, can make
531 them. Thus he himself was carving the rattles, and claimed that no
778 one else among his people could carve them. Some, like his nephew and son-in-law Juan Garcia, were learning.

791 At Landaeta's death probably the shaman will be either Brigido
787 Tovar, his son, or Juan Garcia, his nephew and son-in-law. Legend
554 favors the son, but Landaeta looks to Garcia. However, it is the son who sang behind the shaman in this case, but Garcia has had religious experiences already.

Landaeta himself claims that he sang behind his uncle for a long time without a moracca. Finally he had a "dream" and he was permitted to use a moracca. This religious experience is absolutely necessary to a future shaman.

791 That the shaman follows certain patterns of song, ritual, dream,
533 and revelation is quite certain, and it is these patterns that are trans-
787 mitted to the neophyte. Both dreams and revelations always have some bearing on current problems, and in fact attempt to solve these problems.

During a shamanistic performance the first songs describe the journey of the shaman's soul to the Land of Kuma. Upon reaching the desired land the shaman shakes his rattle violently and the songs

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781 RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE--emotional reactions experienced in religious behavior (e.g., oppressive fear of malevolent higher powers, overwhelming awe of divine might, luxurious sense of dependence upon a benevolent and all-knowing superior, reassuring feeling of security through conformity, prideful conviction of right, grateful release from the burdens of a guilty conscience, groveling humility of self-abnegation, ecstatic release of mysterious inner powers, mystic sense of identification with or absorption in the divine essence, esthetic thrill in religious art, music, or ceremonial); evidence as to the predominant type or types of religious experience in the particular society; emotional needs satisfied through religious behavior; etc. See also:

Personality 15
Fine arts 53
Esthetic ideals 517
Ethical ideals 577
Conceptions of emotions 828

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 :S519 Yaruro S519

formations held a deep fascination for them. I understood but little of it, for their Spanish was too broken, and I was unfamiliar with Yaruro. So we spent the evening in quiet conversation and amity, conscious of the soft voices of the women in the background, children, laughter, and always the throbbing roar of the distant bands of howlers which was brought to us by the wind. To the Yaruros the howlers were formerly men.

Landaeta relayed to me questions uppermost in his wife's mind. Did I have a wife in my own country? Did I have any children? Why had they not come with me? Once in Brazil I had been asked similar questions by another naked primitive fold, and I had answered truthfully that I had neither wife nor children. I remember their confusion and amazement. In their eyes I was a great man, and therefore I should have had many wives and many children. It is certain that they really never believed or understood my answer. So, in this case, not wanting to make extensive explanations about our civilization, which not only does not insist that men and women marry, but even makes it very difficult for them to do so, I lied, answering that I was married and had one son. Of course I had to describe both wife and boy to the inquisitive women. They wanted to know if her skin was the same color as mine, and her hair as white as mine, and what did she wear on her body? Also, they made me promise that some day I would bring my wife and boy to them, so that the women who, because of social taboos, could not converse directly with me, would be able to do so with my wife.

As we talked of these things, falling stars played in the heavens, "messengers of Kuma" according to the Yaruros, the big dipper swung higher, and the southern crosses began their journeys. For a while the wind died down, and the monkeys were heard no more. Always responsive to the world in which they live, the Yaruros became silent and still. And then, as the moon rose above the hills of Guiana, Landaeta disappeared in the darkness to return later and begin his singing.

Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at creating artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily under the very nose of the shaman without reproof, and the adults talked happily. The imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions and no restraints were put on normal and natural behavior before joyous events.

There was no dancing on this night, in deference to me, for I could not participate in it, but we sat in a semicircle and sang after the shaman.

Itciai arrived and I was helped to sit close to the shaman. Apparently Itciai was talking about me, referred to as "the Man." I lighted a cigarette and held it to the shaman's mouth. Without interrup-

1: Petrillo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

787 tion of the song it was smoked in the shamanistic manner, or rather
791 spirit style, and Itciai began to explain who I was. He said that he knew me well, that I had visited Kuma's land many times, that I was a shaman; that my family was well, that my wife was waiting for me, and that my son was so anxious he began to fear that I was dead. He said that there was something big being saved for me in my country. I was a good man, and a man like the Yaruros; that he was glad I liked the Yaruros so much, and that he was glad I was living with them. I had nothing to fear, since on my death I would go to Kuma land. Itciai was saving for me a beautiful large horse to ride in the land of the gods.

During this long discourse about me from Itciai, which lasted about one hour and which was translated to me only in fragmentary fashion, the shaman often, at the beginning of a new thought, would shake the rattle violently before my face, and continue the same frenzied tone and shaking throughout. The people sang lustily, with feeling likewise, a great compliment to me.

[185] Itciai[1] had something to say about the Yaruros in general, namely, that they were doomed to die, but that a better world and life awaits them with Kuma. They will have houses and cattle, clothing, tobacco, and all food; they will be born again there, young and strong. This world will come to an end because the Yaruros are being killed off.

Later Hatchawa[1] came. I had a cigarette ready for him. He appreciated it and asked the shaman why I didn't drink of the shaman's drink. He urged me to drink it. I was a Yaruro. He also acknowledged my acquaintance in my own country and in Kuma's, and expressed deep affection for me. He brought good news of my family, saying to hurry back to my wife since she had been waiting for me with much love for a long time. He got another cigarette and I was embraced several times.

The next to come was the father of one of the Yaruro men, and as soon as I heard of it I offered a cigarette. It was properly acknowledged and the people were told by the spirit that indeed I knew a great deal, since I had cigarettes ready to greet the spirits. At about 3 o'clock in the morning came the god Puaná, expressly to greet me. He said that I lived in another land which he himself had made and that he was glad I had come to visit this land. He received three or four cigarettes. He described my land as being like that of Kuma, high and beautiful. He gave me further news of my family and said that he was keeping for me much cattle and many horses in the land of Kuma.

• 781 Puaná[1] was greeted with happy laughter and general approval, the reception as demonstrated by the quality of the frenzied singing.

1[Itciai and Puaná are creator-gods; Hatchawa is the fire-giver ..... Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

781 Puaná stayed with us for about an hour and a half, talking most of the time about me.

787 And finally at about 5 o'clock Kuma herself came to visit me and, like Hatchawa, urged me to drink of the shaman's drink. I had to
791 drink a gourd full of it, since it was held to my lips until I finished it. She gave me messages similar to the others. Finally other Yarures came, and the shaman eventually returned, being greeted with affection by all. We stopped when the sun rose and began another day of primitive life. We had danced and sung almost continuously for 36 hours.

This was my reception among the Yaruros after my return from La Urbana. We talked day and night about religion, and about
606 the world in which we lived. I learned that a mother-in-law and
582 son-in-law must never look upon each other and never talk to each
604 other, though they must be careful to do each other service; that a man must marry his first cousin, and that socially he is under obligation to his maternal uncle who later becomes his father-in-law. Under Landaeta's tutelage the material in this report was compiled. In a sense, therefore, this is his report.

124 One day I announced to Landaeta that I would have to leave in the
123 near future, giving as a reason that my wife and child needed me at home. Actually, there were other considerations; my physical condition was becoming worse, though the sores on my feet were a little better; and for the time being I had quietly exhausted the possibilities of obtaining fresh material from my friends. After all, we had been in contact with each other for six weeks, the major portion of it living communely and conversing with the shaman continuously day after day, sometimes even from sunrise to sunrise. My daily schedule consisted of rising at sunrise, drinking a little coffee sometimes brought to me by Landaeta, and immediately plunging into discussions of religious themes. This would last up to about 10 o'clock when Landaeta would withdraw and busy himself making string or carving gourds for several hours. During this period I would seek clarification of some points from whomsoever was present, or work on social organization, or on genealogy. In the early afternoon Landaeta would be back with new material, new ideas, having thought over what he had said, what I had said, and what still needed to be said. This would continue until sundown.

521 Then there was a short intermission for dinner, but soon afterwards I was hurried over to the eastern edge of the camp, where Landaeta and his people sat after dinner, and there we would sit while the women made cigars for us, talking about mythology, religion and general philosophical concepts. These discussions would last until 10 or 11 o'clock, and often much later, and not rarely shamanistic

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

culture or themselves against a superior culture and ruthless "civilized" bandits. Their only consolation is Kuma and the Land of Kuma.

Nevertheless, being realists they not only continue their daily activities of hunting and gathering foods, but also in finding daily solace through their environment and the shamanistic contact with Kuma. The Yaruro is nature conscious. Perhaps his lonely existence has made him ecstatically responsible to the world about him, for often they talked of the beauty of various phenomena; but stronger than any such feeling is their sense of intimate relationship with the sun, the moon, the stars, their animal life. The falling stars at night are interpreted by them to be messengers sent by Kuma to encourage her people, the Yaruros; the moon is friendly, and on moonless nights the stars represent the crowds of their ancestors who live with Kuma. The wind blows incessantly and it blows to them the roar of the araguatos (the howlers), which, to them, represent distant relatives once human beings, but changed into monkeys by life in the trees at the time of the great flood; the toninos, frolicking at night in the water, are also another race who failed to climb the rope which Hatchawa let down to bring his people to the surface. It is in such a friendly world that the Yaruro literally sits, listens, and looks, almost communing with his environment. Perhaps it is not out of place to mention at this point that this reaction on the part of the Yaruros is not difficult to understand, that perhaps we ought not to rationalize this attitude of the Yaruro entirely on the basis of superstition or religious ideas; anyone who has lived on the plains, exposed day and night to nature, soon loses any feeling of lonesomeness. This response on the part of the Yaruros is shared by the llaneros, who do not seem to be so perfectly at ease as when they are alone in the plains.

THE YARURO UNIVERSE

According to the Yaruros the world has experienced a series of metamorphoses. Some of the events which have transformed the world from its original form are attributed to the direct intervention of the various gods and races of mankind, but others remain unexplainable.

How much of Yaruro cosmic ideas have been borrowed from the missionaries it is difficult to say at this point. Missionaries have been among them from time to time but the Yaruros have been abandoned so completely so many times that the result and confusion is difficult if not impossible to unravel—a thing which can be done only when we have thorough descriptive studies of the various tribes of the Columbian plains and the tribes of Guiana. The comparative ma-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

781 Of great importance is the fact that the Yaruros live in a world which they understand perfectly. At night they watch the heavens for signs from their gods. Each night they read a new chapter in a great story book. During the day the winds, the skies, the sun, have much to tell them, and they watch and listen eagerly. Their world is not one of fear but one which, as created by Kuma, is excessively friendly and hopeful. Terror has been introduced by the white man.

771 For every species of plant and animal life a gigantic counterpart exists in the Land of Kuma. Originally the plants and animals, which have been domesticated by the white man, were given to the Yaruros, but the size of the horse and cattle frightened the Yaruros so much that they refused to mount one or tame the other. The white man seized the opportunity which has since made him master of the Yaruro country. However, they have no explanation for the superiority of the white race except sheer wickedness. This superiority is so startling sometimes that the Yaruros feel that the white man in some way must be closely affiliated with gods, good or bad. The appearance of the white man on the plains of Apure is a legendary event. A white man, the Yaruros say, appeared on a huge horse. He was covered with foul sores and destroyed everything in his path. The Yaruros are content to hunt and cultivate the soil. The result is that the civilized peoples raise crops, store them, but the Yaruros are condemned to wander about hunting for a daily dinner.

182 776

825 Many of the animal species, natural formations and constellations are to the Yaruros metamorphosed races of man. One explanation for the monkeys, especially the araguatos (the howlers), is that they are the descendants of a group of people who, to save themselves, climbed to the top of a tree during the time of the flood. The caymans represent another race of men who failed to take advantage of Hatchawa's rope to be lifted out of the hole in the ground. The toninos also are a race of metamorphosed humans.

182 773 The Yaruro, according to their conception of mankind, were Kuma's chosen people. They were created first of all the Indian tribes and that is why they were given the open plains to live in with an open sky overhead so that they might be in close touch with Kuma day and night. The Guahibos, on the other hand, or as the Yaruros called them, the Tciricoi, the forest people, were created last and occupy an inferior position.

776 774 In addition to playing a purely religious role, the gods function as ethical teachers in every shamanistic performance, a function which is shared by the spirits who are close relatives of the living Yaruros. It is they who visit their living descendants and speak through the body of the shaman, correct abuses, scold the evildoers, and praise the good.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

776 [616) strong implication both in the myths and the saying he attends to his people, especially those belonging to the snake moiety, that Puaná is also anthropomorphic. I believe that the conception of the godheads is not quite as clear among the Yaruros as we who attempt to rationalize his beliefs would like it to be. Puaná stands closer to the members of his moiety than does even Kuma. During the shamanistic performances led by Landaeta the singing and dancing were rather sluggish until it was announced by the shaman that Puaná was on his way, and when Puaná reached the shaman's body there was unbounded rejoicing which put fresh spirit into the singing and the dancing. No such enthusiasm was apparent even when Kuma approached. We may contrast the attitude toward Kuma and Puaná as one of respect and one of familiar love.

776 781

HATCHAWA

Hatchawa is the culture hero of the Yaruros. It is he who interceded with Kuma about giving fire to the human race, and it is he who begged Puaná to make a bow which he passed on to his people. He is credited with being the direct instrument and also the means by which the Yaruros have acquired knowledge of hunting. When Hatchawa arrives among the Yaruros during shamanistic performances he is received gladly and thankfully.

ITCIAI

All of the shamans with whom I spoke and whose performances I attended belong to the Puaná clan. They knew little of Itciai and were not interested in telling me much about this rival to Puaná. Itciai seems to be identified with the jaguar, but he is not anthropomorphic. He is given credit for having created the water in the rivers, but, as if they were jealous of even this attribute, my informants said that "Itciai created only the water in the rivers."

FLOOD LEGEND

773 539 After the people were created and had lived on this earth a long time they began to forget to do the right thing. They no longer believed that Kuma is the mother of water and the entire universe and everything that there is in it. So Kuma, in order to show them that she was the creator of the universe and everything therein, caused a rain to begin which continued until everything was covered over with water except a tree on the upper Capanaparo, and the top of a hill. A man and his sister took refuge on the very topmost branches of the tree, and a man with his aunt saved themselves by staying on top of this hill.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

their attention. The shaman's position as link is emphasized by the fact that his wife invariably sits next to him during the *tonghés* to minister to him and to supply him cigarettes and drink. Thus, the socio-economic link of the household is also the unique link between the sexes in ceremonial life.

The various forms of socio-economic and ceremonial division of the sexes is even more remarkably underscored by the existence of female shamanism. As one might expect, shamanesses behave differently from shamans. Shamanesses sing only in the day-time. They, like Ku'man, sing from hammocks whereas men sing sitting on the ground or dancing. Furthermore, messages trasmitted to them from Ku'man are sent only to them, though the men hear and understand them. The men listen to these messages with care and respect and with the air that there are things to be learned from them which they would otherwise not hear. The shamanesses cannot receive male gods or their messages. Female shaman'sm seems to be an affirmation of the kin-bonds of the matri-centered local group as well as a means of asserting the values and rights pertaining to the women's world. The women's experience ideologically, as well as socially and biologically, is recognized as being systematically distinct from men's experience in life.

Behavior in the *tonghés* is very relaxed. Villagers laugh, joke, sleep, play, get up, walk about. Sometimes persons may even fail to attend if they have chosen to go to work the next day. The only thing explicitly forbidden, because Ku'man would consider it most indelicate, is sexual intercourse. Otherwise, the lack of formalism and freedom of individual behavior so often noted before is again found here.

The importance of the *tonghés* as the foremost way of reinforcing social relations and communal values as well as for curing is seen in several ways. First, when there has been no *tonghé* for several days, one begins to feel and hear a bruiting for *another* tonghé. It is felt that much time has elapsed since the last *tonghé*. Someone asks what's wrong that we haven't had a *tonghé* in so long. Another says we need a *tonghé*. Rumors of *tonghé* begin to be heard. By the fifth or sixth day another *tonghé* is held and community bonds are again reasserted. Again, the sexual division of labor and social life observed in the other- and hither-worlds is systematically carried through into religious observances. We have mentioned the seating of men separate from women and the separate greetings given to the gods. This theme is carried still further in the exclusive women's shamanism and the equally exclusive capacity of men to do curing, either as shamans or as purely private individuals.

The *tonghé* illuminates much about Yaruro ideology. First, shamans both male and female are not considered authorities possessed of special gifts and prerogatives who interpret lore for the entire community. Rather they are considered merely the comunity religious spokesmen for the public expression of community values and for curing, who, by their own choice, enjoy and are willing to undertake the long, arduous work of training and practice. They reaffirm community bonds by repeating in endless verses the precepts and knowledge contained in the Yaruro ideology. All knowledge and all experience is, at least potentially, open to all members of the community and even the private or personal experience of each is made known to all. Any member of

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

821 formations held a deep fascination for them. I understood but little of it, for their Spanish was too broken, and I was unfamiliar with Yaruro. So we spent the evening in quiet conversation and amity, conscious of the soft voices of the women in the background, children, laughter, and always the throbbing roar of the distant bands of 825 howlers which was brought to us by the wind. To the Yaruros the howlers were formerly men.

Landaeta relayed to me questions uppermost in his wife's mind. Did I have a wife in my own country? Did I have any children? Why had they not come with me? Once in Brazil I had been asked similar questions by another naked primitive fold, and I had answered truthfully that I had neither wife nor children. I remember their confusion and amazement. In their eyes I was a great man, and therefore I should have had many wives and many children. It is certain that they really never believed or understood my answer. So, in this case, not wanting to make extensive explanations about our civilization, which not only does not insist that men and women marry, but even makes it very difficult for them to do so, I lied, answering that I was married and had one son. Of course I had to describe both wife and boy to the inquisitive women. They wanted to know if her skin was the same color as mine, and her hair as white as mine, and what did she wear on her body? Also, they made me 784 promise that some day I would bring my wife and boy to them, so that the women who, because of social taboos, could not converse directly with me, would be able to do so with my wife.

821 As we talked of these things, falling stars played in the heavens, "messengers of Kuma" according to the Yaruros, the big dipper swung higher, and the southern crosses began their journeys. For a while the wind died down, and the monkeys were heard no more. Always responsive to the world in which they live, the Yaruros became silent and still. And then, as the moon rose above the hills of Guiana, Landaeta disappeared in the darkness to return later and begin his singing.

796 Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at creating artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily under 781 the very nose of the shaman without reproof, and the adults talked happily. The imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions and no restraints were put on normal and natural behavior before joyous events.

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

609 Yawalapiti village in Brazil; but the very silence was expressive of the mutual sorrow at our parting. Landaeta loaded me and my baggage in a canoe and we drifted slowly away, leaving on the vast beach a few human beings alone in a strange world, but not lonesome, since they live with their gods.

Economic Life

231 The Yaruros practice no agriculture and keep no domestic animals except the dog, even though they inhabit country over which roam wild horses and cattle, and they come in contact with the "llaneros," who are typically pastoral. Therefore, their daily dinner is dependent upon, and determined by, indigenous environment and their own
262 energy. The quality and abundance of their food supply depends upon seasonal variations of climate. A period of drought or a too prolonged period of rain may cause famine. They would be allowed a degree of freedom from the daily task of acquiring dinner were they able to store any food for future use. The tropics, however, offer special difficulties to this which are not present in more temperate climates. Their knowledge of what is edible in various localities, where to find it, how to gather it, and how to keep it and what is available at different times of the year are all factors important to the satisfaction of their most fundamental need. Technical knowledge in the making of tools and methods of hunting and fishing are also important.

262 As if not satisfied by the degree of their dependency on it, and
784 on their technical knowledge, primitives often self-impose other limitations. There may be an abundance of a particular animal which could be hunted easily or a particular plant which could be gathered in quantity, yet the primitives very often raise barriers against such practices. The fact that they have religious and perhaps magical reasons for such attitudes explains but does not change the situation. Thus, for instance, among them deer may be plentiful in a region, the people may be starving, and yet no deer is killed and eaten.[6]

177 Limitations such as these are not entirely imposed by nature and by the culture of the people; often, the proximity and the attitude of other groups of mankind play their part. A weak tribe will be restricted in its lands over which it may wander, hunt, and claim ownership, and very often may be reduced to seeking a less desirable environment where food is even scarcer. Or a new people may seize its lands and they will be prohibited even from hunting on these lands. Or there may be an influx of peoples who will live partially on the hunt also, though their main source of food may be agricultural.

[6] The peoples of the Kuluene river, Matto Grosso, Brazil, will not hunt nor eat deer.

In Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

181 up and down the rivers in their canoes, or lying on the sand, feasting on crocodile or turtle. He would see stolid fixed faces, uncommunicative, affrighted. But if this traveler were to stay he would discover that from sundown to sunrise the Yaruro lives in an intensive romantic world which he cannot and rarely would care to share with anyone else.

576 We returned from the trip to La Urbana at sundown when bars of
787 yellow, blue, and white light streaked the western sky. The Yaru-
821 ros were sitting on the sands watching this phenomenon with a certain rapture. They sat quietly and in silence facing the west until the lights had faded and merged into a subdued golden glow. Then Landaeta came and greeted me affectionately. He spoke of what we had just seen in the western sky, explaining that it represented a greeting from the mother goddess Kuma, to her children the Yaruros and to me. The other men came also, and the women too put their arms about me, but the latter kept their faces averted as is proper in Yaruro culture. We settled ourselves on the sands. Small fires were burning with remnants of turtles and crocodiles broiling over them. The sands glistened in the moonlight that soon came upon us. Araguato monkeys roared in the distance. An occasional bird sang. Insects hummed. Toninos frolicking in the water came up to blow lustily. And Landaeta explained that these animals were also children of Kuma and that everyone in Kuma's world was glad that I had returned.

553 We smoked and Landaeta talked, recounting what his gods had
123 told him about me; that now I was one of their family, and he affectionately called me "adjimai oteh" (elder brother), which became the standard form of address by all of his people. In return I was asked to call them little brother and little sister.

791 At a point Landaeta rose and walked away into the darkness. His
791 son and nephew followed him soon afterwards. He returned after
533 an absence of half and hour, wearing his shaman's ceremonial cap and breechclout. He went to sit on the clean white sands to the east of the camp, where he remained still and quiet for a long time. His wife went to him with a lighted cigarette. He smoked this in silence and alone. Finally he made a sign and his son and nephew rose immediately to plant a pole a few feet in front of him, and then retired again into the darkness. After some time Landaeta rose, and facing the east in front of the pole, continued to smoke in silence. It seemed a long time before he began to sing, softly and hesitantly, which time was measured by the rising of the stars. After he had finished two songs his wife approached him again, thrusting into the ground, close to the pole, a stick from which hung a small basket. Landaeta continued standing, facing the east and singing, pausing briefly between

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19 sia RC1

where they believe their gods live. It was only when the sun began to burn our bodies that they approached me to chat. They expressed their concern over my illness and soon busied themselves to make me as comfortable as possible. While I distributed among them a few presents bought for them in Urbana, and turned all of the food over to Landaeta, the younger men were busy building a sun shelter, an arbor of the sweet-smelling guava bush, though for themselves they had only branches thrust into the sands, giving only a thin shade. From now on, I was completely in their care, and they were careful nurses and tender friends. The best of the hunt was mine, and even the women delighted in taking care of my clothing, and in bringing me delicacies.

They were glad to see me, and the women shamans soon began their chants while the men surrounded me and told me in their own language and in broken Spanish what had occurred the previous night. Men are prohibited from singing during the day, but the women sit in swinging hammocks and chant their songs. I learned, too, that Landaeta's daughter had not died, for there she was, grateful and shyly looking at me, completely well. They attributed her cure to me, though I was not at all responsible for it. During the night, they told me, the gods had come among us, and told them that I, too, was one of Kuma's children, and again they insisted that I was related to them.

I learned that Puaná and Itciai are cocreators with Kuma, the mother goddess, and they are directly responsible for the actual creation of the world. Hatchawa, in the form of a litttle boy, is another god who has given mankind fire, the bow and arrow, and many other blessings. Now, when the shaman sings at night his soul leaves his body and travels to the land of Kuma, leaving his body behind. The gods may come then, enter his body in the form of songs, and transmit their messages to the Yaruros. They had come the night before to greet me and to reassure my friends of my goodness and my own powers of shamanism.

We sat, smoked, and talked all day. In the afternoon we feasted on crocodile, turtle eggs, wild roots, palm nuts, and honey. Finishing our dinner, we sat quietly facing the west, watching the skies. As the sun set low again, rays of gold, blue, and white shot into the sky from the horizon, and my friends rejoiced at this certain greeting of Kuma to us.

Darkness came upon us, and in anticipation of a long night of singing and dancing—I could sing but could not dance, since I could not stand up—I lay on the sands to rest before the beginning of the ceremonies. but the skies interested the Yaruros and they came to tell me what they read there. The brightness of the stars and the changing

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

787 791 tion of the song it was smoked in the shamanistic manner, or rather spirit style, and Itciai began to explain who I was. He said that he knew me well, that I had visited Kuma's land many times, that I was a shaman; that my family was well, that my wife was waiting for me, and that my son was so anxious he began to fear that I was dead. He said that there was something big being saved fo. me in my country. I was a good man, and a man like the Yaruros; that he was glad I liked the Yaruros so much, and that he was glad I was living with them. I had nothing to fear, since on my death I would go to Kuma land. Itciai was saving for me a beautiful large horse to ride in the land of the gods.

During this long discourse about me from Itciai, which lasted about one hour and which was translated to me only in fragmentary fashion, the shaman often, at the beginning of a new thought, would shake the rattle violently before my face, and continue the same frenzied tone and shaking throughout. The people sang lustily, with feeling likewise, a great compliment to me.

[185] Itciai had something to say about the Yaruros in general, namely, that they were doomed to die, but that a better world and life awaits them with Kuma. They will have houses and cattle, clothing, tobacco, and all food; they will be born again there, young and strong. This world will come to an end because the Yaruros are being killed off.

Later Hatchawa[1] came. I had a cigarette ready for him. He appreciated it and asked the shaman why I didn't drink of the shaman's drink. He urged me to drink it. I was a Yaruro. He also acknowledged my acquaintance in my own country and in Kuma's, and expressed deep affection for me. He brought good news of my family, saying to hurry back to my wife since she had been waiting for me with much love for a long time. He got another cigarette and I was embraced several times.

The next to come was the father of one of the Yaruro men, and as soon as I heard of it I offered a cigarette. It was properly acknowledged and the people were told by the spirit that indeed I knew a great deal, since I had cigarettes ready to greet the spirits. At about 3 o'clock in the morning came the god Puaná, expressly to greet me. He said that I lived in another land which he himself had made and that he was glad I had come to visit this land. He received three or four cigarettes. He described my land as being like that of Kuma, high and beautiful. He gave me further news of my family and said that he was keeping for me much cattle and many horses in the land of Kuma.

781 Puaná[1] was greeted with happy laughter and general approval, the reception as demonstrated by the quality of the frenzied singing.

1 [Itciai and Puaná are creator gods; Hatchawa is the fire-giver ..... Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

781 Puaná stayed with us for about an hour and a half, talking most of the time about me.

787 And finally at about 5 o'clock Kuma herself came to visit me and, like Hatchawa, urged me to drink of the shaman's drink. I had to
791 drink a gourd full of it, since it was held to my lips until I finished it. She gave me messages similar to the others. Finally other Yarures came, and the shaman eventually returned, being greeted with affection by all. We stopped when the sun rose and began another day of primitive life. We had danced and sung almost continuously for 36 hours.

This was my reception among the Yaruros after my return from La Urbana. We talked day and night about religion, and about
606 the world in which we lived. I learned that a mother-in-law and
582 son-in-law must never look upon each other and never talk to each
604 other, though they must be careful to do each other service; that a man must marry his first cousin, and that socially he is under obligation to his maternal uncle who later becomes his father-in-law. Under Landaeta's tutelage the material in this report was compiled. In a sense, therefore, this is his report.

124 One day I announced to Landaeta that I would have to leave in the
123 near future, giving as a reason that my wife and child needed me at home. Actually, there were other considerations; my physical condition was becoming worse, though the sores on my feet were a little better; and for the time being I had quietly exhausted the possibilities of obtaining fresh material from my friends. After all, we had been in contact with each other for six weeks, the major portion of it living communely and conversing with the shaman continuously day after day, sometimes even from sunrise to sunrise. My daily schedule consisted of rising at sunrise, drinking a little coffee sometimes brought to me by Landaeta, and immediately plunging into discussions of religious themes. This would last up to about 10 o'clock when Landaeta would withdraw and busy himself making string or carving gourds for several hours. During this period I would seek clarification of some points from whomsoever was present, or work on social organization, or on genealogy. In the early afternoon Landaeta would be back with new material, new ideas, having thought over what he had said, what I had said, and what still needed to be said. This would continue until sundown.

521 Then there was a short intermission for dinner, but soon afterwards I was hurried over to the eastern edge of the camp, where Landaeta and his people sat after dinner, and there we would sit while the women made cigars for us, talking about mythology, religion and general philosophical concepts. These discussions would last until 10 or 11 o'clock, and often much later, and not rarely shamanistic

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

pole in a circle but merely move forward and backward. During the performance it is prohibited for anyone to pass by the head of the sick person. The shaman will sing all night and if by morning the sick person has not shown any marked improvement the woman shaman will lie in a hammock with her head pointing to the east and will continue the singing. Other women will sit in the hammock with her and sing all day long. I myself underwent such attention. If the wife shows little interest in the welfare of her husband it is concrete proof that she does not love him and it is believed he will die. In this there are two factors to be considered from my observation of these people. The first is that a lack of wifely interest is the equivalent of bad medicine and that the husband himself will feel so disconsolate that all desire to live will be lost.

If the sick person dies during the night nothing is done except to stop the singing and dancing. At daybreak his people will drink vast quantities of chica and prepare for the funeral rites. If the sick person happens to be a woman in her menstrual period it is important to note that she is in the care of the woman shaman. The man shaman does not dare to sing to her.

In the morning the dead person is washed by the women and the body is wrapped in a hammock and taken to the burial place. The brothers and the uncles carry the body. The father and mother do not accompany the body to the grave, but in the case of a married man the widow does. The body is interred in the hammock with the head pointing to the east. The bow and arrows, whatever clothing he may have possessed, and any equipment are buried with him, but neither food nor water is necessary. The night after the burial there is a feast in the camp, but the taboo on fish is observed by everyone. The shaman and the people will sing the equivalent of:

The dead one died here, now he has arrived in the Land of Kuma, and there he has been made young again (if a child dies, it becomes a young man or woman, according to the sex). He will know nothing but joy now and will have everything he may desire.

The widow goes on a strict diet for four days. All fires which were burning at the time of the death of the individual are put out and fresh ones are built. On the fourth day the two men, who have put the dead body into the pit, and the widow, bathe; they fast on the fifth. On the fifth night the shaman sings in order to find out if the dead person has reached Kuma, if he has been given a new name, if he has been made young, strong, and rich. For a month after this the widow keeps a strict diet and she is not married for a long time. It is believed that if a man marries a widow soon after her husband has died he will die soon of the same sickness.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

773 "Here, a son-in-law will take care of me now!" Then the Yaruros
539 lived. The shaman had a nephew and a son. The nephew fell in love with his own sister and married—he was changed into a jaguar and she into a snake (?). If it had not been for this there would not have been any snakes and jaguars. Human beings should not marry their own sisters. It was ordered by Kuma. Animals are different.

Then one man found a tree with all the fruits on it. He did not tell the others. A white man appeared on horseback. Said he would come back in eight days. He came back in a boat. Scattered seeds everywhere. Thus he changed the country. Before it was all open savanna, but now forests and agricultural products grew.

India Rosa taught the women. God taught the men. God wanted to give the horse to the Yaruros, but they were afraid to mount, so he gave it to the Racionales instead.

KUMA

791 Presumably, Kuma is anthropomorphic. The only ones among
776 the Yaruros who have any knowledge of this mythical being who is responsible for the world are the shamans. These individuals are
● 787 loath to discuss what they see in their dreams, claiming that all they have to say about such things are said during their shamanistic performances. Besides, they claim that they do not remember what they see during their trances.

531 Nevertheless, on the rattles appear graphic representations of what
776 Kuma is supposed to look like. In all cases, she seems to resemble
534 a human being, standing with her arms extended upward in greeting to her people. Such figures are represented on the gourd rattles shown in plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27. It was explained that the lines
[301] appearing on the body of Kuma represent body painting and ornaments.

776 Of all the godheads or spirit forces of the Yaruros, Kuma is the most clear-cut. She is the creator of all things, and everything emanates from her. Her associates, Puaná, Itciai, and Hatchawa, function according to the laws of Kuma. Apparently they are not able to do anything without her consent, but occasionally she may be tricked. For instance, when Hatchawa decided to give fire to the people he threw a live fish into Kuma's fire. The wriggling of the fish scattered the coals, which the people seized and carried away.

Kuma is represented neither as an indulgent mother nor as an entirely benevolent creature in the myths. It is Hatchawa and Puaná who favor human beings. In fact, Kuma was opposed to peopling the earth with the human race. In spite of this there is no

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

791 Shamanism is not socially inherited, but we may suspect that biologically it is in many cases. There is no attempt made to train any particular child for shamanism except that naturally those children who stand in a close relationship to the current shaman, such as sons, daughters, neices, and nephews, have a better chance to take up the profession than others, from their daily close association with the only person from whom they can learn. The performances are never secret and the children are permitted to be present until they are too tired and go to sleep. As they grow older they will tend to participate in the performances to a greater extent until they are able to stay up all night and take their proper place in adult society. Naturally among the children some will be attracted to singing and dancing with their elders more than others and these will tend to place themselves as close to the shaman as they can until they are of such age that they can be of actual assistance to him, when, if they make known their interest in becoming a shaman they may even become his understudy or disciples. One of them who shows the greatest interest and the greatest ability in singing, in remembering details and dancing, and a shamanistic temperament will always take his place behind the shaman and will take the lead in repeating the 791 stanzas of the songs composed by him. Gradually he may attempt 554 shamanistic performances of his own and gather followers as he is successful in obtaining religious experience. It is not uncommon to see a young man sitting on the sands facing east and to the east of the camp, at night, singing to himself and alone. Sometimes he has one or two others singing behind him, depending on his prestige. It is, of course, his great hope that some day he will be so successful as to win the approbation and confidence of the people, which will depend on his success with the gods themselves.

791 The shaman must be a rather highly imaginative type. The only ● 787 way he can impress his people with his knowledge and experience 157 is to visit and see the abode of the gods and ancestors and to be able to describe these in words and in song and graphically with etchings on gourd rattles, so that unless the performer is of such a temperament that he can live through such experiences he can never become a shaman. Nor is there any opportunity for the one who will pretend having had such experiences, for naturally tribal tradition patterns are a constant check on him and his visions must necessarily conform to those had by other shamans; nor can he pretend to have visions of the particular type since he has the entire body of people as his severe critics and any inconsistency will be immediately seen to his discredit. Actually, I do not think there is ever any pretense. In the first place, we must remove the suggestion that there is material gain to flow from attaining the position of shaman. The shaman is an

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

791 ordinary citizen, receiving no compensation except the respect given
787 to an old man and a moral teacher. In the second place, shamanism
157 is a lifetime activity, and it would seem improbable that one would create such a life for himself which he would have to live until death if he were not suited to it. I saw cases of men who were striving to be shamans, some young and some old, with great regret admitting that they could not see the religious visions that others more successful had seen. In a primitive society such as that of the Yaruros, where life values are simple and evident to every one, where the intimacy existing between its members is thorough, there is very little incentive and very little opportunity for pretense.

791 Landaeta, my chief informant among the shamans, claimed that
787 he did not remember the specific events that he "dreams" when he
115 sang and that he could not sing during the day, nor could he remember the songs. He himself had to be told by the others what happened during a shamanistic performance. Thus he could tell me neither the words nor the tunes. I had to wait for another performance to try to take down both. Since the words were conversations between the shaman and the spirit forces, and thus varied at each performance, he was right. Yet there is a musical pattern and undoubtedly a word pattern also.

791 In the matter of making the sacred objects, he claimed that only
787 those who have "dreamed", have had religious experience, can make
531 them. Thus he himself was carving the rattles, and claimed that no
778 one else among his people could carve them. Some, like his nephew and son-in-law Juan Garcia, were learning.

791 At Landaeta's death probably the shaman will be either Brigido
787 Tovar, his son, or Juan Garcia, his nephew and son-in-law. Legend
554 favors the son, but Landaeta looks to Garcia. However, it is the son who sang behind the shaman in this case, but Garcia has had religious experiences already.

Landaeta himself claims that he sang behind his uncle for a long time without a moracca. Finally he had a "dream" and he was permitted to use a moracca. This religious experience is absolutely necessary to a future shaman.

791 That the shaman follows certain patterns of song, ritual, dream,
533 and revelation is quite certain, and it is these patterns that are trans-
787 mitted to the neophyte. Both dreams and revelations always have some bearing on current problems, and in fact attempt to solve these problems.

During a shamanistic performance the first songs describe the journey of the shaman's soul to the Land of Kuma. Upon reaching the desired land the shaman shakes his rattle violently and the songs

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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that follow describe this land as well as the gods and the spirits of the Yaruros.

It is to be noted that it is the ornaments worn by Kuma rather than the person of the gods which are described. We are told that she wears golden necklaces, fine clothes, and belts and bands typical of the ancient Yaruro woman's costume. She is represented vaguely as being in the form of a human being, who, on the other hand, is never described. Try as I might, I was not able to obtain any idea of her appearance. Hatchawa, as we know, is a little boy, but Itciai again lacks any definite form.

787 The shaman claims that during his ordinary life he has no idea of what he sees in the Land of Kuma, therefore these descriptions can only be gathered from due sources through the songs which he sings in shamanistic performances and through the figures which he etches out on the shamanistic gourd rattle. Several of these rattles are reproduced on plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27.

The shaman does not claim special power to reveal anything, nor does he claim to have the power to cure. He is merely a vehicle or instrument through which the gods can visit the Yaruros by substituting themselves for the soul of the shaman. The only power that he claims is the ability to let his soul leave his body and travel to the Land of Kuma. His soulless body subsequently becomes possessed by various spirits who wish to communicate with their relatives on earth. As explained above, the shaman only sings the first songs hesitantly and in a poor voice which is in direct contrast to the violent and beautiful singing which the spirits exhibit when they are in possession of his body.

772 Kuma's Land is a perfect heaven for the Yaruro, who has endowed it with all the comforts and liberty denied to him in this world. In Kuma's Land food is abundant, the weather is ideal, there are no forests, no diseases, and most important of all, no civilized being to desolate them. We are confronted here with the creation on the part of the Yaruro of a superlative heaven which furnishes an escape for him from the woes of this life.

181 We have noted before that primitive peoples, when faced for a time with a hopeless situation in this world, such as extinction, tend to seek and discover an escape by creating such a heaven. The Guarani sought a heaven in the West where there was no death and no persecution. More recently our own Indians on the reservations have turned to Peyoteism, which also supplies a heaven. In all these cases there is a renunciation of this world. The will to live is practically gone because there is no need to worry about maintaining life in this world, an impossible thing to do when in competition with civilization. But a heaven which cannot be touched by any civilized

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

invention offers a perfect refuge, even though it is only a philosophical one.

Mechanical aids to the shaman, in addition to his own psychological make-up, are: music and dance; tobacco, which he consumes in great quantities during his performance; tcuipah, a root with narcotic properties; caroto, which is a fermented or unfermented mixture of crushed maize and water, or manioc and water, and when obtainable, white rum. The extent to which these stimulants are used can be illustrated by the observations which are made in the course of one all-night performance: The shaman consumed 42 cigarettes which I offered him, about 100 cigars, which consisted of several strips of tobacco leaf wrapped in a thick green leaf obtained from one of the trees along the bank, about 6 inches of the tcuipah root, and about 2 quarts of the fermented maize-and-water mixture. Since these narcotics and stimulants were taken hurriedlly and in great quantities, it must have had a terrific physiological effect upon him. For instance, every cigarette and cigar was smoked completely through in 10 seconds. Each musical stanza lasted from about 10 to 15 seconds. He sang it first and then it was repeated by his people. It was during this repetition of his song that the shaman inhaled as much of the tobacco smoke as possible and then exhaled it just before commencing a new stanza.

In contrast with the rather violent shamanistic performance of the male shaman, the women do not seem to depend very much on narcotics. During the day the men are not permitted to sing or whistle, but the women may lie in their hammocks and sing. They may take small quantities of all of these narcotics, but as far as my observation went I never saw any of them consume any great quantity.

The spiritual world of the shaman is quite different from the everyday realistic world. A comparison of the carvings on the gourd rattles with the realistic carvings of the asabache made by anyone greatly demonstrates this. In the latter form of art expression, animals, birds, and scenes are copied with great accuracy and skill. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that if the shaman were to attempt the realistic representation of the spirit world he could do so, but he has chosen to portray the various gods and spirits almost symbolically. Kuma and Hatchawa were always represented holding up their hands. It is this position which is read into the western skies whenever at sunset there occurs a phenomenon described above. The rays of light emanating from the horizon represent the fingers of the hands of the gods.

The form of the dance has been described. It starts off as a simple walk around a pole and it may become a fast run in the evening,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 791 with the stamping of the right foot on the off-beat, but whenever the shaman is giving a really good performance his whole body responds to the dance and he may shake as violently as the rattle in his hand. His people may also throw themselves into a dance, making a series of jerky movements, bending from the waist downward and up again.

533 539 One of the typical songs of Kuma was a greeting to me. She said:

> Greetings, man, greetings. Your wife is waiting. She is not dead, nor is she sick, but she is thinking that her husband has been away so long that perhaps he is dead. She is good and loves her husband who is sick, which is good. But it is good that he is with me (Kuma speaking) and with my people. He is a good man. He gives me a cigar. I shall give him a horse when he is born again in my (Kuma) land. I shall give him much silver when he is born again in Kuma Land. I love him, the good man, and I shall love him in my land. In the other land, my land, he gave me drink like you my people. Like you my people, everyone will come to my land, the Yaruro land.

FEMALE SHAMANISM

791 787 554 776 It proved impossible to learn much about those things in which the women are chiefly or exclusively interested. The shamans seem to be as influential among both sexes as the men are, and they seem to acquire their power and prestige through dreams or revelations in the same way as the male shamans do. In the case of the women it seems that India Rosa must appear in a dream rather than Kuma. In the legends it is India Rosa who taught the women the various arts and crafts, so in shamanism she is the chief spiritual power. During the day, both Kuma and India Rosa are pictured as resting in their hammocks. Because of that the women shamans sing sitting in their hammocks, swaying back and forth, during the day. Apparently it is believed that by imitating the picture of Kuma and India Rosa they can reach the two spiritual forces more easily. These shamans never perform at night, although they will sing with the male shaman when the latter is giving a performance.

535 791 534 The gourd rattle seems to be an instrument which only the shamans can use with immunity and as a means of conversing with Kuma. The women do not have these rattles. Their singing is done unaccompanied by any musical instrument or by any dancing. Dancing is performed only at night, when it is led by the male shaman.

609 123 The nature of the visions experienced by the female shamans remained unknown to me. As has been mentioned before, social intercourse between man and woman, unless closely related by blood or marriage, is prohibited. It is a social taboo which apparently is never violated and which no amount of bribery could break down. It seemed best to respect this custom, even though it were at the expense of remaining ignorant of many phases of Yaruro culture practiced by the women. So, in the case of shamanism, although the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Up to this time his son and his wife had been attending him, with Isidoro, called grandchild, but actually a son of a first cousin, Fernando, singing to the left of Brigido (son) helping out. Brigida's special care was the tobacco. She would light a cigar and hold it to the shaman's mouth, who took tremendous pulls on it, raising clouds of smoke, until only a stub was left. This was generally finished by several. The son would go to the left of the shaman and offer him caroto—crushed maize in water. He drank it in one suck, leaving nothing behind. Sometimes Matilde, the shaman's sister-in-law, offered the cigar. When necessary, Brigido (son) or the "grandchild" took up the song and carried it, repeating the same verses, until the shaman was ready to resume the lead.

A little after midnight I noticed that a man and woman embraced the shaman and offered him cigars and drink. Inquiry produced the fact that the spirit of their dead father had come to visit us, and so not only did they embrace it but they offered it caroto and tobacco. From this moment on the shaman was with us only in body. More and more dead Yaruros came to visit us, and practically everyone embraced the shaman and made offerings.

The singing never stopped, the rattle was shaken violently from now on, and the shaman, without changing rhythm or song, would announce what spirit had arrived. The spirit's relative mostly concerned would then embrace the shaman and make offering. They were, of course, embracing the relative. The spirit gave messages also. In this way all of the dead Yaruros visited us. The shaman announced that Itciai was coming, though he was beyond the dead Yaruros. The singing became more and more animated, almost frenzied.

Itciai arrived and Juan Bario told me to go with him to the shaman. Apparently Itciai was talking about me, referred to as *the man*. We greeted Itciai by embracing the shaman. I had the thought of lighting a cigarette and through Juan offered it. Without interrupting the song it was smoked in the shamanistic or rather spirit style, and Itciai began to explain who I was. He said that he knew me well, that I had visited Kuma's land many times, that I was a shaman; that my family was well, that my wife was waiting for me and that my son was so anxious he began to fear that I was dead. He said that there was something big being saved for me until I reached my country. I was a Pumeh, a good man, and a man like the Yaruros; that he was glad I liked the Yaruros so much, and that he was glad I was living with them. I had nothing to fear, since on my death I would go to Kuma's land. Itciai was saving for me a beautiful large horse, all ready for me to ride.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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During this song discourse from Itciai about me, which lasted about one hour and which was translated to me only in fragmentary fashion, at the beginning of a new thought the shaman often would shake the rattle violently before my face and continue the same frenzied tone and shaking throughout. The people likewise sang lustily with feeling; a great compliment to me.

Itciai had something to say about the Yaruros in general; namely, that they were doomed to die, but that a better world and life awaits them with Kuma. They will have horses and cattle, clothing, tobacco, all foods and aguardiente; they will be born again there, young and strong. This world will come to an end because the Yaruros are being killed off.

Later Hatchawa called. I had a cigarette ready for him. He appreciated it and asked the shaman why I didn't drink caroto, to go ahead and have a drink. I was a Pumeh. He acknowledged my acquaintance in my own land and in Kuma's, and expressed deep affection for me. He brought good news of my family, saying to hurry back since my wife was waiting for me, and had been waiting for me with much love for a long time. He got another cigarette and I was embraced several times.

The next to come was the father of Juan Bario, and as soon as I heard of it I offered a cigarette. It was properly acknowledged and the people were told that indeed I knew a great deal, since I had cigarettes ready to greet the spirits.

About 3 in the morning came Puaná, expressly to greet me. He told the Yaruros that I lived on another land which he himself had made and that he was glad I had come to visit this land. Such a greeting obviously called for a gift of three or four cigarettes which I held to the shaman's mouth. He described my land as being like that of Kuma—high and beautiful, different from this. That my people were gentle "people" like the Yaruros, Pumeh. He gave me further news of my family and said that he was keeping for me much cattle and many horses in the land of Kuma.

Puaná was greeted with happy laughter and general approval, as demonstrated by the quality of the singing which took on extra intensity and loudness. Puaná stayed with us for about an hour and a half, talking most of the time about me.

Finally about 5 o'clock Kuma herself came to visit me and, like Hatchawa, offered me a drink. I had to drink a gourd full of the concoction, it being held to my lips until I finished it. She gave messages similar to the others. There was a long spell when Kuma talked to Juan Bario, the son-in-law of Landaeta, who kept feeding Kuma with many cigars and caroto. Finally other Yaruros came, and the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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787 shaman eventually returned to us, being fed and greeted with affection by all.

The singing stopped at 6 o'clock. A number of rather remarkable facts are to be emphasized.

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796 1. By actual count the shaman sang no less than 3,000 musical phrases and verses and about 800 stanzas without any breaks or rest, ever changing the words, and subject matter, and jumping from one thing to another at a very fast tempo. How the shaman could make up his verses so quickly, while the people repeated the previous verse, is not easy to understand.

2. He shook the rattle without ceasing a moment, with the same sidewise motion of the hand, most violently for nine and a half hours.

[516] 3. He sat in the same posture—left leg doubled under him, right leg in cross-leg position, for the entire time. Not once did he move.

[276] 4. He smoked the long cigars with the thick leaves without taking them out of his mouth, producing so much smoke that I choked and my eyes smarted from it. He must have smoked at least 75 of them, and probably over a hundred. He smoked 35 cigarettes, in addition, in the same way.

[273] 5. He drank about 2 gallons of unfermented crushed maize in water.

The music was spirited and had a swing with the emphasis on the off beat that is as effective, if not more so, than the negro spiritual.

After the all-night singing there was a lull in the morning, everyone snatching a wink of sleep, but by the time I had finished writing and medicating my foot the men crowded around to tell me of the night's experiences. At noon the women started singing, sitting in their hammocks, and they kept this up until late in the day. They were singing mostly about me. I noticed that their songs seemed to be of a simpler sort and more monotonous than those of the men, generally consisting of one verse repeated over and over again to form the stanza. [198] They sang in the women's language.

JUAN BARIO ON THE EVENTS OF THE NIGHT

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776 Panemé Tsió brought a horse for the shaman to go to Kuma's house. Panemé Tsió is represented as a sort of "boss" of the figurines found in the sands. Then came the father of Fernando. He said that they should live well here and warned him not to mistreat his wife (talking to son-in-law). Then came the father of Brigida. He said that the new wife of his grandson should treat her husband well and vice versa. Then came a brother of Brigida. He said that he is wealthy in Kuma's land, possessing cattle and horses. Then came the mother of Brigida. She counseled her grandchild not to

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

115 mistreat his new wife, otherwise even his relatives in Kuma's land
●787 will lose their riches. She told Juan Bario, her brother, that she
776 greeted him, that mother was happy (dead). Then came Garcia, the brother of Juan. He said that he had gone to the house of Kuma without having seen his relatives before dying (he died without being attended during his illness); that he was buried without even clothing, and thus he arrived at Kuma's without anything (his clothing was actually stolen); that the grandfather (father of Juan Bario) came to take him to Kuma's land since his uncle was far away and busy and did not know of the sickness (father rarely is mentioned as taking care of children).

Then came Itciai on horseback, shoes, hat, etc. He came to greet us, and said that he came to greet me also since I was also a Pumeh; he told Juan Bario to interpret what he was saying to me, since I didn't understand Yaruro very well; he loved me and my family very much; that he loved a man who visited his people with love in his heart like me; that when the world ends he will not be like the others but like you will be made rich in Kuma's land; to explain to me, since I lived near him, that his wife, son, and family are well and waiting for me; that he had made the world to live in as this man lived; that I was a very good man and knew very much, that is why I was waiting with a cigar for him; that Hatchawa was coming.

787 Hatchawa came on horseback, with bow and arrow, shoes, and gold
776 necklace. He said: "I have come to greet this man and all of you. What do you say and think of this man? Isn't it true that he loves you? The man came with love for you. There are no people like him about here. He is like you of the same family. Puaná will come now."

Puaná came on horseback, which makes a noise like the anaconda, "teio, teio"! "I have come to greet the man and you. Didn't you in his land? He has come with love for you. He is of your family; take care of him. Raise him as one of your family. He knows a great deal, like the shaman. That is the reason that he sings as you do. I have watched from very near. He lives in a land just like mine, mountainous and very beautiful. Where he lives it isn't warm as here. Sometimes it is very cold. Ask him if he wants a drink. Kuma is coming to get you."

[539] Kuma arrived and said:

"How are you? The man has come here as I want it to be. He is of our family, not like the people about here. That is the reason he loves you so much. He knows as much as the shaman; that is why he is waiting with a cigar ready. That is as I like people to be. Tell him that when the earth ends he won't live here in a cold world like the (?) but will live with you and like you very rich. He is of our family. Where he lives is very beautiful. For this reason I made this earth that people like him should live on it. For this reason I told Puaná to come to greet him, for I love him very much."

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Then came the father of Juan Bario on horseback. He said:

"I greet you. I am waiting for you. Your land is poor now but Kuma's land is good and rich. When you die you will be born in Kuma's land. I was living here with you, I died here, but I was alone in Kuma's land where I am wealthy. See, you are poor. I was the same way. It is different in Kuma's land. There is much cattle and horses. Live well with your wife. Treat her well. Kuma does not want you to do otherwise."

Then the shaman returned on horseback.

There is great reluctance on the part of the shaman to sing unless there is a strong reason for it. During my stay with the Yaruros many occasions presented themselves to justify the holding of shamanistic performances.

On one occasion I returned to camp after an absence of two days. This was enough. I arrived at their camp about 7.30 in the evening. Landaeta greeted me affectionately and then told me that he and his people considered me a member of the family. The women came to put their arms about me in greeting. Landaeta in one of his mystical moods talked of the beauty of the small fire with turtle roasting; of the sands glistening in the moonlight; the araguato monkeys which were roaring in the distance; the occasional birds that sang in the night; the toninos came up to blow and splash in the river. All of this fitted in with the soft murmur of women speaking, and laughing in the darkness. An occasional misfortune, such as dropping a sackful of stuff, brought merry laughter on everybody's part. The crunching of the sand gave notice that the women were digging deep to reach moist sand in which to bury the leaves to be used as cigar covers. Soon all of us, men, women, and children, were smoking.

The rest of Landaeta's people arrived in canoes. They sat on the sand with us. Landaeta talked with them at length. At a point he arose. His wife handed him some objects. He walked away to the west, immediately followed by one of his sons and a young nephew. He returned after a while, minus his trousers, wearing the shaman's breechclout and cap.

He went to sit alone at the bottom of the sand bank. After some time his wife gave him a cigar. He continued to sit alone and silent. At a sign his son and nephew took a slender pole and planted it in the sand. They retired. Men and women continued talking. After some time Landaeta rose, stood before the pole, smoking, facing it and the east. Several stars began to rise. He stood in front of the pole for some time. Then he weakly began to sing. After two songs his wife came to plant a shorter pole to the west of the long one, and hung from it a basket. Landaeta continued standing still and singing, pausing briefly between songs. His son went to stand behind him, his nephew at the left side of the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

301 in small pieces on the banks of the Capanaparo. It is about as hard
317 to work as coal. It has much the same appearance. The carving tool is the ordinary knife which, in some cases, may be a broken
532 matchete. Yet, with such crude implements, they are able to pro-
301 duce exquisite realistic carvings of birds, fish, and other animals. These are generally perforated and strung into a necklace. Each woman possesses at least a few of these carved figures, the number depending on the industry of her husband. No symbolical significance seems to be attached to either the painting, the carving, or to any of the designs appearing on the stamps. There may be some magical meaning to them, but all inquiries were answered in the negative.

791 The gourd rattles present an entirely different manifestation. In
●787 the first place, only the male shaman can use a rattle. It is, in fact,
532 the badge of shamanism. All the designs appearing on the rattle
534 represent what he sees during his visits to Kuma's land. These carvings are made with the point of any sharp instrument, which cuts in just deep enough to expose the lighter colored inner wood of the rattle.

To become a shaman one must dream of Kuma and the other gods, and show his people that he can communicate with the godheads when occasion demands. Perhaps looking at shamanistic practices objectively this may mean primarily that the would-be shaman has a fertile imagination and some artistic talent. I do not think that we ought to doubt that he believes that he actually sees and talks with Kuma, Itciai, and the rest of the spirit world.

791 He commemorates his dreams on the sacred rattle, carving out on
787 its surface the figures which appear in his dreams. Kuma and
532 Hatchawa dominate the decorations on the gourd rattles, and since
776 those collected came from the Puaná moiety, Puaná is also portrayed. In plate 24 various views of one of these gourd rattles are shown. The large geometric figure dominating the first drawing represents Kuma; the smaller one Hatchawa. Rotating the rattle toward the left we discover Puaná, the Snake.

534 In connection with these rattles one of the most interesting aesthetic
517 features is the filling in of space. All of the specimens collected and shown in figures 25, 26, and 27 demonstrate this. In watching Landaeta at work I asked him why he did so; his reply was that a properly decorated rattle must be "tsaimui", that is "good", "proper", "beautiful."

Music

534 One would suspect that the Yaruros would have borrowed some of
177 the musical instruments employed by the Llaneros. Among the lat-

1[See Category 116, end plak 14 --- Analyst]
2[See category 116, pp. 242-243 --- Analyst]

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

776 775 return to earth and guide the community. In this manner, Ku'maⁿ is a center of gravity of the Yaruro ideological life. She is the center of a communications network which ties the Yaruro of the hither-world, those of the other-worlds, and the gods all in one continuous system of personal and social relations. This is somewhat the position of the spokesman or 'capitan' in the community life of the Yaruro, though he has proportionally much less influence in his village than Ku'maⁿ has in her universe. [622]

775 776 772 In sum, the gods and the dead are conceptualized as continuous with those of us on earth. Conceptually they appear to constitute the two highest steps in the age levels: infant, child, young adult, elder, the dead, and the gods. The last four classes are increasingly instrumental in teaching the ethics of living in tranquility, of respect and deference to one's spouse and to all members of one's people, and in teaching the values of the community. They exhort but never compel the community to follow these ideals. These precepts are followed not only among the egalitarian gods in their autonomous other-world communities, but in the personal and social relations between the gods and the hither-world *pumé*. The relations between men and gods, the communication between the hither-and other-worlds, the cosmography itself, all show quite clearly that there is no separation of "natural" and "supernatural" as discrete classes of events. The cosmos, society, and man are a single system in Yaruro thought. [771]

796 771 The nexus through which the flow of life in the other-world and the ongoing rhythm of daily life in the hither-world are meshed into a single system is the religious ceremony, the *tonghé*. Some description of the *tonghé* will afford us further insight into Yaruro ideology.

796 756 787 During the night-long *tonghés*, the entire community sits behind the shaman, ranged roughly by age levels. The women sit to his right, the men to his left. At dusk he begins to sing as he starts his journey to the land of Ku'maⁿ through the dark, cold land of Kiberó, the toad who gave man fire. In hundreds of improvised verses and melodies, he describes his journey, and then, after his arrival about midnight, his adventures in the lands of Ku'maⁿ and subsequently of the other gods. In each verse, the shaman sings an intonation which the entire community repeats in an identical antiphon. Thus the full experience of the shaman is transmitted to and shared by every member of the community. All is public; there is no secret knowledge. The shaman urges his people to sing with him and the other-worldly beings, to share in the responsibilities and joys of the community in supporting their individual members whether the shaman in his journey or the sick person for whom the *tonghé* may be being held. At the same time, in Ku'maⁿ land, he urges the other-worldly beings to come to advise his people and teach them. Later, the verses are no longer sung by the shaman, but rather by the dead and the gods who arrive in the husk of the shaman which he has left behind as a channel of communications for the other-worldly beings while his divisible self travels abroad. As these beings arrive in the shaman's husk, all members of the community may greet them by putting their arms around them or giving them cigarettes or drink. This is done separately by women, sometimes in groups, and by men. Throughout the ceremony the chief link between the sexually divided community is the shaman or the gods in the shaman's husk upon whom both sexes are focusing [757] [776]

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their attention. The shaman's position as link is emphasized by the fact that his wife invariably sits next to him during the *tonghés* to minister to him and to supply him cigarettes and drink. Thus, the socio-economic link of the household is also the unique link between the sexes in ceremonial life.

The various forms of socio-economic and ceremonial division of the sexes is even more remarkably underscored by the existence of female shamanism. As one might expect, shamanesses behave differently from shamans. Shamanesses sing only in the day-t'me. They, like Ku'man, sing from hammocks whereas men sing sitting on the ground or dancing. Furthermore, messages transmitted to them from Ku'man are sent only to them, though the men hear and understand them. The men listen to these messages with care and respect and with the air that there are things to be learned from them which they would otherwise not hear. The shamanesses cannot receive male gods or their messages. Female shamanism seems to be an affirmation of the kin-bonds of the matri-centered local group as well as a means of asserting the values and rights pertaining to the women's world. The women's experience ideologically, as well as socially and biologically, is recognized as being systematically distinct from men's experience in life.

Behavior in the *tonghés* is very relaxed. Villagers laugh, joke, sleep, play, get up, walk about. Sometimes persons may even fail to attend if they have chosen to go to work the next day. The only thing explicitly forbidden, because Ku'man would consider it most indelicate, is sexual intercourse. Otherwise, the lack of formalism and freedom of individual behavior so often noted before is again found here.

The importance of the *tonghés* as the foremost way of reinforcing social relations and communal values as well as for curing is seen in several ways. First, when there has been no *tonghé* for several days, one begins to feel and hear a bruiting for *another* tonghé. It is felt that much time has elapsed since the last *tonghé*. Someone asks what's wrong that we haven't had a *tonghé* in so long. Another says we need a *tonghé*. Rumors of *tonghé* begin to be heard. By the fifth or sixth day another *tonghé* is held and community bonds are again reasserted. Again, the sexual division of labor and social life observed in the other- and hither-worlds is systematically carried through into religious observances. We have mentioned the seating of men separate from women and the separate greetings given to the gods. This theme is carried still further in the exclusive women's shamanism and the equally exclusive capacity of men to do curing, either as shamans or as purely private individuals.

The *tonghé* illuminates much about Yaruro ideology. First, shamans both male and female are not considered authorities possessed of special gifts and prerogatives who interpret lore for the entire community. Rather they are considered merely the comunity religious spokesmen for the public expression of community values and for curing, who, by their own choice, enjoy and are willing to undertake the long, arduous work of training and practice. They reaffirm community bonds by repeating in endless verses the precepts and knowledge contained in the Yaruro ideology. All knowledge and all experience is, at least potentially, open to all members of the community and even the private or personal experience of each is made known to all. Any member of

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the community may do the shaman's work if he chooses, just as any can travel to the other-world or commune with the gods, although, because of age, temperament, or individual taste, not every one does so. There were, in fact, two shamans among the nine men of the writer's village, as well as a number of men who cured and who occasionally sang verse intonations in the *tonghés* although they were not shamans. The shamans are no more than respected community members outside the ceremony. Here again we observe the egalitarianism and individual self-determinism which is so much a pattern of this culture.

The *tonghé* also clearly shows the relationships which prevail between men and gods. The shamans and the other adults of the village converse with the gods in great mutual respect. They do not manipulate them nor minister to them, nor implore them. Before the gods, they are in a position corresponding to active and adept junior members of the village before their elders and especially their lineal ascendants. Furthermore, in a very real sense, no individual person, *qua* person, deals with the gods. The community, with its religious catalyst, the shaman, is the unit of action. The only individual relations with the gods occur in dreams, unconsciousness, and death. Dreams about gods are made public by singing aloud in sleep, the experience of unconsciousness is recounted publicly, and death, too, becomes public because the dead man is accessible through the *tonghés*.

The directness of contact between man and gods again emphasizes the unity of cosmos, society, and man. Within this unity, the sharp division of a male sphere from a female sphere is found. These quite coordinate spheres, in the other-worlds as in the hither-world, in religion as in socio-economic life, are linked through the household.

In conclusion, I would like briefly to review the major dimensions of Yaruro ideology. We may state these as a set of propositions, each presenting a major dimension of the ideology.

1. Cosmic structure. ***The cosmos is static, limited, concrete, and internally continuous in that no barriers separate man and his society in the physical world from the nonphysical world.*** The parts of the universe together form a rather rigid, symmetrical, architectonic structure, although each individual Yaruro may vary the description of the whole to suit his particular taste. All parts are of roughly coordinate importance. The major motions of nature, such as thunder and lightning, the revolutions of sun and moon, are often embodied, personalized, and independently operating entities, moved by semi-human motivations.

2. The good. ***Goodness inheres generally in the cosmos as a system. The goodness manifests itself in understood causes and concretely and describably known parts of the cosmos which, whether places, persons, or things, are given exact locations.*** Conversely all known and localizable objects, persons, or places and understood causes are generally good.

3. The not-good. ***Evil, which is not polar to good, finds its locus in specific persons, things, or events inside or outside the cosmos, and is manifest in specific results. The underlying causes of evil, however, are inac-***

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512 rejoice, for they know that Kuma, the goddess creator of all things,
519 is content with them and is sending them a greeting in token thereof.
796 On the wings of the wind comes the roar of the araguatos.

But life starts in the east and ends in the west. The day is done and the night comes on. The Yaruros turn to face the east to watch
821 the beginning of star travel and also the fiery appearance of the
776 moon and its transformation to a chaste white. The sands glisten and above flash "falling stars", but the Yaruros say that these are messengers of Kuma doing their errands.

512 Then the women roll cigars, light them, and pass them to their men.
276 Everyone smokes and there is great contentment. There is reluctance
462 to stand up, so if a woman has to fetch some object, say a firebrand,
[576] she will crawl on all fours, looking not unlike some large but indescribably graceful ape.

When several stars of the big dipper have appeared the women
512 rise in a body and walk into the darkness west of the camp. They
462 disappear from sight and hearing. What mysteries they perform they only know. The men are left alone and they talk about heaven. The children play merrily.

The women return and quietly take their places, ready to prepare more cigars. It is good to lie naked on the sand looking at the sky,
060 listening to nature's symphony. With the same persistent effortless rhythm of the pulse beat the world outside of the individual is felt. There is the merry laughter of the children and the soft, deep, contented gurgle of the women; the soft voice of the shaman painting religious pictures, explaining existence; the murmur of the wind as a background to the calls of night birds, and the blowing of toninos, the splash of frolicsome fishes, the intermittent howl of the monkeys, the bark of the wolf, the roar of the jaguar; and the warmth of a full stomach.

512 A figure may detach itself from the camp shadows and disappear
796 in the darkness of the west. Several young men may afterwards take the same path—to join the shaman in his preparations for communion with the gods. They leave behind them a feeling of expectation but nothing is said. Someone has put up a bare pole where the sand is hard packed.

796 The shaman returns and goes to sit in front of the pole facing the
791 east. He sits quietly and alone in deep reverie. Later he may ask for a cigar. His wife will supply him with one.

After a period of contemplation he may begin to sing and dance. His people will join him. The music will become more and more animated, the singing and dancing will be done with increasing abandon. The stars and the moon will go their ways to rest in the west.
512 It is only when the sun peeps over the eastern horizon that they will

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123 resentful of my presence. Acting on a sudden impulse, I asked one of the men sitting near me for a gourd rattle. There followed a discussion among the men, and finally they decided to give me one. Without much heart, and no will, I began to sing a song of the Bororos of Brazil, accompanying myself with the rattle. It was the song of another tribe, and I sang it badly; but my unwilling hosts were listening, recognizing the musical pattern as being akin to theirs. I sang another when I had finished the first, and then still another, not failing to notice at the same time that they were listening carefully, and passing comments to one another. When my repertoire was exhausted, I placed the rattle on the sands and smoked in silence. Nothing was said for some time. Then a hand reached for the rattle and a voice said in Spanish:

"Ahora canto yo." (Now I will sing.)

533 The speaker sat on the sands, facing east. He began a song, the melody of which sounded as wild as the medley brought to us by the wind. His people joined us and, sitting behind him in a semicircle, took up the chorus at the end of every stanza. The song was first a murmur and then a shout, but maintained its steady rhythm. When the moon brightened the tropical night with its colorless light, sharpening the many shadows and turning the waving palm leaves into quivering ribbons of silver, the Yaruros forgot all about the stranger

535 in their midst. As though on a prearranged signal, they arose and began to dance, as they sang, around a pole. Women danced as well as men, and the children joined in too. They danced all night, and it was not until the sun rose above the hills of Guiana that they stopped to seek an hour or two of sleep before setting off on the daily task of hunting their dinner.

123 During the day I noticed that their fear of me had disappeared, but

● 791 it was not until that evening that I discovered the reason for the change. I gathered a confused tale that the one who had led the singing was a shaman. My singing and gourd rattling had indicated to him that I was a shaman also, since only the shamans use the rattle among the Yaruros. Furthermore, he had asked the Yaruro gods who I was, and the gods, as well as the spirits of the dead Yaruros living with the mother goddess Kuma, had instructed him to tell these primitive hunters that I was different from the "Racionales" (name applied to the "civilized" llaneros) and, as evidenced by my singing, that I intended no harm to them; in short, that I was a Pumeh, one of Kuma's people, and lived very close to her land.

772 From the recital of the night's performance I gathered that the Yaruro's universe is presided over by a female being called Kuma, who lives in the west and who waits for the living Yaruros to return to her land; that in some fashion the water snake and the jaguar are

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considered to be their ancestorial relatives; that once upon a time the Yaruros were very many and now very few; that the Yaruros had been visited with great calamities the preceding year, and many of their people had died through sickness and other destructive forces.

Also, I learned that, though I could gather inklings of a rich spiritual culture and a good cross section of the material phases from this band, I had to go farther down river to meet the spiritual leaders of the remnants of this race if I wanted to reach the heart of the Yaruros' religion, cosmology, mythology, and ethics.

In all of the primitive groups with which I have come in contact, certain individuals are recognized as the leaders and authorities, especially on such matters as religion and social organization. The younger people hesitate and often refuse to discuss such matters altogether, but age alone is not enough to qualify an individual as the mouthpiece of the group. The Yaruros were no exception. As soon as they grasped that I wanted to know a great deal about their history and culture they urged me to talk to "Landaeta", their leader and great "musico" or shaman. He, with his family, was hunting on the lower Capanaparo. They offered to guide me to him. Accordingly, we journeyed downstream by moonlight to avoid the heat of the day, and as I subsequently discovered, to avoid meeting with crocodile hunters.

About noon the next day we sighted several empty canoes drawn up on the bank, and knew that there must be more Yaruros nearby. We landed on the sandy beach and awaited their return. They came early in the afternoon, the men carrying turtles and crocodiles slung on poles, the women with baskets filled with changuango, leaning forward as they walked, looking not unlike grotesque apes under their heavy loads; and also, little children carrying their share of food, straggling behind. Upon seeing me they were frightened, but did not run away.

My Yaruro paddlers acted the part of mediators perfectly, for soon afterwards we were all embarked and moving downstream to join the main body of Landaeta's band which, I was told, was encamped several miles downstream. Their good humor almost amounted to gaiety. The three canoes moved steadily down the river, the men paddling hard, and the women sitting quietly and casting shy inquisitive glances in my direction.

We found Landaeta and his people on a large exposed wind-swept beach. There was the white sand, the strong wind blowing from the east raising it into dust clouds, and the intense glare from river and sand; a few water jars, a few baskets, several refuse heaps with buzzards feeding at them, canoes drawn up on the beach, and some

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captive turtles; and a few human beings were sitting or lying in the midst of all this, and exposed to all of the elements.

Among primitive people news travels rapidly. Landaeta, in this case, received me with the air of one who was expecting a visitor and it turned out that my reputation had preceded me. Not only did he know that I was in the country, but also why I was there. He was expecting me in order to teach me his ways and the ways of his people, and to learn my ways and the ways of my people. To him I was a shaman, no different than himself, who knew their mother goddess intimately and who was perhaps related to the gods themselves. He asked me for pictures of Kuma and Kuma's land. I soon discovered that he was under the illusion that in some way I was on intimate terms with the Yaruro's god.

A little to one side a branch was planted in the sand, and lying in its thin shade a girl was waiting to die. She was burning with fever and delirious. Her people were hovering over her, without being able to alleviate her sufferings or to help her to the end of life. Her malady was a new one to them, passed on by the newcomers to their world, and therefore they had no remedy for it.

The sick girl was Landaeta's daughter and as one physician to another, he came to me requesting that I save his daughter from death. Being neither physician, magician, nor priest, I responded to his plea the best way I could. Lest I be drawn into a situation of attempting to cure a sick person without adequate knowledge of the sickness or its remedy, I moved off the same day to seek other Yaruros; but only after Landaeta had promised that he would commence his journey in the cool of the evening and rejoin me several days later.

It has often been said that to accept the promise of a primitive Indian is to abandon all thought of its being remembered. Perhaps it would seem that I put too much faith and trust in my friends in sitting down to wait for them to join me. But a promise made and accepted without coercion is to the Indian one that has to be kept; and, as in many other cases of my experience with primitive people, this one was kept.

That the feeling of suspicion had not disappeared completely was proven by the attitude of another hunting group which I visited. I went alone among them, and unarmed. On my arrival in a canoe, carrying no equipment, they sullenly warned me to keep away from them and their camp. However, good will is never unproductive, and when they saw that I merely squatted on the sands, shared my tobacco with them, said nothing, and then cheerfully paddled away, their hearts must have melted, for several days later they too had joined my band of friends, later becoming among those most deeply attached to me.

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123 342 We camped on a large wind-swept beach on the Capanaparo and waited there for Landaeta. While waiting I made visits about the country, seeking out Yaruros wherever I could find them. In one nearby group I noticed that unlike most of the Yaruros, these had built permanent shelters, constructed similarly to the houses of the ranchers. However, there was one significant difference. With true Indian logic, they had left the walls open at the bottom, so that the wind could sweep through the house and keep it cool and free from insects.

791 One morning we embarked to visit a group led by Pablo Reyes, being on an island in the Orinoco, at the mouth of the Capanaparo. Pablo Reyes had been described to us as a very old and very wise man. Borrowing a small dugout, we set out to visit him, traveling mostly by night. On our way we saw and heard a great deal of [311] animal and bird life, for the lower part of the river was less hunted by the Yaruros than the upper part. On the banks we saw numerous tracks of the cats, we saw many capibaros or "chiguires" and we were often serenaded by the roar of the howlers.

133 Our entrance into the Orinoco was dramatic. We were catapulted out of the swift waters of the mouth of the Capanaparo and staggered about among the powerful cross currents and eddies at the confluence of the two rivers. The east wind made travel no easier, as it was blowing a gale. On the far side of the Orinoco were the hills of Guiana, rough and jagged, with gnarled vegetation, and dark patches of jungle growth. There were several islands of odd shape, and one of them, about halfway across the Orinoco, was the Linda Bara, to which we made our way.

177 Encamped on this island we found Pablo Reyes' band and a number of "Racionales," that is, "civilized," Venezuelans of the llanos, who during the dry season take to living like the Indians, except that they clutter their shelters with civilized equipment. The result is that their houses are infested with parasites of all kinds. However, they too live upon crocodiles, turtles, and the eggs of the latter.

311 237 This portion of the Orinoco is, in late March and early April, the gathering ground of both Indians and Racionales. The region teems with turtles. By common agreement, stretches of the beaches where the turtles are known to gather in large numbers are not hunted until April, at which time the people dig up thousands and thousands of newly laid eggs out of which they make an oil for export. The [436] center for this commerce is the little settlement of La Urbana, originally a Capuchin mission established about 1750.

791 Like Landaeta, Pablo Reyes had also learned of my coming, and was ready for me. He too is a shaman, and delights in speaking to a sympathetic listener about religious themes, of his conception of

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

the universe, his understanding of life and death, of the history of his people and their future, of morality, and of justice. Likewise he was anxious to hear what message I had to bring from my people in respect to these things. So, sitting under the shelter of some branches, we talked. As we talked we both worked. Pablo Reyes kept his hands occupied making string, fixing bows and arrows, and I, when not busy writing, pretended to carve little figures out of wood. The children played about us and Pablo's three wives kept shyly in the background, though listening carefully to what we said and often throwing inquisitive glances in our direction.

Profiting by our proximity to Guiana, I decided to visit Urbana where I could buy some goods for my friends and at the same time gather information about archeology. The wind blew so hard it proved necessary to drag the canoe along the shore of the island until we found the best place for a crossing. The sand was raised in clouds and our bodies were peppered with it so that we were forced to cover up closely. It finally proved impossible to continue and we were forced to stop and camp in the open with our backs to the wind and no shelter except what we could get from our hammocks. But holding them up was as much a hardship as to be bombarded by sand. We made one attempt to cross the Orinoco in the afternoon but we were forced to give it up. Finally, late in the afternoon, putting our trust in "God and the Virgin," as the Venezuelan canoemen say, we launched the canoe and reached La Urbana about midnight. Our stay there was necessarily short and we hastened back to Linda Bara the following day, but I gathered enough from the examination of collections at the Salesian Mission to determine that the archeology on that side of the Orinoco is quite different from that of the llanos.

At sunset as we were approaching the island we saw an army of bats in flight. The bats were coming as a cloud out of a Guiana hill in the far distance, and flew directly over us, and across to the other shore of the river, disappearing into the forest. We watched this vast army for about 15 minutes and then continued on our way, not because we had seen the last of the bats, but because time was short. I was told by my guide that this daily flight of the bats from the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco generally lasts two hours. How many thousands of them live in this cave and fly daily to forage for food in the forest is a matter of conjecture. The bat, so plentiful in this region, seems to have inspired the ancient potters of the llanos to use the head as a motif of decoration.

When we reached Pablo Reyes the next day we found there several other Yaruro families, relatives of Pablo, encamped with him. We talked some more, then departed several days later in order to return to Landaeta, who proved to be my best informant.

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181 up and down the rivers in their canoes, or lying on the sand, feasting on crocodile or turtle. He would see stolid fixed faces, uncommunicative, affrighted. But if this traveler were to stay he would discover that from sundown to sunrise the Yaruro lives in an intensive romantic world which he cannot and rarely would care to share with anyone else.

576 787 821 We returned from the trip to La Urbana at sundown when bars of yellow, blue, and white light streaked the western sky. The Yaruros were sitting on the sands watching this phenomenon with a certain rapture. They sat quietly and in silence facing the west until the lights had faded and merged into a subdued golden glow. Then Landaeta came and greeted me affectionately. He spoke of what we had just seen in the western sky, explaining that it represented a greeting from the mother goddess Kuma, to her children the Yaruros and to me. The other men came also, and the women too put their arms about me, but the latter kept their faces averted as is proper in Yaruro culture. We settled ourselves on the sands. Small fires were burning with remnants of turtles and crocodiles broiling over them. The sands glistened in the moonlight that soon came upon us. Araguato monkeys roared in the distance. An occasional bird sang. Insects hummed. Toninos frolicking in the water came up to blow lustily. And Landaeta explained that these animals were also children of Kuma and that everyone in Kuma's world was glad that I had returned.

553 123 We smoked and Landaeta talked, recounting what his gods had told him about me; that now I was one of their family, and he affectionately called me "adjimai oteh" (elder brother), which became the standard form of address by all of his people. In return I was asked to call them little brother and little sister.

790 791 533 At a point Landaeta rose and walked away into the darkness. His son and nephew followed him soon afterwards. He returned after an absence of half and hour, wearing his shaman's ceremonial cap and breechclout. He went to sit on the clean white sands to the east of the camp, where he remained still and quiet for a long time. His wife went to him with a lighted cigarette. He smoked this in silence and alone. Finally he made a sign and his son and nephew rose immediately to plant a pole a few feet in front of him, and then retired again into the darkness. After some time Landaeta rose, and facing the east in front of the pole, continued to smoke in silence. It seemed a long time before he began to sing, softly and hesitantly, which time was measured by the rising of the stars. After he had finished two songs his wife approached him again, thrusting into the ground, close to the pole, a stick from which hung a small basket. Landaeta continued standing, facing the east and singing, pausing briefly between

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songs. His nephew went to stand behind him; his son went forward to stand at the left shoulder of his cousin. These two boys joined in the singing, repeating Landaeta's song stanza after stanza. A few women, led by Landaeta's wife and daughter, went to stand at his right side, and joined the boys in answering the songs of the shaman. They stood there in front of the pole singing until the Southern Cross hung high in the sky. Then Landaeta's wife took a gourd rattle from the basket and gave it to her husband, who immediately began to shake it, its liquid tone blending harmoniously with the voices. The singers became more animated when they heard the rattle, and soon they began to dance, jerking the body forward and backward, rhythmically and in unison. At times Landaeta would shake his rattle violently and his voice would betray his deep excitement. His wife from time to time would give a lighted cigarette to him, holding it to his mouth until it was consumed. At midnight the shaking of the rattle became more frequent and more violent, and finally, in the middle of one song, everyone began to move around the pole. The women put their right hands on the shoulder of the one ahead, and soon were running and stamping the right foot as they did so. The men formed an inner circle, dancing one behind the other. At the end of each song they paused for a moment lined up in their original positions. As the night wore on, both singing and dancing became more and more animated until the shaman appeared to be in a frenzy. His voice rose in pitch, his rhythm was faster, and more strongly accentuated, and all sang with greater feeling. The shaman danced in jerky movements, bending and twisting his body, half spinning about, first one way then the other, until he seemed to be quivering all over. The dance around the pole became almost a mad run, made more difficult by the soft sands and the complex movements of the body. The men would leap high and as the right foot was stamped in unison, a resonant beat was produced that seemed to blend with the pulsating roar of the howlers brought to us by the wind, and marked off by the rich rattling of the gourd and the choral singing. In the morning hours the wind rose again, blew more violently, and the roar of the monkeys became stronger, and the Yaruros sang passionately. It was then, when the morning star was already high, and dawn lighted the eastern horizon. that they stopped.

The sun awoke me, and though I had slept barely two hours I felt quite refreshed. I sat up to look about me. There was the vast stretch of sand, the fringe of jungle, and the sparkling river. My Yaruros were sleeping half buried in the sand, behind basketry to shelter themselves from the wind. The vultures were already at the piles of refuse, feasting on crocodiles and turtles. Soon the sun awoke my friends, and they too sat up to gaze quietly at the western sky where they believe their gods live.

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821 formations held a deep fascination for them. I understood but little of it, for their Spanish was too broken, and I was unfamiliar with Yaruro. So we spent the evening in quiet conversation and amity, conscious of the soft voices of the women in the background, children, laughter, and always the throbbing roar of the distant bands of 825 howlers which was brought to us by the wind. To the Yaruros the howlers were formerly men.

Landaeta relayed to me questions uppermost in his wife's mind. Did I have a wife in my own country? Did I have any children? Why had they not come with me? Once in Brazil I had been asked similar questions by another naked primitive fold, and I had answered truthfully that I had neither wife nor children. I remember their confusion and amazement. In their eyes I was a great man, and therefore I should have had many wives and many children. It is certain that they really never believed or understood my answer. So, in this case, not wanting to make extensive explanations about our civilization, which not only does not insist that men and women marry, but even makes it very difficult for them to do so, I lied, answering that I was married and had one son. Of course I had to describe both wife and boy to the inquisitive women. They wanted to know if her skin was the same color as mine, and her hair as white as mine, and what did she wear on her body? Also, they made me 784 promise that some day I would bring my wife and boy to them, so that the women who, because of social taboos, could not converse directly with me, would be able to do so with my wife.

821 As we talked of these things, falling stars played in the heavens, "messengers of Kuma" according to the Yaruros, the big dipper swung higher, and the southern crosses began their journeys. For a while the wind died down, and the monkeys were heard no more. Always responsive to the world in which they live, the Yaruros became silent and still. And then, as the moon rose above the hills of Guiana, Landaeta disappeared in the darkness to return later and begin his singing.

796 Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at creating artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily under 781 the very nose of the shaman without reproof, and the adults talked happily. The imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions and no restraints were put on normal and natural behavior before joyous events.

533 There was no dancing on this night, in deference to me, for I could not participate in it, but we sat in a semicircle and sang after the shaman.

787 Itciai arrived and I was helped to sit close to the shaman. Apparently Itciai was talking about me, referred to as "the Man." I lighted 791 a cigarette and held it to the shaman's mouth. Without interrup-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

787 tion of the song it was smoked in the shamanistic manner, or rather
• 791 spirit style, and Itciai began to explain who I was. He said that he knew me well, that I had visited Kuma's land many times, that I was a shaman; that my family was well, that my wife was waiting for me, and that my son was so anxious he began to fear that I was dead. He said that there was something big being saved fo. me in my country. I was a good man, and a man like the Yaruros; that he was glad I liked the Yaruros so much, and that he was glad I was living with them. I had nothing to fear, since on my death I would go to Kuma land. Itciai was saving for me a beautiful large horse to ride in the land of the gods.

During this long discourse about me from Itciai, which lasted about one hour and which was translated to me only in fragmentary fashion, the shaman often, at the beginning of a new thought, would shake the rattle violently before my face, and continue the same frenzied tone and shaking throughout. The people sang lustily, with feeling likewise, a great compliment to me.

[185] Itciai[1] had something to say about the Yaruros in general, namely, that they were doomed to die, but that a better world and life awaits them with Kuma. They will have houses and cattle, clothing, tobacco, and all food; they will be born again there, young and strong. This world will come to an end because the Yaruros are being killed off.

Later Hatchawa[1] came. I had a cigarette ready for him. He appreciated it and asked the shaman why I didn't drink of the shaman's drink. He urged me to drink it. I was a Yaruro. He also acknowledged my acquaintance in my own country and in Kuma's, and expressed deep affection for me. He brought good news of my family, saying to hurry back to my wife since she had been waiting for me with much love for a long time. He got another cigarette and I was embraced several times.

The next to come was the father of one of the Yaruro men, and as soon as I heard of it I offered a cigarette. It was properly acknowledged and the people were told by the spirit that indeed I knew a great deal, since I had cigarettes ready to greet the spirits. At about 3 o'clock in the morning came the god Puaná, expressly to greet me. He said that I lived in another land which he himself had made and that he was glad I had come to visit this land. He received three or four cigarettes. He described my land as being like that of Kuma, high and beautiful. He gave me further news of my family and said that he was keeping for me much cattle and many horses in the land of Kuma.

781 Puaná[1] was greeted with happy laughter and general approval, the reception as demonstrated by the quality of the frenzied singing.

1[Itciai and Puaná are creator gods; Hatchawa is the fire-giver ..... Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

781 Puaná stayed with us for about an hour and a half, talking most of the time about me.

And finally at about 5 o'clock Kuma herself came to visit me and, 787 like Hatchawa, urged me to drink of the shaman's drink. I had to 791 drink a gourd full of it, since it was held to my lips until I finished it. She gave me messages similar to the others. Finally other Yarures came, and the shaman eventually returned, being greeted with affection by all. We stopped when the sun rose and began another day of primitive life. We had danced and sung almost continuously for 36 hours.

This was my reception among the Yaruros after my return from La Urbana. We talked day and night about religion, and about 606 the world in which we lived. I learned that a mother-in-law and 582 son-in-law must never look upon each other and never talk to each 604 other, though they must be careful to do each other service; that a man must marry his first cousin, and that socially he is under obligation to his maternal uncle who later becomes his father-in-law. Under Landaeta's tutelage the material in this report was compiled. In a sense, therefore, this is his report.

124 One day I announced to Landaeta that I would have to leave in the 123 near future, giving as a reason that my wife and child needed me at home. Actually, there were other considerations; my physical condition was becoming worse, though the sores on my feet were a little better; and for the time being I had quietly exhausted the possibilities of obtaining fresh material from my friends. After all, we had been in contact with each other for six weeks, the major portion of it living communely and conversing with the shaman continuously day after day, sometimes even from sunrise to sunrise. My daily schedule consisted of rising at sunrise, drinking a little coffee sometimes brought to me by Landaeta, and immediately plunging into discussions of religious themes. This would last up to about 10 o'clock when Landaeta would withdraw and busy himself making string or carving gourds for several hours. During this period I would seek clarification of some points from whomsoever was present, or work on social organization, or on genealogy. In the early afternoon Landaeta would be back with new material, new ideas, having thought over what he had said, what I had said, and what still needed to be said. This would continue until sundown.

521 Then there was a short intermission for dinner, but soon afterwards I was hurried over to the eastern edge of the camp, where Landaeta and his people sat after dinner, and there we would sit while the women made cigars for us, talking about mythology, religion and general philosophical concepts. These discussions would last until 10 or 11 o'clock, and often much later, and not rarely shamanistic

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

251 During the rainy season the seed of the chigua is gathered. It is crushed, toasted, and stored in small quantities in the same way as the changuango, provided, of course, that a spot is found high enough to keep it dry.

Social Organization and Social Customs

596 616 622 791 554 Economically the family hunting group is the basic unit, as has been shown in the previous chapter. In social matters, however, it is the moiety. Each family hunting group recognizes a headman and each moiety recognizes a chief who in all cases is the shaman. Both of these positions of authority are acquired only through personal merit. There is no inheritance of chieftainship or shamanism. If the nephew of a headman shows ability he may inherit his uncle's position, and theoretically this is the scheme. In natural practices we find that not only the Yaruros but perhaps a great many other primitive peoples are very realistic and are loath to give authority to an individual whose personality does not stand for leadership.

616 428 Every Yaruro is born in either the "Itciai" or "Puaná" moiety. Descent, with its social affinities, prerogatives, and obligations, being traced through the female line, the child belongs to its mother's moiety. Nothing is inherited from the father, who belongs to the other moiety, except obligations.

616 773 There is a legend among the Yaruros that two young men not finding any marriageable girls among their own people mated with the Jaguar and with the Snake. From these two unions are descended the two moieties. Since only among animals do brothers and sisters mate it has become a rule that two descendants of the Jaguar, "Itciai", cannot marry with each other; nor can two descendants of the Snake, "Puaná", marry with each other. They must seek a mate from the other group. Thus an "Itciai" must always marry a "Puaná", and vice versa. Cross-cousin marriage solves this problem.

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In this system, therefore, a man's children belong to his wife's moiety, from which he is socially excluded. His sister's children, on the other hand, are socially close to him since they too inherit moiety membership from their mother which is the same as his own. Deprived of his own children to carry on his traditions, a man looks to his sister's children to take their place. It is his nephews who will help him in hunting, who will come to his defence, who will take care of him in old age. As if in payment of such attention he gives them his daughters in marriage. Thus his sisters' sons become his sons-in-law.

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621 596 Yaruro society is built around the hunting group, which in numbers is never stable. The hunt and the gathering of food such as roots and fruits calls for a certain amount of cooperative effort, but

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

601 marriage she called also "nyowuh", are referred to as "keramai". The father-in-law calls his son-in-law "haiméma'", which means "the one my daughter married", and the son-in-law calls his father-in-law "huíteh". His mother-in-law, whom he never addresses directly, he [606] refers to as "kaikamúe". The girl refers to her father-in-law as "kuinté". Before marriage the boy would have called his uncle, the brother of his mother, "húidemái".

616 There do not seem to be any rites or ceremonies from which members of the opposite moiety are excluded. According to my informants, the Puaná clan moiety is preeminent over the Itciai moiety, therefore the person recognized as its head is considered to be the [578] chief of the Yaruros. There is no resentment, as far as I was able to learn, to this arrangement. Primarily, I suppose, because the biological descendants of an individual pass from one moiety to another and therefore share in its prerogatives. The Yaruros' social concepts in respect to moiety membership is best expressed by reciprocal duties, obligations, and prerogatives. Under the elementary local system the son-in-law is almost a guest among his wife's people with whom he goes to live. During the rainy season when more permanent shelters are built, according to my informants, they have more ceremonies, during one of which the unmarried boys of one moiety then sit in the house of the other moiety.

616 Although there is no exclusion of the members of the opposite
796 moiety in the ceremonies, if the shaman is of the Puaná moiety,
● 791 those that sit closest to him are members of his own moiety. But even in this case the other moiety is represented, and in fact indirectly serves him. His own wife sits at his right and it is she who assists him when her help is needed by handing to him the various pieces of his paraphernalia and tobacco. It is she, likewise, who prepares the various drinks. The rest of the members of her moiety, if they happen to be present, take their places following the members of the shaman's moiety.

604 When a man is undertaking a hunt or wishes to build a canoe he
476 calls on his nephews, that is, his sister's sons, for help, and they are obligated to be at his service. This obligation and service, which begins as soon as the boy begins to understand his position in the society, lasts a lifetime. When the uncle or uncles become too feeble to hunt for themselves it is these nephews who supply them with food and everything else they may need. This service may be interpreted as compensation to the uncles for their daughters who become the wives of these youths. But there was no indication that it was so considered by the Yaruro.

593 h. A man, therefore, does not have the services nor the social life of
604 his children, but has to look to his sister's womb for individuals to educate and to assist him.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

841 piece of cloth. (Among the peoples of the Xingu in Brazil she is made to wear her hair over her face, and she is kept from the sight of men.) Whether during this period special initiatory rites are performed I was not able to find out. This part of Yaruro culture is considered to be in the women's domain, and, being a man, I was kept from delving into it.

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MARRIAGE

527 The Yaruros are poor in social ceremonies. Anciently they may have practiced a great many of them but today social life is comparatively simple.

885 791 584 When a boy is ready to marry he may approach his father, or as a matter of fact, the father may approach the son. In any case he is sent to the shaman, who informs him that now he should be ready to assume the duties of a man, and proceeds to instruct him in the nature of those duties. He is told that he must love and cherish his wife; supply her plentifully with food, clothing, ornaments, and children; that he must never use harsh words toward her and that he must take care of her when she is sick; that he must never quarrel with her family, with whom he is expected to live; and of particular importance, that he must remember to take care of his father-in-law and mother-in-law. All of this is ordained by Kuma.

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584 585 791 The shaman will then approach the boy's uncle who has a marriageable daughter. No special ceremony seems to take place. The boy simply goes to live with the wife's family and assumes his duties of taking care of her as well as of his parents-in-law.

SICKNESS AND DEATH

751 757 Not much material was available on sickness. It must be remembered that the Yaruros have been in contact with European ideas for several centuries and that they understand the use of medicine for the cure of a specific illness.

753 756 Nevertheless, Kiberoh, the evil night spirit, is in some fashion associated with illness. If Kiberoh enters the body of a person, the latter will become ill. In such cases the only cure is the intercession of Kuma, who can be called upon to help by the shaman or musico, a term adapted from the Spanish to describe the singing shaman.

755 The sick person is laid on the ground with his head pointing to the east. At sundown the shaman will stand to the north of the sick person and will proceed to sing, accompanying himself with the rattle. The rest of the people, with the exception of any woman in her menstrual period, line up behind the shaman and sing and dance as they generally do during any of the shamanistic performances. If they indulge in any dancing, however, they do not go around a

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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a pole. In general, therefore, organized play for child or adult is hardly present.

WAR

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The Yaruros did not speak much of war. None of their legends make any reference to it except in one case which says that they were killed by the "Racionales" and that they retaliated.[6] The known historical sources say nothing except Father Gumilla's account, which makes reference to the pacification of the "Saruri."

MORAL ATTITUDES

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On the subject of conduct, the outlook on life and the organization of life values, we must distinguish between theory and practice. The former grows out of reflection and represents the intellectualization of the universe as seen without much reference to practical life. The second springs from the social and economic relationships and the fusing of individual ends and purposes into the purposes and ends of the group, whereas the first is not strictly controlled by custom and practical needs. Both exist among the [791] Yaruros. For the first we have to turn to the shaman, who in addition to being a religious leader, a savant, is also a moralist; and for the second we turn to the entire social group and need to watch it in its behavior.

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In reading over the early account of the aborigines of the region, among which we must presumably include Yaruros, we gather that their moral concepts were different from those of the Christians, but perhaps neither better nor worse in practice. It must be doubted, however, whether a number of practices attributed to the Yaruros are authentic. We read, for instance, that a number of the aborigines were patricides, and we are given a picture of the male children, on reaching adolescence, rising against the fathers [682] through lust for the mother. Patricide is an abhorrent crime and [683] the motive behind it is equally abhorrent. It is to be doubted whether patricide, or even lesser acts, such as beating the father, were ever practiced, except in sporadic cases such as may occur in [684] any society. It hardly seems possible that women were the cause of it when it is known, as it is known today, that mating and extramarital relationships are very strictly controlled by tradition and social training. Disregarding, therefore, such allusions to the moral life of the primitive peoples of the Orinoco, let us turn to our informants for an understanding of their present mode of life. The

[6] It would appear probable that the nomadic Yaruros were too weak to ever develop any warlike spirit.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

the first fact that holds our attention is that Yaruros are strongly ethically conscious. Every shamanistic performance is the means for the propagation of ethical teachings. The shaman, or as the Yaruros believe, the gods and their dead ancestors speaking through the shaman, admonish various individuals and lay down the law for proper conduct. They hold the threat also that misconduct will be displeasing to the mother goddess and as a result life with her will not be as pleasant as it would be if they followed her precepts in this world.

According to the Yaruro philosophy the world is, by its nature, good and it was created by Kuma as a good thing. If any evil exists it has been introduced by men, who have forgotten or come to disregard the laws laid down by the goddess. The world, if unsullied by men, is a perfect integration of the elements which function for the good of mankind. Unfortunately, at times men will disturb the structure. There is implied in this the existence of free will for mankind, since it can change or disturb what was created by Kuma. And if we have recourse to the legends, we find that perhaps the lower animals have free will also, although it is exercised by them much more rarely than by mankind.

Kuma appears also as the teacher of ethical laws. She told the people, told Hatchawa, and now tells the shamans: to live in peace with each other; to respect each other; to help each other; to live good lives; to take care of the parents-in-law and the children-in law. When the wife is ill or otherwise the mother-in-law should look after the needs of her son-in-law, although they do not speak to each other. The Yaruros will find recompense for such moral living after death. They are poor on this earth but will be rich like Kuma in the other world.

During my stay the women remained bashful, never speaking directly to me, and when I approached generally looking away. In the latter days they would laugh merrily as they fled. Their culture does not permit free social intercourse with men, but any request on my part relayed to them through their husbands or brothers was eagerly complied with, and with better than good humor.

All were helpful toward each other and there did not appear to be any dissension. Extreme care was taken that a person's rights and prerogatives were not infringed upon. The husband never seemed to request anything of his wife that did not lie in her province, and when strange demands were made to please me, entire freedom was given to the wife, or daughter, to do as it pleased her. Any misfortune, however slight or serious, that would produce some expression of anger among white people was met by the Yaruros with merry laughter. At night each family group lay on the sands

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro SS19

773 539 "Here, a son-in-law will take care of me now!" Then the Yaruros lived. The shaman had a nephew and a son. The nephew fell in love with his own sister and married—he was changed into a jaguar and she into a snake (?). If it had not been for this there would not have been any snakes and jaguars. Human beings should not marry their own sisters. It was ordered by Kuma. Animals are different.

Then one man found a tree with all the fruits on it. He did not tell the others. A white man appeared on horseback. Said he would come back in eight days. He came back in a boat. Scattered seeds everywhere. Thus he changed the country. Before it was all open savanna, but now forests and agricultural products grew.

India Rosa taught the women. God taught the men. God wanted to give the horse to the Yaruros, but they were afraid to mount, so he gave it to the Racionales instead.

KUMA

791 776 787 Presumably, Kuma is anthropomorphic. The only ones among the Yaruros who have any knowledge of this mythical being who is responsible for the world are the shamans. These individuals are loath to discuss what they see in their dreams, claiming that all they have to say about such things are said during their shamanistic performances. Besides, they claim that they do not remember what they see during their trances.

531 776 534 Nevertheless, on the rattles appear graphic representations of what Kuma is supposed to look like. In all cases, she seems to resemble a human being, standing with her arms extended upward in greeting to her people. Such figures are represented on the gourd rattles shown in plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27. It was explained that the lines [30] appearing on the body of Kuma represent body painting and ornaments.

776 Of all the godheads or spirit forces of the Yaruros, Kuma is the most clear-cut. She is the creator of all things, and everything emanates from her. Her associates, Puaná, Itciai, and Hatchawa, function according to the laws of Kuma. Apparently they are not able to do anything without her consent, but occasionally she may be tricked. For instance, when Hatchawa decided to give fire to the people he threw a live fish into Kuma's fire. The wriggling of the fish scattered the coals, which the people seized and carried away.

Kuma is represented neither as an indulgent mother nor as an entirely benevolent creature in the myths. It is Hatchawa and Puaná who favor human beings. In fact, Kuma was opposed to peopling the earth with the human race. In spite of this there is no

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

SHAMANISM

791 157 Prerequisites to successful shamanism are temperament, knowledge, and experience. It has often been stressed by field investigators that in matters of religion, as in matters of artistic expression, only certain types of personalities can achieve any success. In the case of the Yaruros, by temperament is meant the inclination and desire to become a shaman which perhaps is reducible to other factors of personality, and a neurotic make-up which will permit the tyro to experience religious phenomena. Since there is no set test which has to be passed in order to be recognized as a shaman the pretender can try to achieve recognition by his people until his very death, but if he lacks the necessary temperament his attempt is hopeless. A 791 554 shaman must have knowledge above that of his fellow tribesmen. He must know and understand thoroughly the history of his people and their mythology, he must be able to solve and settle ethical points that may come up on the basis of ancestral customs, he must know all the medicinal practices of his people, and the magical also. In short, he must be a savant and a leader, a person who will be morally respected. This knowledge he can acquire only through experience. The Yaruros say that he must acquire it through personal teaching from the gods, not through an intermediary but in actuality he learns, of course, from the older shamans whose place he will take eventually and from the rest of his people. He is supposed to sing behind a shaman for many years before he can hold performances of his own.

791 533 He must, of course, learn all the tricks of the trade, though by this is not implied that the shaman is conscious of practicing any legerdemain among his people, but there is a certain ceremonial pattern which must be mastered by the neophyte and which can only be mastered by practice over a long period of time. For instance, in singing there are undoubtedly a number of standardized songs, but what is more important is to learn the musical pattern and the pattern of phraseology that must be fitted to the music. Since in a shamanistic performance the shaman does not sing set songs but spontaneous ones which he composes, or as the Yaruros claim the gods compose, and sing through the shaman, it is essential that he have many years of experience. The importance of this is fully understood when it is considered that the shaman must sing without any pause or hesitation some six thousand stanzas in the course of a night's performance, varying his tune and words again and again. It seems reasonable to suppose that there must be form given to such performances which can be mastered by one following closely the performances of a particular shaman.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

791 Shamanism is not socially inherited, but we may suspect that biologically it is in many cases. There is no attempt made to train any particular child for shamanism except that naturally those children who stand in a close relationship to the current shaman, such as sons, daughters, neices, and nephews, have a better chance to take up the profession than others, from their daily close association with the only person from whom they can learn. The performances are never secret and the children are permitted to be present until they are too tired and go to sleep. As they grow older they will tend to participate in the performances to a greater extent until they are able to stay up all night and take their proper place in adult society. Naturally among the children some will be attracted to singing and dancing with their elders more than others and these will tend to place themselves as close to the shaman as they can until they are of such age that they can be of actual assistance to him, when, if they make known their interest in becoming a shaman they may even become his understudies or disciples. One of them who shows the greatest interest and the greatest ability in singing, in remembering details and dancing, and a shamanistic temperament will always take his place behind the shaman and will take the lead in repeating the stanzas of the songs composed by him. Gradually he may attempt shamanistic performances of his own and gather followers as he is successful in obtaining religious experience. It is not uncommon to see a young man sitting on the sands facing east and to the east of the camp, at night, singing to himself and alone. Sometimes he has one or two others singing behind him, depending on his prestige. It is, of course, his great hope that some day he will be so successful as to win the approbation and confidence of the people, which will depend on his success with the gods themselves.

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791 787 157 The shaman must be a rather highly imaginative type. The only way he can impress his people with his knowledge and experience is to visit and see the abode of the gods and ancestors and to be able to describe these in words and in song and graphically with etchings on gourd rattles, so that unless the performer is of such a temperament that he can live through such experiences he can never become a shaman. Nor is there any opportunity for the one who will pretend having had such experiences, for naturally tribal tradition patterns are a constant check on him and his visions must necessarily conform to those had by other shamans; nor can he pretend to have visions of the particular type since he has the entire body of people as his severe critics and any inconsistency will be immediately seen to his discredit. Actually, I do not think there is ever any pretense. In the first place, we must remove the suggestion that there is material gain to flow from attaining the position of shaman. The shaman is an

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

791 ordinary citizen, receiving no compensation except the respect given
787 to an old man and a moral teacher. In the second place, shamanism
157 is a lifetime activity, and it would seem improbable that one would create such a life for himself which he would have to live until death if he were not suited to it. I saw cases of men who were striving to be shamans, some young and some old, with great regret admitting that they could not see the religious visions that others more successful had seen. In a primitive society such as that of the Yaruros, where life values are simple and evident to every one, where the intimacy existing between its members is thorough, there is very little incentive and very little opportunity for pretense.

791 Landaeta, my chief informant among the shamans, claimed that
787 he did not remember the specific events that he "dreams" when he
115 sang and that he could not sing during the day, nor could he remember the songs. He himself had to be told by the others what happened during a shamanistic performance. Thus he could tell me neither the words nor the tunes. I had to wait for another performance to try to take down both. Since the words were conversations between the shaman and the spirit forces, and thus varied at each performance, he was right. Yet there is a musical pattern and undoubtedly a word pattern also.

791 In the matter of making the sacred objects, he claimed that only
787 those who have "dreamed", have had religious experience, can make
531 them. Thus he himself was carving the rattles, and claimed that no
778 one else among his people could carve them. Some, like his nephew and son-in-law Juan Garcia, were learning.

791 At Landaeta's death probably the shaman will be either Brigido
787 Tovar, his son, or Juan Garcia, his nephew and son-in-law. Legend
554 favors the son, but Landaeta looks to Garcia. However, it is the son who sang behind the shaman in this case, but Garcia has had religious experiences already.

Landaeta himself claims that he sang behind his uncle for a long time without a moracca. Finally he had a "dream" and he was permitted to use a moracca. This religious experience is absolutely necessary to a future shaman.

791 That the shaman follows certain patterns of song, ritual, dream,
533 and revelation is quite certain, and it is these patterns that are trans-
787 mitted to the neophyte. Both dreams and revelations always have some bearing on current problems, and in fact attempt to solve these problems.

During a shamanistic performance the first songs describe the journey of the shaman's soul to the Land of Kuma. Upon reaching the desired land the shaman shakes his rattle violently and the songs

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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789 that follow describe this land as well as the gods and the spirits of the Yaruros.

It is to be noted that it is the ornaments worn by Kuma rather than the person of the gods which are described. We are told that she 776 wears golden necklaces, fine clothes, and belts and bands typical of 301 the ancient Yaruro woman's costume. She is represented vaguely as being in the form of a human being, who, on the other hand, is never described. Try as I might, I was not able to obtain any idea of her appearance. Hatchawa, as we know, is a little boy, but Itciai again lacks any definite form.

787 The shaman claims that during his ordinary life he has no idea of what he sees in the Land of Kuma, therefore these descriptions can only be gathered from due sources through the songs which he sings in shamanistic performances and through the figures which he etches out on the shamanistic gourd rattle. Several of these rattles are reproduced on plate 24 and figures 25, 26, 27.

The shaman does not claim special power to reveal anything, nor does he claim to have the power to cure. He is merely a vehicle or instrument through which the gods can visit the Yaruros by substituting themselves for the soul of the shaman. The only power that he claims is the ability to let his soul leave his body and travel to the Land of 787 Kuma. His soulless body subsequently becomes possessed by various 533 spirits who wish to communicate with their relatives on earth. As explained above, the shaman only sings the first songs hesitantly and in a poor voice which is in direct contrast to the violent and beautiful singing which the spirits exhibit when they are in possession of his body.

772 Kuma's Land is a perfect heaven for the Yaruro, who has endowed it with all the comforts and liberty denied to him in this world. In Kuma's Land food is abundant, the weather is ideal, there are no forests, no diseases, and most important of all, no civilized being to desolate them. We are confronted here with the creation on the part of the Yaruro of a superlative heaven which furnishes an escape for him from the woes of this life.

181 We have noted before that primitive peoples, when faced for a 177 time with a hopeless situation in this world, such as extinction, tend to seek and discover an escape by creating such a heaven. The Guarani sought a heaven in the West where there was no death and no persecution. More recently our own Indians on the reservations have turned to Peyoteism, which also supplies a heaven. In all these cases there is a renunciation of this world. The will to live is practically gone because there is no need to worry about maintaining life in this world, an impossible thing to do when in competition with civilization. But a heaven which cannot be touched by any civilized

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

181 177 invention offers a perfect refuge, even though it is only a philosophical one.

Mechanical aids to the shaman, in addition to his own psychological make-up, are: music and dance; tobacco, which he consumes in great quantities during his performance; tcuipah, a root with narcotic properties; caroto, which is a fermented or unfermented mixture of crushed maize and water, or manioc and water, and when obtainable, white rum. The extent to which these stimulants are used can be illustrated by the observations which are made in the course of one all-night performance: The shaman consumed 42 cigarettes which I offered him, about 100 cigars, which consisted of several strips of tobacco leaf wrapped in a thick green leaf obtained from one of the trees along the bank, about 6 inches of the tcuipah root, and about 2 quarts of the fermented maize-and-water mixture. Since these narcotics and stimulants were taken hurriedlly and in great quantities, it must have had a terrific physiological effect upon him. For instance, every cigarette and cigar was smoked completely through in 10 seconds. Each musical stanza lasted from about 10 to 15 seconds. He sang it first and then it was repeated by his people. It was during this repetition of his song that the shaman inhaled as much of the tobacco smoke as possible and then exhaled it just before commencing a new stanza.

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In contrast with the rather violent shamanistic performance of the male shaman, the women do not seem to depend very much on narcotics. During the day the men are not permitted to sing or whistle, but the women may lie in their hammocks and sing. They may take small quantities of all of these narcotics, but as far as my observation went I never saw any of them consume any great quantity.

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The spiritual world of the shaman is quite different from the everyday realistic world. A comparison of the carvings on the gourd rattles with the realistic carvings of the asabache made by anyone greatly demonstrates this. In the latter form of art expression, animals, birds, and scenes are copied with great accuracy and skill. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that if the shaman were to attempt the realistic representation of the spirit world he could do so, but he has chosen to portray the various gods and spirits almost symbolically. Kuma and Hatchawa were always represented holding up their hands. It is this position which is read into the western skies whenever at sunset there occurs a phenomenon described above. The rays of light emanating from the horizon represent the fingers of the hands of the gods.

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The form of the dance has been described. It starts off as a simple walk around a pole and it may become a fast run in the evening,

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 791 with the stamping of the right foot on the off-beat, but whenever the shaman is giving a really good performance his whole body responds to the dance and he may shake as violently as the rattle in his hand. His people may also throw themselves into a dance, making a series of jerky movements, bending from the waist downward and up again.

533 539 One of the typical songs of Kuma was a greeting to me. She said:

> Greetings, man, greetings. Your wife is waiting. She is not dead, nor is she sick, but she is thinking that her husband has been away so long that perhaps he is dead. She is good and loves her husband who is sick, which is good. But it is good that he is with me (Kuma speaking) and with my people. He is a good man. He gives me a cigar. I shall give him a horse when he is born again in my (Kuma) land. I shall give him much silver when he is born again in Kuma Land. I love him, the good man, and I shall love him in my land. In the other land, my land, he gave me drink like you my people. Like you my people, everyone will come to my land, the Yaruro land.

FEMALE SHAMANISM

791 767 554 776 It proved impossible to learn much about those things in which the women are chiefly or exclusively interested. The shamans seem to be as influential among both sexes as the men are, and they seem to acquire their power and prestige through dreams or revelations in the same way as the male shamans do. In the case of the women it seems that India Rosa must appear in a dream rather than Kuma. In the legends it is India Rosa who taught the women the various arts and crafts, so in shamanism she is the chief spiritual power. During the day, both Kuma and India Rosa are pictured as resting in their hammocks. Because of that the women shamans sing sitting in their hammocks, swaying back and forth, during the day. Apparently it is believed that by imitating the picture of Kuma and India Rosa they can reach the two spiritual forces more easily. These shamans never perform at night, although they will sing with the male shaman when the latter is giving a performance.

535 791 534 The gourd rattle seems to be an instrument which only the shamans can use with immunity and as a means of conversing with Kuma. The women do not have these rattles. Their singing is done unaccompanied by any musical instrument or by any dancing. Dancing is performed only at night, when it is led by the male shaman.

609 123 The nature of the visions experienced by the female shamans remained unknown to me. As has been mentioned before, social intercourse between man and woman, unless closely related by blood or marriage, is prohibited. It is a social taboo which apparently is never violated and which no amount of bribery could break down. It seemed best to respect this custom, even though it were at the expense of remaining ignorant of many phases of Yaruro culture practiced by the women. So, in the case of shamanism, although the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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women sang to me and for me, I was not able to learn anything about their conceptions of the universe nor any other matter.

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On one occasion Landaeta, the shaman, invited Juan Bario's band to participate in a performance. The women prepared for it by painting the face with stamped designs—stamps smeared with oily stuff, stamped on the face, then the entire face, from eyebrows down, was covered with a thick coat of red ocher. It stuck where the grease was. The hair was worn in one braid down the back. They wore their best dresses.

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In anticipation of a long night, I lay down on the sands to rest, if possible. However, the skies interested the Yaruros. Landaeta and his people lay beside me to talk about the heavens. From that we passed to a discussion of Hatchawa, who, according to Landaeta, had said that I was well known to him and a good friend. In order to test the shaman I told him that I was anxious about my family whom I had left so long ago, and I asked him to find out about my wife, son, and general family from Hatchawa, which he promised to do. The conversation went back to the stars, and as the big dipper began to rise over the northern horizon Landaeta disappeared in the darkness. Soft conversation continued, and then came Juan Bario and his family to join us.

796 [292]

A few words of warm friendship with Juan Bario and we went to joint Landaeta, who was sitting ready to begin. Landaeta had withdrawn to the west of the camp, and put on his shamanistic breechclout and head-cloth, which consisted of a sort of headkerchief. His son Brigido sat behind him; to the right of Landaeta sat Brigida, his wife, and next to her, her sister. Juan Bario and I sat back a little.

Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily, without reproof, under the very nose of the shaman, some of the men jested and laughed, others conversed more quietly, etc. In other words, the imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions, and no restraints were placed on the normal and natural behavior.

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Landaeta began to sing and he was accompanied by a few of the attendants. In the meanwhile small fires had appeared here and there, and at these were lighted the long green leaf-covered cigars. None smoked an entire cigar, following the general custom of sharing with the other fellow. The songs at first were accompanied with faint rattling of the macaua, but this became stronger and stronger as the shaman approached the Land of Kuma. Finally at midnight—almost on the stroke—the shaman announced in his song that he had reached the desired land. The singing became more intense, faster, and everyone seemed to take more interest.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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787 shaman eventually returned to us, being fed and greeted with affection by all.

The singing stopped at 6 o'clock. A number of rather remarkable facts are to be emphasized.

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796 1. By actual count the shaman sang no less than 3,000 musical phrases and verses and about 800 stanzas without any breaks or rest, ever changing the words, and subject matter, and jumping from one thing to another at a very fast tempo. How the shaman could make up his verses so quickly, while the people repeated the previous verse, is not easy to understand.

2. He shook the rattle without ceasing a moment, with the same sidewise motion of the hand, most violently for nine and a half hours.

[516] 3. He sat in the same posture—left leg doubled under him, right leg in cross-leg position, for the entire time. Not once did he move.

[276] 4. He smoked the long cigars with the thick leaves without taking them out of his mouth, producing so much smoke that I choked and my eyes smarted from it. He must have smoked at least 75 of them, and probably over a hundred. He smoked 35 cigarettes, in addition, in the same way.

[273] 5. He drank about 2 gallons of unfermented crushed maize in water.

The music was spirited and had a swing with the emphasis on the off beat that is as effective, if not more so, than the negro spiritual.

After the all-night singing there was a lull in the morning, everyone snatching a wink of sleep, but by the time I had finished writing and medicating my foot the men crowded around to tell me of the night's experiences. At noon the women started singing, sitting in their hammocks, and they kept this up until late in the day. They were singing mostly about me. I noticed that their songs seemed to be of a simpler sort and more monotonous than those of the men, generally consisting of one verse repeated over and over again to form the [198] stanza. They sang in the women's language.

JUAN BARIO ON THE EVENTS OF THE NIGHT

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776 Panemé Tsió brought a horse for the shaman to go to Kuma's house. Panemé Tsió is represented as a sort of "boss" of the figurines found in the sands. Then came the father of Fernando. He said that they should live well here and warned him not to mistreat his wife (talking to son-in-law). Then came the father of Brigida. He said that the new wife of his grandson should treat her husband well and vice versa. Then came a brother of Brigida. He said that he is wealthy in Kuma's land, possessing cattle and horses. Then came the mother of Brigida. She counseled her grandchild not to

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

787 Then came the father of Juan Bario on horseback. He said:

115 "I greet you. I am waiting for you. Your land is poor now but Kuma's land
[539] is good and rich. When you die you will be born in Kuma's land. I was living here with you, I died here, but I was alone in Kuma's land where I am wealthy. See, you are poor. I was the same way. It is different in Kuma's land. There is much cattle and horses. Live well with your wife. Treat her well. Kuma does not want you to do otherwise."

533 Then the shaman returned on horseback.

There is great reluctance on the part of the shaman to sing unless there is a strong reason for it. During my stay with the Yaruros many occasions presented themselves to justify the holding of shamanistic performances.

796 On one occasion I returned to camp after an absence of two days.
●791 This was enough. I arrived at their camp about 7.30 in the evening. Landaeta greeted me affectionately and then told me that he and his people considered me a member of the family. The women came to put their arms about me in greeting. Landaeta in one of his mystical moods talked of the beauty of the small fire with turtle roasting; of the sands glistening in the moonlight; the araguato monkeys which were roaring in the distance; the occasional birds that sang in the night; the toninos came up to blow and splash in the river. All of this fitted in with the soft murmur of women speaking, and laughing in the darkness. An occasional misfortune, such as dropping a sackful of stuff, brought merry laughter on everybody's part. The crunching
276] of the sand gave notice that the women were digging deep to reach moist sand in which to bury the leaves to be used as cigar covers. Soon all of us, men, women, and children, were smoking.

The rest of Landaeta's people arrived in canoes. They sat on the sand with us. Landaeta talked with them at length. At a point he arose. His wife handed him some objects. He walked away to the west, immediately followed by one of his sons and a young nephew. He returned after a while, minus his trousers, wearing the shaman's breechclout and cap.

He went to sit alone at the bottom of the sand bank. After some time his wife gave him a cigar. He continued to sit alone and silent. At a sign his son and nephew took a slender pole and planted it in the sand. They retired. Men and women continued talking. After some time Landaeta rose, stood before the pole, smoking, facing it and the east. Several stars began to rise.
796 He stood in front of the pole for some time. Then he weakly began
791 to sing. After two songs his wife came to plant a shorter pole to the
533 west of the long one, and hung from it a basket. Landaeta continued standing still and singing, pausing briefly between songs. His son went to stand behind him, his nephew at the left side of the

1: Petrullo E-5 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

796 791 533 son. They began to take up the songs—shaman sang one phrase, repeated it, sang at low pitch and repeated. Last repetition joined in by assistants (attendants) and then the four phrases would be repeated, the shaman remaining quiet, but immediately singing a new phrase when they had hardly finished it. A few women joined in a line side by side to the south of the shaman. Singing without a rattle and without dancing continued for about an hour. Then 796 one of the women went to the basket and brought the shaman the 791 rattle. Singing continued. The only motion was a slow bending 535 forward and bending of the knees by the women in unison—that is, rhythmically on the off beat. A few of the men did the same. Shaman would shake his rattle at times. At the end of one song he said "amen" and the women walked away to the west. When he began a new song they returned. His wife from time to time brought the shaman a cigar from the basket. A fire was started to the west of the pole and the women clustered around. The shaking of the rattle became more frequent and more energetic, and in the middle of one song the women and all began dancing. Women put right hand on left shoulder of one in front and walked anticlockwise around the pole. An inner circle was formed by the men walking one behind the other. Animation was slight, but the right foot was stamped on the off beat. After going around a few times they would stop in original position to finish the song.

This dance was varied a little later on.

In the course of the evening, the singing and dancing became more and more animated until the shaman was in a frenzy. High-pitched voice, faster rhythm, greater accentuation, more feeling. Shaking of rattle became more frequent, rhythm became faster. Shaman no longer stood still, but danced at first by a jerky movement for ward, bending the knees, then moving about, half spinning, and near the end his body seemed to quiver jerkingly and rhythmically. The women's motions became more and more accentuated and near the end men and women bent low at the waist, moving body up and down, bending legs at the knees. The walk around the pole became a fast run, with a hopping step on the right foot in unison. In this way—the men would leap high—a resonating beat was produced, accentuating the liquid rich rattle of the gourd and the choral singing.

This continued until 4 in the morning, becoming more and more frenzied, until the morning star appeared.

I regret that I fell asleep near the end. When I awoke at sunrise everyone was asleep, apparently completely exhausted.

535 They started facing northeast in front of the pole, the women to the right of the shaman. When standing still the women, with arms

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

in small pieces on the banks of the Capanaparo. It is about as hard to work as coal. It has much the same appearance. The carving tool is the ordinary knife which, in some cases, may be a broken matchete. Yet, with such crude implements, they are able to produce exquisite realistic carvings of birds, fish, and other animals. These are generally perforated and strung into a necklace. Each woman possesses at least a few of these carved figures, the number depending on the industry of her husband. No symbolical significance seems to be attached to either the painting, the carving, or to any of the designs appearing on the stamps. There may be some magical meaning to them, but all inquiries were answered in the negative.

The gourd rattles present an entirely different manifestation. In the first place, only the male shaman can use a rattle. It is, in fact, the badge of shamanism. All the designs appearing on the rattle represent what he sees during his visits to Kuma's land. These carvings are made with the point of any sharp instrument, which cuts in just deep enough to expose the lighter colored inner wood of the rattle.

To become a shaman one must dream of Kuma and the other gods, and show his people that he can communicate with the godheads when occasion demands. Perhaps looking at shamanistic practices objectively this may mean primarily that the would-be shaman has a fertile imagination and some artistic talent. I do not think that we ought to doubt that he believes that he actually sees and talks with Kuma, Itciai, and the rest of the spirit world.

He commemorates his dreams on the sacred rattle, carving out on its surface the figures which appear in his dreams. Kuma and Hatchawa dominate the decorations on the gourd rattles, and since those collected came from the Puaná moiety, Puaná is also portrayed. In plate 24 various views of one of these gourd rattles are shown. The large geometric figure dominating the first drawing represents Kuma; the smaller one Hatchawa. Rotating the rattle toward the left we discover Puaná, the Snake.

In connection with these rattles one of the most interesting aesthetic features is the filling in of space. All of the specimens collected and shown in figures 25, 26, and 27 demonstrate this. In watching Landaeta at work I asked him why he did so; his reply was that a properly decorated rattle must be "tsaimui", that is "good", "proper", "beautiful."

Music

One would suspect that the Yaruros would have borrowed some of the musical instruments employed by the Llaneros. Among the lat-

1 [See category 116, end p[ar]t 14 --- Analyst]
2 [See category 116, pp. 242-243 --- Analyst]

1: Perrullo E-8 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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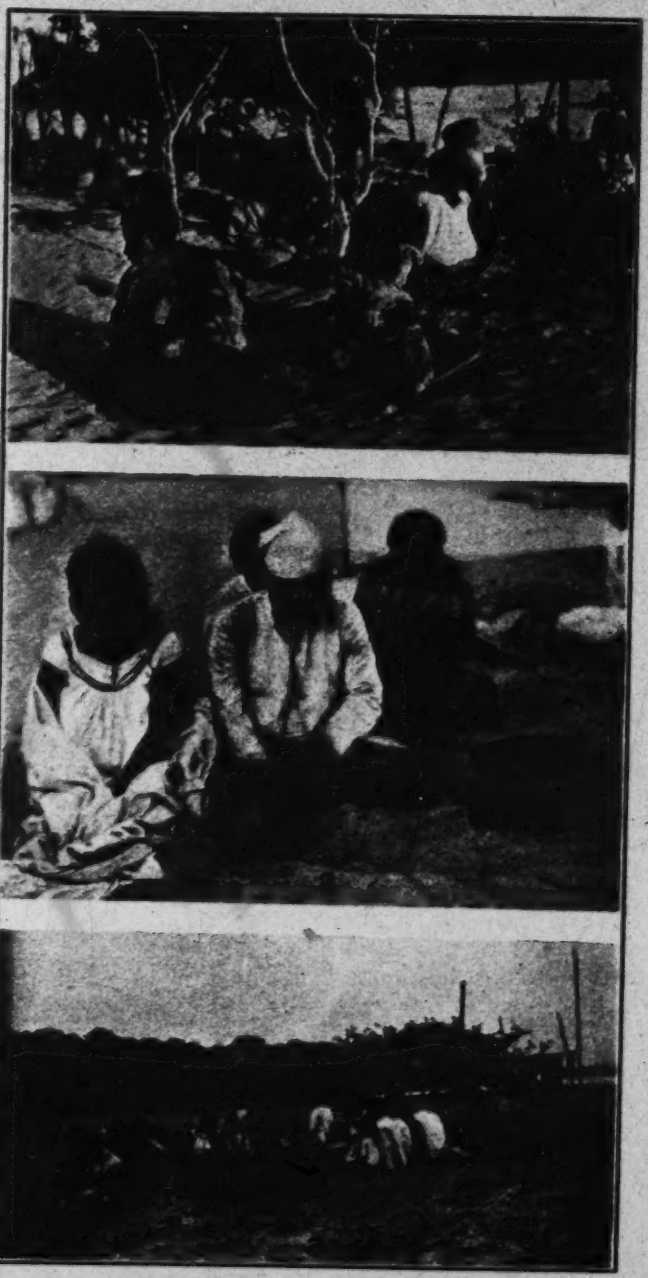

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1. Clothes to the Yaruros mean protection from the cold at night and a mark of being "civilized." It is not often that they are able to secure new cloth. Generally they fall heir to cast-off garments. 2. At the end of a 9-hour performance during which he smoked countless cigars, drank "corozo," and ate tsiupah, a narcotic, Landaeta, the shaman of the Capanaparo Yaruros, waits quietly for the sun to rise. His wife, who attended him all night, is seated at his right. 3. Landaeta, wearing a head cloth, with his people seated around him before sunrise. The women are at the left, the men at the right of the picture.

(End Plate 5)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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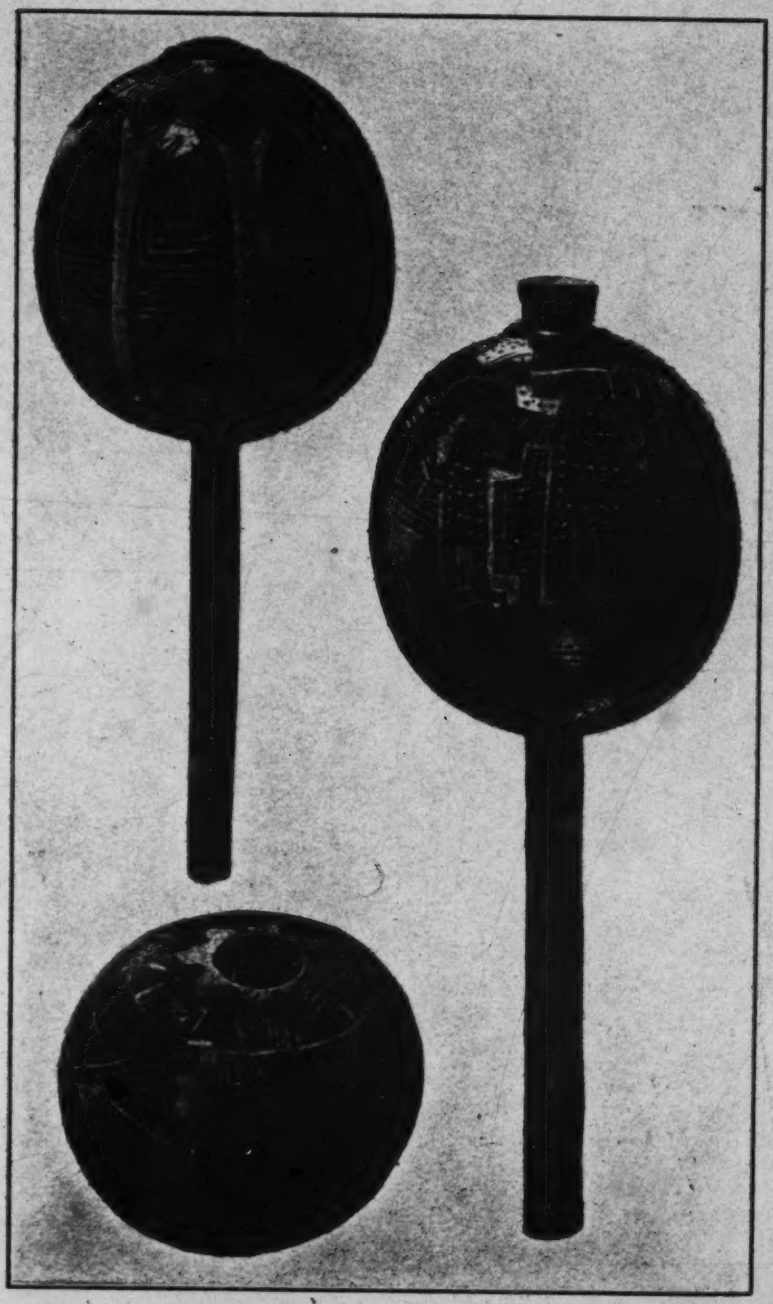

Shaman's rattles. Only the male shamans use gourd rattles. They are always decorated with etched representations of mythological figures which the shaman "sees" during his trances and dreams.

(End Plate 19)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

rejoice, for they know that Kuma, the goddess creator of all things, is content with them and is sending them a greeting in token thereof. On the wings of the wind comes the roar of the araguatos.

But life starts in the east and ends in the west. The day is done and the night comes on. The Yaruros turn to face the east to watch the beginning of star travel and also the fiery appearance of the moon and its transformation to a chaste white. The sands glisten and above flash "falling stars", but the Yaruros say that these are messengers of Kuma doing their errands.

Then the women roll cigars, light them, and pass them to their men. Everyone smokes and there is great contentment. There is reluctance to stand up, so if a woman has to fetch some object, say a firebrand, she will crawl on all fours, looking not unlike some large but indescribably graceful ape.

When several stars of the big dipper have appeared the women rise in a body and walk into the darkness west of the camp. They disappear from sight and hearing. What mysteries they perform they only know. The men are left alone and they talk about heaven. The children play merrily.

The women return and quietly take their places, ready to prepare more cigars. It is good to lie naked on the sand looking at the sky, listening to nature's symphony. With the same persistent effortless rhythm of the pulse beat the world outside of the individual is felt. There is the merry laughter of the children and the soft, deep, contented gurgle of the women; the soft voice of the shaman painting religious pictures, explaining existence; the murmur of the wind as a background to the calls of night birds, and the blowing of toninos, the splash of frolicsome fishes, the intermittent howl of the monkeys, the bark of the wolf, the roar of the jaguar; and the warmth of a full stomach.

A figure may detach itself from the camp shadows and disappear in the darkness of the west. Several young men may afterwards take the same path—to join the shaman in his preparations for communion with the gods. They leave behind them a feeling of expectation but nothing is said. Someone has put up a bare pole where the sand is hard packed.

The shaman returns and goes to sit in front of the pole facing the east. He sits quietly and alone in deep reverie. Later he may ask for a cigar. His wife will supply him with one.

After a period of contemplation he may begin to sing and dance. His people will join him. The music will become more and more animated, the singing and dancing will be done with increasing abandon. The stars and the moon will go their ways to rest in the west. It is only when the sun peeps over the eastern horizon that they will

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

181 up and down the rivers in their canoes, or lying on the sand, feasting on crocodile or turtle. He would see stolid fixed faces, uncommunicative, affrighted. But if this traveler were to stay he would discover that from sundown to sunrise the Yaruro lives in an intensive romantic world which he cannot and rarely would care to share with anyone else.

576 787 821 We returned from the trip to La Urbana at sundown when bars of yellow, blue, and white light streaked the western sky. The Yaruros were sitting on the sands watching this phenomenon with a certain rapture. They sat quietly and in silence facing the west until the lights had faded and merged into a subdued golden glow. Then Landaeta came and greeted me affectionately. He spoke of what we had just seen in the western sky, explaining that it represented a greeting from the mother goddess Kuma, to her children the Yaruros and to me. The other men came also, and the women too put their arms about me, but the latter kept their faces averted as is proper in Yaruro culture. We settled ourselves on the sands. Small fires were burning with remnants of turtles and crocodiles broiling over them. The sands glistened in the moonlight that soon came upon us. Araguato monkeys roared in the distance. An occasional bird sang. Insects hummed. Toninos frolicking in the water came up to blow lustily. And Landaeta explained that these animals were also children of Kuma and that everyone in Kuma's world was glad that I had returned.

553 123 We smoked and Landaeta talked, recounting what his gods had told him about me; that now I was one of their family, and he affectionately called me "adjimai oteh" (elder brother), which became the standard form of address by all of his people. In return I was asked to call them little brother and little sister.

791 791 533 At a point Landaeta rose and walked away into the darkness. His son and nephew followed him soon afterwards. He returned after an absence of half and hour, wearing his shaman's ceremonial cap and breechclout. He went to sit on the clean white sands to the east of the camp, where he remained still and quiet for a long time. His wife went to him with a lighted cigarette. He smoked this in silence and alone. Finally he made a sign and his son and nephew rose immediately to plant a pole a few feet in front of him, and then retired again into the darkness. After some time Landaeta rose, and facing the east in front of the pole, continued to smoke in silence. It seemed a long time before he began to sing, softly and hesitantly, which time was measured by the rising of the stars. After he had finished two songs his wife approached him again, thrusting into the ground, close to the pole, a stick from which hung a small basket. Landaeta continued standing, facing the east and singing, pausing briefly between

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

songs. His nephew went to stand behind him; his son went forward to stand at the left shoulder of his cousin. These two boys joined in the singing, repeating Landaeta's song stanza after stanza. A few women, led by Landaeta's wife and daughter, went to stand at his right side, and joined the boys in answering the songs of the shaman. They stood there in front of the pole singing until the Southern Cross hung high in the sky. Then Landaeta's wife took a gourd rattle from the basket and gave it to her husband, who immediately began to shake it, its liquid tone blending harmoniously with the voices. The singers became more animated when they heard the rattle, and soon they began to dance, jerking the body forward and backward, rhythmically and in unison. At times Landaeta would shake his rattle violently and his voice would betray his deep excitement. His wife from time to time would give a lighted cigarette to him, holding it to his mouth until it was consumed. At midnight the shaking of the rattle became more frequent and more violent, and finally, in the middle of one song, everyone began to move around the pole. The women put their right hands on the shoulder of the one ahead, and soon were running and stamping the right foot as they did so. The men formed an inner circle, dancing one behind the other. At the end of each song they paused for a moment lined up in their original positions. As the night wore on, both singing and dancing became more and more animated until the shaman appeared to be in a frenzy. His voice rose in pitch, his rhythm was faster, and more strongly accentuated, and all sang with greater feeling. The shaman danced in jerky movements, bending and twisting his body, half spinning about, first one way then the other, until he seemed to be quivering all over. The dance around the pole became almost a mad run, made more difficult by the soft sands and the complex movements of the body. The men would leap high and as the right foot was stamped in unison, a resonant beat was produced that seemed to blend with the pulsating roar of the howlers brought to us by the wind, and marked off by the rich rattling of the gourd and the choral singing. In the morning hours the wind rose again, blew more violently, and the roar of the monkeys became stronger, and the Yaruros sang passionately. It was then, when the morning star was already high, and dawn lighted the eastern horizon, that they stopped.

The sun awoke me, and though I had slept barely two hours I felt quite refreshed. I sat up to look about me. There was the vast stretch of sand, the fringe of jungle, and the sparkling river. My Yaruros were sleeping half buried in the sand, behind basketry to shelter themselves from the wind. The vultures were already at the piles of refuse, feasting on crocodiles and turtles. Soon the sun awoke my friends, and they too sat up to gaze quietly at the western sky where they believe their gods live.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

821 formations held a deep fascination for them. I understood but little of it, for their Spanish was too broken, and I was unfamiliar with Yaruro. So we spent the evening in quiet conversation and amity, conscious of the soft voices of the women in the background, children, laughter, and always the throbbing roar of the distant bands of 825 howlers which was brought to us by the wind. To the Yaruros the howlers were formerly men.

Landaeta relayed to me questions uppermost in his wife's mind. Did I have a wife in my own country? Did I have any children? Why had they not come with me? Once in Brazil I had been asked similar questions by another naked primitive fold, and I had answered truthfully that I had neither wife nor children. I remember their confusion and amazement. In their eyes I was a great man, and therefore I should have had many wives and many children. It is certain that they really never believed or understood my answer. So, in this case, not wanting to make extensive explanations about our civilization, which not only does not insist that men and women marry, but even makes it very difficult for them to do so, I lied, answering that I was married and had one son. Of course I had to describe both wife and boy to the inquisitive women. They wanted to know if her skin was the same color as mine, and her hair as white as mine, and what did she wear on her body? Also, they made me 784 promise that some day I would bring my wife and boy to them, so that the women who, because of social taboos, could not converse directly with me, would be able to do so with my wife.

821 As we talked of these things, falling stars played in the heavens, "messengers of Kuma" according to the Yaruros, the big dipper swung higher, and the southern crosses began their journeys. For a while the wind died down, and the monkeys were heard no more. Always responsive to the world in which they live, the Yaruros became silent and still. And then, as the moon rose above the hills of Guiana, Landaeta disappeared in the darkness to return later and begin his singing.

796 Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at creating artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily under 781 the very nose of the shaman without reproof, and the adults talked happily. The imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions and no restraints were put on normal and natural behavior before joyous events.

533 There was no dancing on this night, in deference to me, for I could not participate in it, but we sat in a semicircle and sang after the shaman.

787 Itciai arrived and I was helped to sit close to the shaman. Appar-791 ently Itciai was talking about me, referred to as "the Man." I lighted a cigarette and held it to the shaman's mouth. Without interrup-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

601 marriage she called also "nyowuh", are referred to as "keramai". The father-in-law calls his son-in-law "haiméma'", which means "the one my daughter married", and the son-in-law calls his father-in-law "huíteh". His mother-in-law, whom he never addresses directly, he [606] refers to as "kaikamúe". The girl refers to her father-in-law as "kuinté". Before marriage the boy would have called his uncle, the brother of his mother, "húidemái".

616 There do not seem to be any rites or ceremonies from which members of the opposite moiety are excluded. According to my informants, the Puaná clan moiety is preeminent over the Itciai moiety, therefore the person recognized as its head is considered to be the [578] chief of the Yaruros. There is no resentment, as far as I was able to learn, to this arrangement. Primarily, I suppose, because the biological descendants of an individual pass from one moiety to another and therefore share in its prerogatives. The Yaruros' social concepts in respect to moiety membership is best expressed by reciprocal duties, obligations, and prerogatives. Under the elementary local system the son-in-law is almost a guest among his wife's people with whom he goes to live. During the rainy season when more permanent shelters are built, according to my informants, they have more ceremonies, during one of which the unmarried boys of one moiety then sit in the house of the other moiety.

616 Although there is no exclusion of the members of the opposite
● 796 moiety in the ceremonies, if the shaman is of the Puaná moiety,
791 those that sit closest to him are members of his own moiety. But even in this case the other moiety is represented, and in fact indirectly serves him. His own wife sits at his right and it is she who assists him when her help is needed by handing to him the various pieces of his paraphernalia and tobacco. It is she, likewise, who prepares the various drinks. The rest of the members of her moiety, if they happen to be present, take their places following the members of the shaman's moiety.

604 When a man is undertaking a hunt or wishes to build a canoe he
476 calls on his nephews, that is, his sister's sons, for help, and they are obligated to be at his service. This obligation and service, which begins as soon as the boy begins to understand his position in the society, lasts a lifetime. When the uncle or uncles become too feeble to hunt for themselves it is these nephews who supply them with food and everything else they may need. This service may be interpreted as compensation to the uncles for their daughters who become the wives of these youths. But there was no indication that it was so considered by the Yaruro.

593 h. A man, therefore, does not have the services nor the social life of
604 his children, but has to look to his sister's womb for individuals to educate and to assist him.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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123 women sang to me and for me, I was not able to learn anything about their conceptions of the universe nor any other matter.

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302 On one occasion Landaeta, the shaman, invited Juan Bario's band to participate in a performance. The women prepared for it by painting the face with stamped designs—stamps smeared with oily stuff, stamped on the face, then the entire face, from eyebrows down, was covered with a thick coat of red ocher. It stuck where the grease was. The hair was worn in one braid down the back. They wore their best dresses.

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123 In anticipation of a long night, I lay down on the sands to rest, if possible. However, the skies interested the Yaruros. Landaeta and his people lay beside me to talk about the heavens. From that we passed to a discussion of Hatchawa, who, according to Landaeta, had said that I was well known to him and a good friend. In order to test the shaman I told him that I was anxious about my family whom I had left so long ago, and I asked him to find out about my wife, son, and general family from Hatchawa, which he promised to do. The conversation went back to the stars, and as the big dipper began to rise over the northern horizon Landaeta disappeared in the darkness. Soft conversation continued, and then came Juan Bario and his family to join us.

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[252] A few words of warm friendship with Juan Bario and we went to joint Landaeta, who was sitting ready to begin. Landaeta had withdrawn to the west of the camp, and put on his shamanistic breechclout and head-cloth, which consisted of a sort of headkerchief. His son Brigido sat behind him; to the right of Landaeta sat Brigida, his wife, and next to her, her sister. Juan Bario and I sat back a little.

Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily, without reproof, under the very nose of the shaman, some of the men jested and laughed, others conversed more quietly, etc. In other words, the imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions, and no restraints were placed on the normal and natural behavior.

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791 Landaeta began to sing and he was accompanied by a few of the attendants. In the meanwhile small fires had appeared here and there, and at these were lighted the long green leaf-covered cigars. None smoked an entire cigar, following the general custom of sharing with the other fellow. The songs at first were accompanied with faint rattling of the macaua, but this became stronger and stronger as the shaman approached the Land of Kuma. Finally at midnight—almost on the stroke—the shaman announced in his song that he had reached the desired land. The singing became more intense, faster, and everyone seemed to take more interest.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Up to this time his son and his wife had been attending him, with Isidoro, called grandchild, but actually a son of a first cousin, Fernando, singing to the left of Brigido (son) helping out. Brigida's special care was the tobacco. She would light a cigar and hold it to the shaman's mouth, who took tremendous pulls on it, raising clouds of smoke, until only a stub was left. This was generally finished by several. The son would go to the left of the shaman and offer him caroto—crushed maize in water. He drank it in one suck, leaving nothing behind. Sometimes Matilde, the shaman's sister-in-law, offered the cigar. When necessary, Brigido (son) or the "grandchild" took up the song and carried it, repeating the same verses, until the shaman was ready to resume the lead.

A little after midnight I noticed that a man and woman embraced the shaman and offered him cigars and drink. Inquiry produced the fact that the spirit of their dead father had come to visit us, and so not only did they embrace it but they offered it caroto and tobacco. From this moment on the shaman was with us only in body. More and more dead Yaruros came to visit us, and practically everyone embraced the shaman and made offerings.

The singing never stopped, the rattle was shaken violently from now on, and the shaman, without changing rhythm or song, would announce what spirit had arrived. The spirit's relative mostly concerned would then embrace the shaman and make offering. They were, of course, embracing the relative. The spirit gave messages also. In this way all of the dead Yaruros visited us. The shaman announced that Itciai was coming, though he was beyond the dead Yaruros. The singing became more and more animated, almost frenzied.

Itciai arrived and Juan Bario told me to go with him to the shaman. Apparently Itciai was talking about me, referred to as *the man*. We greeted Itciai by embracing the shaman. I had the thought of lighting a cigarette and through Juan offered it. Without interrupting the song it was smoked in the shamanistic or rather spirit style, and Itciai began to explain who I was. He said that he knew me well, that I had visited Kuma's land many times, that I was a shaman; that my family was well, that my wife was waiting for me and that my son was so anxious he began to fear that I was dead. He said that there was something big being saved for me until I reached my country. I was a Puneh, a good man, and a man like the Yaruros; that he was glad I liked the Yaruros so much, and that he was glad I was living with them. I had nothing to fear, since on my death I would go to Kuma's land. Itciai was saving for me a beautiful large horse, all ready for me to ride.

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During this song discourse from Itciai about me, which lasted about one hour and which was translated to me only in fragmentary fashion, at the beginning of a new thought the shaman often would shake the rattle violently before my face and continue the same frenzied tone and shaking throughout. The people likewise sang lustily with feeling; a great compliment to me.

Itciai had something to say about the Yaruros in general; namely, that they were doomed to die, but that a better world and life awaits them with Kuma. They will have horses and cattle, clothing, tobacco, all foods and aguardiente; they will be born again there, young and strong. This world will come to an end because the Yaruros are being killed off.

Later Hatchawa called. I had a cigarette ready for him. He appreciated it and asked the shaman why I didn't drink caroto, to go ahead and have a drink. I was a Pumeh. He acknowledged my acquaintance in my own land and in Kuma's, and expressed deep affection for me. He brought good news of my family, saying to hurry back since my wife was waiting for me, and had been waiting for me with much love for a long time. He got another cigarette and I was embraced several times.

The next to come was the father of Juan Bario, and as soon as I heard of it I offered a cigarette. It was properly acknowledged and the people were told that indeed I knew a great deal, since I had cigarettes ready to greet the spirits.

About 3 in the morning came Puaná, expressly to greet me. He told the Yaruros that I lived on another land which he himself had made and that he was glad I had come to visit this land. Such a greeting obviously called for a gift of three or four cigarettes which I held to the shaman's mouth. He described my land as being like that of Kuma—high and beautiful, different from this. That my people were gentle "people" like the Yaruros, Pumeh. He gave me further news of my family and said that he was keeping for me much cattle and many horses in the land of Kuma.

Puaná was greeted with happy laughter and general approval, as demonstrated by the quality of the singing which took on extra intensity and loudness. Puaná stayed with us for about an hour and a half, talking most of the time about me.

Finally about 5 o'clock Kuma herself came to visit me and, like Hatchawa, offered me a drink. I had to drink a gourd full of the concoction, it being held to my lips until I finished it. She gave messages similar to the others. There was a long spell when Kuma talked to Juan Bario, the son-in-law of Landaeta, who kept feeding Kuma with many cigars and caroto. Finally other Yaruros came, and the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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787 shaman eventually returned to us, being fed and greeted with affection by all.

The singing stopped at 6 o'clock. A number of rather remarkable facts are to be emphasized.

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796 1. By actual count the shaman sang no less than 3,000 musical phrases and verses and about 800 stanzas without any breaks or rest, ever changing the words, and subject matter, and jumping from one thing to another at a very fast tempo. How the shaman could make up his verses so quickly, while the people repeated the previous verse, is not easy to understand.

2. He shook the rattle without ceasing a moment, with the same sidewise motion of the hand, most violently for nine and a half hours.

[516] 3. He sat in the same posture—left leg doubled under him, right leg in cross-leg position, for the entire time. Not once did he move.

[276] 4. He smoked the long cigars with the thick leaves without taking them out of his mouth, producing so much smoke that I choked and my eyes smarted from it. He must have smoked at least 75 of them, and probably over a hundred. He smoked 35 cigarettes, in addition, in the same way.

[273] 5. He drank about 2 gallons of unfermented crushed maize in water.

The music was spirited and had a swing with the emphasis on the off beat that is as effective, if not more so, than the negro spiritual.

After the all-night singing there was a lull in the morning, everyone snatching a wink of sleep, but by the time I had finished writing and medicating my foot the men crowded around to tell me of the night's experiences. At noon the women started singing, sitting in their hammocks, and they kept this up until late in the day. They were singing mostly about me. I noticed that their songs seemed to be of a simpler sort and more monotonous than those of the men, generally consisting of one verse repeated over and over again to form the stanza. [198] They sang in the women's language.

JUAN BARIO ON THE EVENTS OF THE NIGHT

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776 Panemé Tsió brought a horse for the shaman to go to Kuma's house. Panemé Tsió is represented as a sort of "boss" of the figurines found in the sanda. Then came the father of Fernando. He said that they should live well here and warned him not to mistreat his wife (talking to son-in-law). Then came the father of Brigida. He said that the new wife of his grandson should treat her husband well and vice versa. Then came a brother of Brigida. He said that he is wealthy in Kuma's land, possessing cattle and horses. Then came the mother of Brigida. She counseled her grandchild not to

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

787 Then came the father of Juan Bario on horseback. He said:

115 "I greet you. I am waiting for you. Your land is poor now but Kuma's land
[539] is good and rich. When you die you will be born in Kuma's land. I was living here with you, I died here, but I was alone in Kuma's land where I am wealthy. See, you are poor. I was the same way. It is different in Kuma's land. There is much cattle and horses. Live well with your wife. Treat her well. Kuma does not want you to do otherwise."

533 Then the shaman returned on horseback.

There is great reluctance on the part of the shaman to sing unless there is a strong reason for it. During my stay with the Yaruros many occasions presented themselves to justify the holding of shamanistic performances.

796 On one occasion I returned to camp after an absence of two days.
791 This was enough. I arrived at their camp about 7.30 in the evening. Landaeta greeted me affectionately and then told me that he and his people considered me a member of the family. The women came to put their arms about me in greeting. Landaeta in one of his mystical moods talked of the beauty of the small fire with turtle roasting; of the sands glistening in the moonlight; the araguato monkeys which were roaring in the distance; the occasional birds that sang in the night; the toninos came up to blow and splash in the river. All of this fitted in with the soft murmur of women speaking, and laughing in the darkness. An occasional misfortune, such as dropping a sackful of stuff, brought merry laughter on everybody's part. The crunching
[276] of the sand gave notice that the women were digging deep to reach moist sand in which to bury the leaves to be used as cigar covers. Soon all of us, men, women, and children, were smoking.

The rest of Landaeta's people arrived in canoes. They sat on the sand with us. Landaeta talked with them at length. At a point he arose. His wife handed him some objects. He walked away to the west, immediately followed by one of his sons and a young nephew. He returned after a while, minus his trousers, wearing the shaman's breechclout and cap.

He went to sit alone at the bottom of the sand bank. After some time his wife gave him a cigar. He continued to sit alone and silent. At a sign his son and nephew took a slender pole and planted it in the sand. They retired. Men and women continued talking. After some time Landaeta rose, stood before the pole, smoking, facing it and the east. Several stars began to rise.
796 He stood in front of the pole for some time. Then he weakly began
791 to sing. After two songs his wife came to plant a shorter pole to the
533 west of the long one, and hung from it a basket. Landaeta continued standing still and singing, pausing briefly between songs. His son went to stand behind him, his nephew at the left side of the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

796 791 533 son. They began to take up the songs—shaman sang one phrase, repeated it, sang at low pitch and repeated. Last repetition joined in by assistants (attendants) and then the four phrases would be repeated, the shaman remaining quiet, but immediately singing a new phrase when they had hardly finished it. A few women joined in a line side by side to the south of the shaman. Singing without a rattle and without dancing continued for about an hour. Then 796 791 535 one of the women went to the basket and brought the shaman the rattle. Singing continued. The only motion was a slow bending forward and bending of the knees by the women in unison—that is, rhythmically on the off beat. A few of the men did the same. Shaman would shake his rattle at times. At the end of one song he said "amen" and the women walked away to the west. When he began a new song they returned. His wife from time to time brought the shaman a cigar from the basket. A fire was started to the west of the pole and the women clustered around. The shaking of the rattle became more frequent and more energetic, and in the middle of one song the women and all began dancing. Women put right hand on left shoulder of one in front and walked anticlockwise around the pole. An inner circle was formed by the men walking one behind the other. Animation was slight, but the right foot was stamped on the off beat. After going around a few times they would stop in original position to finish the song.

This dance was varied a little later on.

In the course of the evening, the singing and dancing became more and more animated until the shaman was in a frenzy. High-pitched voice, faster rhythm, greater accentuation, more feeling. Shaking of rattle became more frequent, rhythm became faster. Shaman no longer stood still, but danced at first by a jerky movement for ward, bending the knees, then moving about, half spinning, and near the end his body seemed to quiver jerkingly and rhythmically. The women's motions became more and more accentuated and near the end men and women bent low at the waist, moving body up and down, bending legs at the knees. The walk around the pole became a fast run, with a hopping step on the right foot in unison. In this way—the men would leap high—a resonating beat was produced, accentuating the liquid rich rattle of the gourd and the choral singing.

This continued until 4 in the morning, becoming more and more frenzied, until the morning star appeared.

I regret that I fell asleep near the end. When I awoke at sunrise everyone was asleep, apparently completely exhausted.

535 They started facing northeast in front of the pole, the women to the right of the shaman. When standing still the women, with arms

1: Petrullo E-S (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. Clothes to the Yaruros mean protection from the cold at night and a mark of being "civilized." It is not often that they are able to secure new cloth. Generally they fall heir to cast-off garments. 2. At the end of a 9-hour performance during which he smoked countless cigars, drank "corote," and ate tcupah, a narcotic, Landaeta, the shaman of the Capanapero Yaruros, waits quietly for the sun to rise. His wife, who attended him all night, is seated at his right. 3. Landaeta, wearing a head cloth, with his people seated around him before sunrise. The women are at the left, the men at the right of the picture.

(End Plate 5)

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

776 775 return to earth and guide the community. In this manner, Ku'man is a center of gravity of the Yaruro ideological life. She is the center of a communications network which ties the Yaruro of the hither-world, those of the other-worlds, and the gods all in one continuous system of personal and social relations. This is somewhat the position of the spokesman or 'capitan' in the community life of the Yaruro, though he has proportionally much less influence in his village than Ku'man has in her universe. [622]

775 776 772 In sum, the gods and the dead are conceptualized as continuous with those of us on earth. Conceptually they appear to constitute the two highest steps in the age levels: infant, child, young adult, elder, the dead, and the gods. The last four classes are increasingly instrumental in teaching the ethics of living in tranquility, of respect and deference to one's spouse and to all members of one's people, and in teaching the values of the community. They exhort but never compel the community to follow these ideals. These precepts are followed not only among the egalitarian gods in their autonomous other-world communities, but in the personal and social relations between the gods and the hither-world *pumé*. The relations between men and gods, the communication between the hither- and other-worlds, the cosmography itself, all show quite clearly that there is no separation of "natural" and "supernatural" as discrete classes of events. The cosmos, society, and man are a single system in Yaruro thought. [771]

796 771 The nexus through which the flow of life in the other-world and the ongoing rhythm of daily life in the hither-world are meshed into a single system is the religious ceremony, the *tonghé*. Some description of the *tonghé* will afford us further insight into Yaruro ideology.

796 756 787 During the night-long *tonghés*, the entire community sits behind the shaman, ranged roughly by age levels. The women sit to his right, the men to his left. At dusk he begins to sing as he starts his journey to the land of Ku'man through the dark, cold land of Kiberó, the toad who gave man fire. In hundreds of improvised verses and melodies, he describes his journey, and then, after his arrival about midnight, his adventures in the lands of Ku'man and subsequently of the other gods. In each verse, the shaman sings an intonation which the entire community repeats in an identical antiphon. Thus the full experience of the shaman is transmitted to and shared by every member of the community. All is public; there is no secret knowledge. The shaman urges his people to sing with him and the other-worldly beings, to share in the responsibilities and joys of the community in supporting their individual members whether the shaman in his journey or the sick person for whom the *tonghé* may be being held. At the same time, in Ku'man land, he urges the other-worldly beings to come to advise his people and teach them. Later, the verses are no longer sung by the shaman, but rather by the dead and the gods who arrive in the husk of the shaman which he has left behind as a channel of communications for the other-worldly beings while his divisible self travels abroad. As these beings arrive in the shaman's husk, all members of the community may greet them by putting their arms around them or giving them cigarettes or drink. This is done separately by women, sometimes in groups, and by men. Throughout the ceremony the chief link between the sexually divided community is the shaman or the gods in the shaman's husk upon whom both sexes are focusing [757] [776]

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

their attention. The shaman's position as link is emphasized by the fact that his wife invariably sits next to him during the *tonghés* to minister to him and to supply him cigarettes and drink. Thus, the socio-economic link of the household is also the unique link between the sexes in ceremonial life.

The various forms of socio-economic and ceremonial division of the sexes is even more remarkably underscored by the existence of female shamanism. As one might expect, shamanesses behave differently from shamans. Shamanesses sing only in the day-time. They, like Ku'man, sing from hammocks whereas men sing sitting on the ground or dancing. Furthermore, messages trasmitted to them from Ku'man are sent only to them, though the men hear and understand them. The men listen to these messages with care and respect and with the air that there are things to be learned from them which they would otherwise not hear. The shamanesses cannot receive male gods or their messages. Female shamanism seems to be an affirmation of the kin-bonds of the matri-centered local group as well as a means of asserting the values and rights pertaining to the women's world. The women's experience ideologically, as well as socially and biologically, is recognized as being systematically distinct from men's experience in life.

Behavior in the *tonghés* is very relaxed. Villagers laugh, joke, sleep, play, get up, walk about. Sometimes persons may even fail to attend if they have chosen to go to work the next day. The only thing explicitly forbidden, because Ku'man would consider it most indelicate, is sexual intercourse. Otherwise, the lack of formalism and freedom of individual behavior so often noted before is again found here.

The importance of the *tonghés* as the foremost way of reinforcing social relations and communal values as well as for curing is seen in several ways. First, when there has been no *tonghé* for several days, one begins to feel and hear a bruiting for *another* tonghé. It is felt that much time has elepsed since the last *tonghé*. Someone asks what's wrong that we haven't had a *tonghé* in so long. Another says we need a *tonghé*. Rumors of *tonghé* begin to be heard. By the fifth or sixth day another *tonghé* is held and community bonds are again reasserted. Again, the sexual division of labor and social life observed in the other- and hither-worlds is systematically carried through into religious observances. We have mentioned the seating of men separate from women and the separate greetings given to the gods. This theme is carried still further in the exclusive women's shamanism and the equally exclusive capacity of men to do curing, either as shamans or as purely private individuals.

The *tonghé* illuminates much about Yaruro ideology. First, shamans both male and female are not considered authorities possessed of special gifts and prerogatives who interpret lore for the entire community. Rather they are considered merely the comunity religious spokesmen for the public expression of community values and for curing, who, by their own choice, enjoy and are willing to undertake the long, arduous work of training and practice. They reaffirm community bonds by repeating in endless verses the precepts and knowledge contained in the Yaruro ideology. All knowledge and all experience is, at least potentially, open to all members of the community and even the private or personal experience of each is made known to all. Any member of

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the community may do the shaman's work if he chooses, just as any can travel to the other-world or commune with the gods, although, because of age, temperament, or individual taste, not every one does so. There were, in fact, two shamans among the nine men of the writer's village, as well as a number of men who cured and who occasionally sang verse intonations in the *tonghés* although they were not shamans. The shamans are no more than respected community members outside the ceremony. Here again we observe the egalitarianism and individual self-determinism which is so much a pattern of this culture.

The *tonghé* also clearly shows the relationships which prevail between men and gods. The shamans and the other adults of the village converse with the gods in great mutual respect. They do not manipulate them nor minister to them, nor implore them. Before the gods, they are in a position corresponding to active and adept junior members of the village before their elders and especially their lineal ascendants. Furthermore, in a very real sense, no individual person, *qua* person, deals with the gods. The community, with its religious catalyst, the shaman, is the unit of action. The only individual relations with the gods occur in dreams, unconsciousness, and death. Dreams about gods are made public by singing aloud in sleep, the experience of unconsciousness is recounted publicly, and death, too, becomes public because the dead man is accessible through the *tonghés*.

The directness of contact between man and gods again emphasizes the unity of cosmos, society, and man. Within this unity, the sharp division of a male sphere from a female sphere is found. These quite coordinate spheres, in the other-worlds as in the hither-world, in religion as in socio-economic life, are linked through the household.

In conclusion, I would like briefly to review the major dimensions of Yaruro ideology. We may state these as a set of propositions, each presenting a major dimension of the ideology.

1. Cosmic structure. *The cosmos is static, limited, concrete, and internally continuous in that no barriers separate man and his society in the physical world from the nonphysical world.* The parts of the universe together form a rather rigid, symmetrical, architectonic structure, although each individual Yaruro may vary the description of the whole to suit his particular taste. All parts are of roughly coordinate importance. The major motions of nature, such as thunder and lightning, the revolutions of sun and moon, are often embodied, personalized, and independently operating entities, moved by semi-human motivations.

2. The good. *Goodness inheres generally in the cosmos as a system. The goodness manifests itself in understood causes and concretely and describably known parts of the cosmos which, whether places, persons, or things, are given exact locations.* Conversely all known and localizable objects, persons, or places and understood causes are generally good.

3. The not-good. *Evil, which is not polar to good, finds its locus in specific persons, things, or events inside or outside the cosmos, and is manifest in specific results. The underlying causes of evil, however, are inac-*

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

aboriginal peoples are called by the Spanish word "Racionales" which is the equivalent of "civilizado," civilized. It was only after they came to the conclusion that I was a Pumeh also, and quite different from the Racionales, that they accepted me and made this study possible.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Yaruros are small and dark with a strong mongoloid appearance. The faces are heavy, broad, with the eyes very often showing the mongoloid fold. The average stature of the men is about 5 feet 3 inches and of the women about 4 feet 10 inches. One gets the impression that the heads are larger than the ordinary in comparison with the body size. The frame is light, both men and women possessing small, beautifully shaped hands and feet. The body is relatively hairless, as is usual among pure Indian peoples. They have strong teeth and seem to keep them until a very old age.

The Yaruros have had some contact with Europeans or mixtures of Spanish, Negro, and Indians for several centuries. Herrara reached the Meta River in 1535, and subsequently missions were established along the Orinoco and its tributaries. About 1750 a mission was established at La Urbana for the Otomacos, and one was later established at Barinas. Apparently at that time these people inhabited the region between the Capanaparo and the Apure. No missions were established for the Yaruros, and, according to Gilii, the Yaruros came to the Otomaco missions to be baptized. Father Gumilla wrote:

> Here, between the Sinaruco and Meta rivers were established the colonies of Santa Barbara and of San Juan Francisco Regis at the end of 1739, having pacified the Saruro (Yaruro) nation; of which nation Father Manuel Roman, the Superior of those missions, in a letter of February 20, 1740, gives me excellent news of their good will and docility and, which is receiving our teachings anxiously; with the hope that with the good example of these first two other Reductions will be established. He adds that in the colony of San Francisco de Borja of the same nation Sarufa, of which Father Francisco de Olmo is in charge, who has reduced their language to writing and a dictionary, Christianity is flourishing; and that already schools for writing, reading, and singing are attended by children (a short while ago they were wild); and that they sing the mass, litanies, etc., in a fair way. So much does careful and diligent effort accomplish in those wild regions! Father Rogue Lubian takes care of the Santa Teresa village with the same efficiency; Father Jose Maria Cervillini is in charge of San Ignacio; he, with Brother Agustin de la Vega, attend as best they can the rest of the new villages, and they are clamoring for workers with the firm hope that you will send them as soon as possible.

Since there has been contact with the white man and some Negroes for several centuries, one would expect a certain amount of race mixture. However, I never saw a sign of the slightest trace of Negro blood. The hair which, more than any other characteristic, seems to indicate Negro contact, in the case of the Yaruro is coarse and straight,

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

along the west-to-east flowing rivers in ribbons some kilometers wide. Most significant fauna and flora of economic use occur in these ribbons. This ecological distribution of resources governs subsistence activities whether they be mainly hunting, fishing, collecting, or horticulture.

Yaruro subsistence comprises all these activities. (2). Horticulture in the rainy season appears considerably to outweigh all other sources of food together, but in the dry season, hunting, fishing, and collecting perhaps equal or outstrip horticulture. In any case, slash and burn gardening of manioc, corn, plantains, and a number of lesser crops is by far the single most important economic activity. The technology is exceedingly simple in all aspects of production, the main tools being the machete and digging stick. The most elaborate technology occurs in the conversion of food into edibles and in the manufacture of hammocks, pottery, objects of wood such as canoes, and woven containers of all types.

The economic organization displays a sharp division of labor between men's and women's work. Men do all hunting and fishing, make all objects of wood, haul lumber and householding materials, make hammocks, and carry out the heavy labor of gardening. Women do most of the collecting of roots, seeds, and fruits. Since collecting contributes a substantial portion of the food supply in summer, woman's contribution, here, is of considerable communal importance. Women's work, a continuous activity from dawn to dusk, is, first, the conversion of raw foodstuffs into edibles. Second, women make all pottery, mats and baskets, the manioc squeezers, and much of the cord used to make hammocks. Another important contribution of women is their help in harvesting in the gardens. Men sometimes help the women with the cookery.

Men may work alone, in groups of 2 or 3, or in larger groups on rare occasions. No occasion exists for all men to work at a single task since there is no technological need for it. Women's work groups for collecting or householding are of similar size. Work group alignments are often based on choice or accident but in other instances coresidence and kinship are determinants. The household, however, constitutes the only really necessary cooperative group for production. The man is a funnel for produce which the woman converts to

(2) The present description applies to the Cinaruco River Yaruro where the major part of the writer's field work, supported by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, was done. The Capanaparo River Yaruro were reported by Petrullo (1939) and Le Besnerais (1948) as being hunters and gatherers, although Le Besnerais observed small horticultural patches which he claimed were diffusions from Venezuelan farmers which had occurred recently. Le Besnerais in 1954 states directly that they were horticulturalists, omitting any mention of possible diffusions from Venezuelans. The passing mention of horticulture by Fiaason (1947) confirms the present writer in his opinion that, although horticulture may be more restricted on the Capanaparo than on the Cinaruco and Cunaviche-Arauca (where the writer also spent several weeks) which are not discussed at all by Petrullo or Le Besnerais, nevertheless, the absence of horticulture is probably not aboriginal with the Yaruro as has been suggested by Kirchhoff (1948, p. 456). Rather the restricted gardening is a result of ecological conditions on the Capanaparo which are less favorable to horticulture than on the neighboring rivers, combined with extremely violent acculturation, including large-scale massacres of natives. The only other possibility, in my opinion, is that horticulture was introduced by the missionaries in the early part of the Eighteenth Century, which is certainly the period when the Yaruro first became acquainted with iron tools (cf Lodares, 1922).

/8 cont./

114
174
171
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5. This paragraph had been published when we learned of Anthony Leeds' articles (see "infra" IV List...42 and 43). The latter considers that agriculture, which exists among the Yaruro, as we acknowledge further along, was introduced by missionaries at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

descendants of the first inhabitants, hunters and gatherers who invaded South America at the beginning of the Neolithic Age, as Father Cooper suggests, or are they groups of Indians who after diverse vicissitudes have degenerated and adapted their civilization to a new way of life, as Levi-Strauss insists?"

121 Immigrants or not, hunters, fishers, and gatherers who evolved, or agriculturists who regressed, we shall not make a choice here between these alternatives and shall limit ourselves to presenting two observations which, gone into more deeply, will eventually permit opting in favor of one of the theses before us.

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241 1) The tropical savanna inhabited by the Yaruro, as a consequence of the absence of extensive forests, is hardly propitious for primitive agriculture. The latter could, however, be carried out there on a small scale.

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121
241 The Yaruro, in fact, and contrary to Vicenzo Petrullo's observations, are not only gatherers, fishers, and hunters, but also practice agriculture, in general on land cleared in the forest corridors. Petrullo probably did not observe this aspect of their way of life (6) because he carried out his investigations

6. We made, moreover, the identical error in the course of our first investigations (see "infra" IV List...40).

at the height of the dry season--when the soil /9/ is no longer

/20 cont./

(13) 44. Matos Arvelo, Martín, Vida Indiana, usos, costumbres, religión, industria, gobierno, ceremonias y supersticiones de los Indios /Indian Life, Customs, Habits, Religion, Industry, Government, Ceremonies, and Superstitions of the Indians/. Barcelona, 1912.

45. Metraux, Alfred, "La civilisation Guyano-Amazonienne /The Guianian-Amazonian Civilization/," Acta Americana, July-Sept. 1946, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 130-153.

46. Muller, Friedrich, "Die Sprache der Yaruros und die Betoi /The Language of the Yaruros and the Betoi/," Grundr. D. Sprach., Vol. II, Section I, Berlin, 1889, pp. 360-363. (vocabulary, grammar).

47. Olmo, Francisco del, Arte, vocabulario y catecismo de la lengua Surura o Yarura 1738 /The Art, Vocabulary, and Catechism of the Surura or Yaruro Language 1738/. (38) (The Rev. Father Olmo of the Society of Jesuits founded the mission of San Borja on the Orinoco in 1738). Work mentioned by Viñaza, Conde de la, Bibliografía Española...(cf. 60).

48. Oramas, Luis Ramón, "Contribución al estudio de la Lengua Yaruro /Contribution to the Study of the Yaruro Language/." An. Un. Cent. de Ven., Vol. X, No. 1, 1909. (some comparisons with other dialects).

49. Oramas, Luis Ramón, Vocabulario Yaruro /Yaruro Vocabulary/.

50. Paul, Luis Alberto, Noche de Indios (relato de Arauca) /A Night of the Indians (an Arauca account)/. Caracas, 1939.

51. Petrullo, Vicenzo, "Los Indios Yaruro /The Yaruro Indians/." Bol. Acad. Cien. Fis. Mat. y Nat., Vol. I, 1934.

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38. See footnote 37.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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NUMBERS

1	keriame'h	12	taropeh nywari'h
2	nywari'h	13	taropeh tarari'h
3	tarari'h	14	taropeh hadotcomi'h
4	hadotcomi'h	15	keinetaitahotcuneï'h
5	keinetcibo'	16	keinetaitahokeriame'h
6	keinetcinikeriame'h	17	keinetaitahonydrari'h
7	keinetcininywari'h	18	keinetaitaho tarari'h
8	keinetcinitarari'h	19	keinetaitaho hadotcomi'h
9	keinetcinihadotcomi'h	20	tarsone'h
10	itcisune'h	Many	ina'
11	taropeh keriame'h		

To count: Start with thumb of left hand, continue with right hand, left foot, and right foot.

POINTS OF THE COMPASS

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North	marupano'h	South	toura'pano'h
East	jaboropano'-h	West	tciaru'pano'-h
Earth	dabu'h	Morning star	mbuae'
Moon	gupone'-h	Sun	do-h
Water	uï'-	Brook	bea-hï'
River	bea'-h	Fire	konde'

VOCABULARY

Arrow	tcito'	Knife	konumia'h
Ax	hibe'	Large	tcara'
Babu	arii'h	Long, tall	nqua' tǫ'
Barbaco	para'	Macanilla	bai'
Boy (small)	pume'h (tckwï)	Make	tsuapa'
Bow	tibato', tcibato'	Maize	yukata'
Cayman	nyiakanka'	Man (old)	ote' mai'
Canoe	ja'ra'	Machete	hapene'
Cattle	faka	Night	ine ri'h
Changuango	ipe'i'h	Paddle	taento'
Cold	tcito'i'h	Pig	obuya'
Cut	todeba'	Pole (thin)	to/o huhwa'
Dark	baghune'	Quick	hanape'
Deer	mbu'a	Rainy season	uï ro'
Dog	areri'h	Rattle	tei'
Dream	kanehoi'h	Shadow	tcaivi'
Drink	hara'	Shelter, house	hǫ'/h
Eat	hura'	Small, little	tokwï
Galapago	tcin dame'h	Summer (dry season)	hanno'
Girl (small)	iei tohwï'	Sun	do'
Good, pretty	tsaimuï'	Terracai	pudame'h
Good girl	teï tsaimui tcara' tsaimuï'	Tobacco	mambi'/h
		Turtle (large)	ikwii
Hammock	buri'	Thick	anna'
Horse	jai'	Thin	hubua'

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

The first fact that holds our attention is that Yaruros are strongly ethically conscious. Every shamanistic performance is the means for the propagation of ethical teachings. The shaman, or as the Yaruros believe, the gods and their dead ancestors speaking through the shaman, admonish various individuals and lay down the law for proper conduct. They hold the threat also that misconduct will be displeasing to the mother goddess and as a result life with her will not be as pleasant as it would be if they followed her precepts in this world.

According to the Yaruro philosophy the world is, by its nature, good and it was created by Kuma as a good thing. If any evil exists it has been introduced by men, who have forgotten or come to disregard the laws laid down by the goddess. The world, if unsullied by men, is a perfect integration of the elements which function for the good of mankind. Unfortunately, at times men will disturb the structure. There is implied in this the existence of free will for mankind, since it can change or disturb what was created by Kuma. And if we have recourse to the legends, we find that perhaps the lower animals have free will also, although it is exercised by them much more rarely than by mankind.

Kuma appears also as the teacher of ethical laws. She told the people, told Hatchawa, and now tells the shamans: to live in peace with each other; to respect each other; to help each other; to live good lives; to take care of the parents-in-law and the children-in law. When the wife is ill or otherwise the mother-in-law should look after the needs of her son-in-law, although they do not speak to each other. The Yaruros will find recompense for such moral living after death. They are poor on this earth but will be rich like Kuma in the other world.

During my stay the women remained bashful, never speaking directly to me, and when I approached generally looking away. In the latter days they would laugh merrily as they fled. Their culture does not permit free social intercourse with men, but any request on my part relayed to them through their husbands or brothers was eagerly complied with, and with better than good humor.

All were helpful toward each other and there did not appear to be any dissension. Extreme care was taken that a person's rights and prerogatives were not infringed upon. The husband never seemed to request anything of his wife that did not lie in her province, and when strange demands were made to please me, entire freedom was given to the wife, or daughter, to do as it pleased her. Any misfortune, however slight or serious, that would produce some expression of anger among white people was met by the Yaruros with merry laughter. At night each family group lay on the sands

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

the community may do the shaman's work if he chooses, just as any can travel to the other-world or commune with the gods, although, because of age, temperament, or individual taste, not every one does so. There were, in fact, two shamans among the nine men of the writer's village, as well as a number of men who cured and who occasionally sang verse intonations in the *tonghés* although they were not shamans. The shamans are no more than respected community members outside the ceremony. Here again we observe the egalitarianism and individual self-determinism which is so much a pattern of this culture.

The *tonghé* also clearly shows the relationships which prevail between men and gods. The shamans and the other adults of the village converse with the gods in great mutual respect. They do not manipulate them nor minister to them, nor implore them. Before the gods, they are in a position corresponding to active and adept junior members of the village before their elders and especially their lineal ascendants. Furthermore, in a very real sense, no individual person, *qua* person, deals with the gods. The community, with its religious catalyst, the shaman, is the unit of action. The only individual relations with the gods occur in dreams, unconsciousness, and death. Dreams about gods are made public by singing aloud in sleep, the experience of unconsciousness is recounted publicly, and death, too, becomes public because the dead man is accessible through the *tonghés*.

The directness of contact between man and gods again emphasizes the unity of cosmos, society, and man. Within this unity, the sharp division of a male sphere from a female sphere is found. These quite coordinate spheres, in the other-worlds as in the hither-world, in religion as in socio-economic life, are linked through the household.

In conclusion, I would like briefly to review the major dimensions of Yaruro ideology. We may state these as a set of propositions, each presenting a major dimension of the ideology.

1. Cosmic structure. *The cosmos is static, limited, concrete, and internally continuous in that no barriers separate man and his society in the physical world from the nonphysical world.* The parts of the universe together form a rather rigid, symmetrical, architectonic structure, although each individual Yaruro may vary the description of the whole to suit his particular taste. All parts are of roughly coordinate importance. The major motions of nature, such as thunder and lightning, the revolutions of sun and moon, are often embodied, personalized, and independently operating entities, moved by semi-human motivations.

2. The good. *Goodness inheres generally in the cosmos as a system. The goodness manifests itself in understood causes and concretely and describably known parts of the cosmos which, whether places, persons, or things, are given exact locations.* Conversely all known and localizable objects, persons, or places and understood causes are generally good.

3. The not-good. *Evil, which is not polar to good, finds its locus in specific persons, things, or events inside or outside the cosmos, and is manifest in specific results. The underlying causes of evil, however, are inac-*

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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cessible to the senses or to understanding. For example, all cosmic or extra-cosmic personnel whose locations are variable, vague, or unknown, are capable of doing evil. Being neither known nor localizable, they are not part of the unified kin and cosmic structure in which gods, the dead, and men and their respective lands are tied together. They exist outside society, hence only loosely attached to, or even outside of, the cosmos. Thus disease and death are both caused by sorcerers (*brujos*, Sp; *yareké*, Y.). These are described as wandering about freely in the savanas where they attack persons. Not only can the Yaruro advert to them only in the most indefinite way with regard to form, but they also specifically deny that human beings are or can be sorcerers or that human beings practice witchcraft. Thus, to the Yaruro, the major evils of disease and of wicked hearts (*corazones malos*) of individual Yaruros are caused by unknowable spirits. Even the chief and father of the *yareké*, Abakári, is as indefinite in form as his sons, and the Yaruro either do not locate him at all, or are very much disagreed as to his locus. No proper Yaruro self has any personal contact with him. Though the *yareké* are kin-related among themselves, they are not "of our family" (*de la familia de nosotros*), hence outside of our society.

4. The good society. *In the good cosmos, the good society consists of kin-related gods, the dead, communities and individuals of largely coordinate and reciprocal statuses living in tranquility and sharing all things.* Gods, community, and individuals are all actors knowing the general principles of the cosmic society. Such principles include kinship, equivalent rights and privileges for all.

5. The determinants of action. *In the good society, action is guided by precept, suggestion, and by sensibility to the wants of others and of self, but compulsion and hostility are not permissible.*

6. Nature of precepts and principles of action. *In the good society, precepts and principles are general rather than specific and prescriptive.* The result is that patterns of behavior and thought in Yaruro society are quite unformalized, unritualized, and unspecified. All classes of behavior show a great range of variability and flexibility. The individual can choose to fulfil his obligations to the community, an the community to the cosmos, in various ways.

7. Freedom or restriction of will. *The individual not only has a broad range of choice of actions but is not compelled by the nature of the cosmos nor by the personel in it to follow any particular path. He has free will with regard to the ordained order of things* (4) .Each man is, in theory, as in fact, to a remarkable degree self-determining in actions and thought. Except in extreme divergences, he need not account to anyone.

Several dimensions which appear as dualistic distinctions in western thought are conceptually single in Yaruro ideology. The self, as the expe-

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(4) Petrullo (1939, p. 229) first noted this aspect.

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riences in shamanism, dreams, unconsciousness, and immediately after death show, is conceived as being undifferentiated and unitary, though divisible into like, but unequally active parts. No mind-body distinction is made. Again in a static and limited universe within which, however, all parts, visible and invisible, sensible or not directly sensible, are in a flux of interaction, all things have some degree of reality. The distinction "real-unreal" as it is understood in the West is lacking among the Yaruro. Further, in this same universe, those parts which we might designate "immaterial" are, to the Yaruro, quite as concrete and sensed as the so-called "material" objects and events. The western distinction between "material" and "immaterial" is not a meaningful one to the Yaruro. Finally, the unity and continuity of what westerners would call "natural" and "supernatural" has been discussed above. Such a distinction is not made by the Yaruro.

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

512 rejoice, for they know that Kuma, the goddess creator of all things,
517 is content with them and is sending them a greeting in token thereof.
776 On the wings of the wind comes the roar of the araguatos.

But life starts in the east and ends in the west. The day is done and the night comes on. The Yaruros turn to face the east to watch
● 821 the beginning of star travel and also the fiery appearance of the
776 moon and its transformation to a chaste white. The sands glisten and above flash "falling stars", but the Yaruros say that these are messengers of Kuma doing their errands.

512 Then the women roll cigars, light them, and pass them to their men.
276 Everyone smokes and there is great contentment. There is reluctance
462 to stand up, so if a woman has to fetch some object, say a firebrand,
[576] she will crawl on all fours, looking not unlike some large but indescribably graceful ape.

When several stars of the big dipper have appeared the women
512 rise in a body and walk into the darkness west of the camp. They
462 disappear from sight and hearing. What mysteries they perform they only know. The men are left alone and they talk about heaven. The children play merrily.

The women return and quietly take their places, ready to prepare more cigars. It is good to lie naked on the sand looking at the sky,
000 listening to nature's symphony. With the same persistent effortless rhythm of the pulse beat the world outside of the individual is felt. There is the merry laughter of the children and the soft, deep, contented gurgle of the women; the soft voice of the shaman painting religious pictures, explaining existence; the murmur of the wind as a background to the calls of night birds, and the blowing of toninos, the splash of frolicsome fishes, the intermittent howl of the monkeys, the bark of the wolf, the roar of the jaguar; and the warmth of a full stomach.

512 A figure may detach itself from the camp shadows and disappear
796 in the darkness of the west. Several young men may afterwards take the same path—to join the shaman in his preparations for communion with the gods. They leave behind them a feeling of expectation but nothing is said. Someone has put up a bare pole where the sand is hard packed.

796 The shaman returns and goes to sit in front of the pole facing the
791 east. He sits quietly and alone in deep reverie. Later he may ask for a cigar. His wife will supply him with one.

After a period of contemplation he may begin to sing and dance. His people will join him. The music will become more and more animated, the singing and dancing will be done with increasing abandon. The stars and the moon will go their ways to rest in the west.
512 It is only when the sun peeps over the eastern horizon that they will

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

181 up and down the rivers in their canoes, or lying on the sand, feasting on crocodile or turtle. He would see stolid fixed faces, uncommunicative, affrighted. But if this traveler were to stay he would discover that from sundown to sunrise the Yaruro lives in an intensive romantic world which he cannot and rarely would care to share with anyone else.

576 787 821 We returned from the trip to La Urbana at sundown when bars of yellow, blue, and white light streaked the western sky. The Yaruros were sitting on the sands watching this phenomenon with a certain rapture. They sat quietly and in silence facing the west until the lights had faded and merged into a subdued golden glow. Then Landaeta came and greeted me affectionately. He spoke of what we had just seen in the western sky, explaining that it represented a greeting from the mother goddess Kuma, to her children the Yaruros and to me. The other men came also, and the women too put their arms about me, but the latter kept their faces averted as is proper in Yaruro culture. We settled ourselves on the sands. Small fires were burning with remnants of turtles and crocodiles broiling over them. The sands glistened in the moonlight that soon came upon us. Araguato monkeys roared in the distance. An occasional bird sang. Insects hummed. Toninos frolicking in the water came up to blow lustily. And Landaeta explained that these animals were also children of Kuma and that everyone in Kuma's world was glad that I had returned.

553 123 We smoked and Landaeta talked, recounting what his gods had told him about me; that now I was one of their family, and he affectionately called me "adjimai oteh" (elder brother), which became the standard form of address by all of his people. In return I was asked to call them little brother and little sister.

791 791 533 At a point Landaeta rose and walked away into the darkness. His son and nephew followed him soon afterwards. He returned after an absence of half and hour, wearing his shaman's ceremonial cap and breechclout. He went to sit on the clean white sands to the east of the camp, where he remained still and quiet for a long time. His wife went to him with a lighted cigarette. He smoked this in silence and alone. Finally he made a sign and his son and nephew rose immediately to plant a pole a few feet in front of him, and then retired again into the darkness. After some time Landaeta rose, and facing the east in front of the pole, continued to smoke in silence. It seemed a long time before he began to sing, softly and hesitantly, which time was measured by the rising of the stars. After he had finished two songs his wife approached him again, thrusting into the ground, close to the pole, a stick from which hung a small basket. Landaeta continued standing, facing the east and singing, pausing briefly between

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939' SS19 Yaruro SS19 sia RC1

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513 where they believe their gods live. It was only when the sun began
521 to burn our bodies that they approached me to chat. They expressed their concern over my illness and soon busied themselves to make me
123 as comfortable as possible. While I distributed among them a few presents bought for them in Urbana, and turned all of the food over to Landaeta, the younger men were busy building a sun shelter, an arbor of the sweet-smelling guava bush, though for themselves they had only branches thrust into the sands, giving only a thin shade. From now on, I was completely in their care, and they were careful nurses and tender friends. The best of the hunt was mine, and even the women delighted in taking care of my clothing, and in bringing me delicacies.

They were glad to see me, and the women shamans soon began their chants while the men surrounded me and told me in their own language and in broken Spanish what had occurred the previous night.
[562] Men are prohibited from singing during the day, but the women sit in swinging hammocks and chant their songs. I learned, too, that Landaeta's daughter had not died, for there she was, grateful and shyly looking at me, completely well. They attributed her cure to me, though I was not at all responsible for it. During the night, they told me, the gods had come among us, and told them that I, too, was one of Kuma's children, and again they insisted that I was related to them.

787 I learned that Puaná and Itciai are cocreators with Kuma, the
776 mother goddess, and they are directly responsible for the actual creation of the world. Hatchawa, in the form of a litttle boy, is another
773 god who has given mankind fire, the bow and arrow, and many other blessings. Now, when the shaman sings at night his soul leaves his body and travels to the land of Kuma, leaving his body behind. The gods may come then, enter his body in the form of songs, and transmit their messages to the Yaruros. They had come the night before to greet me and to reassure my friends of my goodness and my own powers of shamanism.

512 We sat, smoked, and talked all day. In the afternoon we feasted on crocodile, turtle eggs, wild roots, palm nuts, and honey. Finishing our dinner, we sat quietly facing the west, watching the skies. As the sun set low again, rays of gold, blue, and white shot into the sky from the horizon, and my friends rejoiced at this certain greeting of Kuma to us.

821 Darkness came upon us, and in anticipation of a long night of singing and dancing—I could sing but could not dance, since I could not stand up—I lay on the sands to rest before the beginning of the ceremonies. but the skies interested the Yaruros and they came to tell me what they read there. The brightness of the stars and the changing

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

821 formations held a deep fascination for them. I understood but little of it, for their Spanish was too broken, and I was unfamiliar with Yaruro. So we spent the evening in quiet conversation and amity, conscious of the soft voices of the women in the background, children, laughter, and always the throbbing roar of the distant bands of 825 howlers which was brought to us by the wind. To the Yaruros the howlers were formerly men.

Landaeta relayed to me questions uppermost in his wife's mind. Did I have a wife in my own country? Did I have any children? Why had they not come with me? Once in Brazil I had been asked similar questions by another naked primitive fold, and I had answered truthfully that I had neither wife nor children. I remember their confusion and amazement. In their eyes I was a great man, and therefore I should have had many wives and many children. It is certain that they really never believed or understood my answer. So, in this case, not wanting to make extensive explanations about our civilization, which not only does not insist that men and women marry, but even makes it very difficult for them to do so, I lied, answering that I was married and had one son. Of course I had to describe both wife and boy to the inquisitive women. They wanted to know if her skin was the same color as mine, and her hair as white as mine, and what did she wear on her body? Also, they made me 784 promise that some day I would bring my wife and boy to them, so that the women who, because of social taboos, could not converse directly with me, would be able to do so with my wife.

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796 Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at creating artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily under 781 the very nose of the shaman without reproof, and the adults talked happily. The imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions and no restraints were put on normal and natural behavior before joyous events.

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787 Itciai arrived and I was helped to sit close to the shaman. Apparently Itciai was talking about me, referred to as "the Man." I lighted 791 a cigarette and held it to the shaman's mouth. Without interrup-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

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775 culture or themselves against a superior culture and ruthless "civilized" bandits. Their only consolation is Kuma and the Land of Kuma.

781 Nevertheless, being realists they not only continue their daily activities of hunting and gathering foods, but also in finding daily solace through their environment and the shamanistic contact with Kuma. The Yaruro is nature conscious. Perhaps his lonely existence has made him ecstatically responsible to the world about him, for often they talked of the beauty of various phenomena; but stronger than any such feeling is their sense of intimate relationship with the sun, the moon, the stars, their animal life. The falling stars at night are interpreted by them to be messengers sent by Kuma to encourage her people, the Yaruros; the moon is friendly, and on moonless nights the stars represent the crowds of their ancestors
825 who live with Kuma. The wind blows incessantly and it blows to them the roar of the araguatos (the howlers), which, to them, represent distant relatives once human beings, but changed into monkeys by life in the trees at the time of the great flood; the toninos, frolicking at night in the water, are also another race who failed to climb the rope which Hatchawa let down to bring his people to the surface. It is in such a friendly world that the Yaruro literally sits, listens,
154 and looks, almost communing with his environment. Perhaps it is not out of place to mention at this point that this reaction on the part of the Yaruros is not difficult to understand, that perhaps we ought not to rationalize this attitude of the Yaruro entirely on the basis of superstition or religious ideas; anyone who has lived on the plains, exposed day and night to nature, soon loses any feeling of lonesomeness. This response on the part of the Yaruros is shared by the llaneros, who do not seem to be so perfectly at ease as when they are alone in the plains.

THE YARURO UNIVERSE

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177 How much of Yaruro cosmic ideas have been borrowed from the missionaries it is difficult to say at this point. Missionaries have been among them from time to time but the Yaruros have been abandoned so completely so many times that the result and confusion is difficult if not impossible to unravel—a thing which can be done only when we have thorough descriptive studies of the various tribes of the Columbian plains and the tribes of Guiana. The comparative ma-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

criticism of Kuma, and there is even an implication that she always acts with the greatest wisdom.

THE LAND OF KUMA

Kuma lives in the west, apparently beyond the horizon. In the month of March and in early April, about 9 o'clock in the evening, there is a glow in the western sky, a beautiful phenomenon, which the Yaruros explained is the reflection from Kuma's land. Its exact geographic position does not seem to be known and is as hazy as a Catholic's idea of the position of Heaven. For instance, we are told that the stars are both the lights from Kuma Land and the people from that land walking about at night, and yet the Land of Kuma is localized somewhere in the west.

This land is described sometimes as a vast and clean savanna, treeless and full of game, and at other times as a savanna with a huge town in which Kuma and her people live. This latter conception springs from the association the modern Yaruros have between wealth, comfort, power, and those material things which the civilized peoples possess. Towns are included among the products of the civilized. In the same way we find that although the Yaruros are a horseless people, Kuma and her people seem to have an abundance of horses. Apparently those things which are denied the Yaruros in this land are to be found in the next and shamanism is the means of expressing the longings of the living Yaruros.

THE LAND OF KIBEROH

In contrast with the beautiful world in which Kuma lives and to which all Yaruros expect to go, Kiberoh rules over a dark land inhabited by those unfortunate races of mankind left in the hole when the rope dropped by Hatchawa was broken by a too-heavy pregnant woman. Not much is known, nor is there much interest on the part of the Yaruros about this unpleasant region. However, this must not be taken that they have a belief in hell as Father Gumilla reported. According to this author the Yaruros believed in an evil spirit called Tighitighi. On the contrary, my informants identified Tighitighi merely as a large hawk which has no relation to the devil.

PUANÁ

Puaná stands out as the indulgent parent and teacher of Hatchawa. He is also the artisan who invented all of the implements now used by the Yaruros. He is conceived of as the great snake, and in fact is so portrayed on the gourd rattles of the shamans, yet there is a

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

317 323 [302] [824] This same clay supplies the red and yellow ocher used for facial painting. The clay is tempered with the bark of the Mecla tree called "Toiin" in Yaruro. This bark is burned to an ash and the ashes are kneaded into the clay, which has been well moistened. Rolls of this clay are then made, coiled, and placed one upon another. They are then flattened and smoothed out by hand or with the help of a piece of shell, water being applied liberally. The clay rests on a dish of pottery which is revolved when necessary. After the pot has been built up and smoothed down it is left in the sun to dry for two days. At the proper time a base of wood is made,

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FIGURE 22.—Pottery forms and decorations. *a*, *b*, *c*, Water jars, showing painted designs. *d*, *e*, *g*, Bowls. *f*, Pottery plate used for toasting seeds.

the pottery placed on it and covered with other sticks, and then a hot fire bakes the pottery for about two hours. Such quick firing produces a poor quality of pottery, but leaves it porous. Since these pots are used only as water jars, this has the effect of keeping the water very cool (pl. 13, *2*; fig. 22).

CLOTHING

291 177 Most of the Yaruros whom I saw possessed some scrap of clothing which was worn both as protection against the weather and for social show. In many cases this clothing consisted of mere shreds, as can be seen in plate 15, *1*. The men wear coats and trousers or merely trousers. The women wear camisoles of the thinnest goods which in no way hides their nakedness. Most of this clothing is discarded when there are no visitors around camp, and

1 [see category 116, and plate 3 ----- Analyst]

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod. S d-m	F a	W m-s	S c-n	Division of Labor Prod. M	F	Food M	Prep. F	Q
pe'be	cotua	duck species	rivers, caños, arrows	≠≠	≠	≠	≠	≠≠		?	?	2?
pos'nà	pato	duck species	doubtful if hunted on Cinaruco)									
MISCELLANEOUS MATERIALS COLLECTED FOR USE IN PRODUCTION:												
ya'ro	capuruna	leaf to wrap and store corn sticks	savana, picking			≠?			≠		≠	1
karam'ba	?	cigar wrapping	savana, picking	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠?		≠	≠	1
ngam'bi	tabaco	tobacco	savana, picking	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	1
u'de	curagua, macanilla	macanilla	near caños (?) a) for bows,	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠≠		≠≠		2
		palm	b) for string, fibres for objects	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠		≠≠	≠≠	3-
chara't'o	salau (salado?)	canoe wood (?)	montes, for making canoes	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠≠		≠≠		4
citô't'o	caña brava	cane for arrows	near caños for foreshafts	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠≠		≠≠		4-
ru	moriche	moriche	near or in caños, used for making house roofs, baskets, cords, fibres, hammocks	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠	≠≠≠	≠≠≠	5
ago	moriche frond	ditto	as above, often picked up from ground, or tree cut and fronds collected, last for years, may be reused.		as above							
biri't'o-i	guasca	bark strips	montes, caños, for lashing	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠≠		≠≠		3
è-im'bu	cera de abeja	beeswax	near caños, from large trees	≠	≠			≠		≠		1
è-'ke	miel	honey	as above	≠	≠			≠				1
e'ra	peramán	tree wax	as above? for arrows	≠?	≠?			≠		≠		2

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[p.37]

the moriche palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*); several seeds, notably chiga (= chigo?; — *Campsiandra comosa*); calabashes (*Crescentia Cujete*), and bees' wax and honey. Non of the items gathered are large in size or difficult of access except the bees' wax, one or two of the fruits, and calabashes which grow on higher trees, or may be very far. Gathered foods may be picked up by hand or with the aid of a digging stick or machete, and may be brought back in the harvesting baskets. Other items which may be gathered include the raw materials for baskets and mat-making or for food-processing tools such as the tipití, pots, or mortars and pestels. These items include the fronds of the moriche palm, used for making cord, baskets, tipitís, mats, and sacks; in some villages, clay for pots; reeds for arrows, wood for house beams, mortars and pestles, bows, and for cooking utensils. Wood, palm fronds, and many other items are gathered with the help of the all-purpose machete.

Pig herding is unsystematically done. The pigs, a recent acquisition, spend most of their time at will in the foraging grounds. The significant herding activity occurs only at times when one or another of the groups of pigs breaks into the gardens, an almost daily occurrence. They are then driven to the foraging grounds again, or if late in the day, into a close till morning when they are either driven forth again or allowed to scavenge in the village. There are several herds of pigs of sizes varying from perhaps a maximum of 20 including piglets to the more usual six or eight animals. The only tools used in pig care include a slaughtering stick with which the pig is clubbed to death and knives to cut up the meat. The close is built of logs cut with a machete and carried in by one or two men. Pig meat, though eaten with regularity, is definitely a secondary element of diet.

Hunting is done almost exclusively with the bow and arrow. There are several types of arrows. One for fish has a metal point approximately 4 inches long with a side hook about five inches from the tip, where the tip is set into the shaft. This may also be used for smaller animals. One for birds has a blunt wooden head, and does not appear to be used very often. A third type is used for larger animals such as deer and capybara. It has a blade about 6 inches long shaped like a laurel leaf and, at present, made of steel. At the base of the blade, a small cross-piece is affixed in order to prevent the precious blade from piercing so deeply into the animal that, if it escapes, it would carry the arrow away with it. The fourth type of arrow is used for turtles, tortoises, and alligators or other animals which submerge. The head is short and strong with a sharp recurved hook. The entire metal head is attached to a cord, and this in turn is attached to the arrow shaft, from which the head is detachable. On detaching, the shaft floats and the game can be followed in its underwater course. The bow is generally about 6 feet long or a little more. It is made rather crudely of the wood of the macanilla palm (*Bactris Gaspiaes*). Some animals, especially land tortoises and armadillos, may be caught by hand. Alligators may also be hunted with exceedingly heavy steel hooks and a strong line. In hunting, no traps, nets, surrounds, or drives are used.

Fishing is done chiefly with bows and arrows, though an arrow may sometimes be used as a spear, repeatedly jabbed into grassy waters near the river banks. Fishing may also be done with hooks and lines of different sizes. Bait is also used. A man may fish from a platform built by lashing logs horizontally to two trees

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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not allowed to the neighboring peoples, such as the Otomacos or the Achaguas. The social and linguistic bonds seem to be strong enough to cause the Yaruros to recognize themselves as a distinct people.

FOODS

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In the llanos food is not plentiful except in and along the rivers; but the foraging activities of the Yaruros are restricted to the banks of the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers for another reason. The hunting of land animals has practically stopped for fear that they will be accused by the ranchers of killing cattle. In recent years the activities of the crocodile hunters have ruthlessly destroyed the game, and since such hunters live on the country they have consumed a portion of the available quantity of game on which the Yaruros depended for a livelihood.

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[237]
In the dry season game is concentrated along the rivers and the water holes. It is considerably easier to hunt it then than in the rainy season, when it is dispersed over the plains. The turtle, which is found in great quantities in the waters of the Orinoco and its tributaries, suffers a yearly mass hunt and destruction which has its effect on the food supply of the Yaruros. It has been discovered that the turtle fat and eggs will produce a fine grade of oil which sells for a high price. The result is that the breeding grounds of the turtles become yearly a scene of great activity and destruction. No one knows how many thousands of turtles and turtle eggs are gathered and converted into this oil late in the month of April.

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[825]
The meat staple of the Yaruros is the *Crocodilus babu*, a small crocodile which grows to about 6 feet long. This animal is hunted daily and eaten in its entirety. Its meat is esteemed above that of any other animal. On the other hand, the cayman, sought for its hide, is not hunted as a rule by the Yaruros. Perhaps this meat is not as savory as that of the babu, but the Yaruros give the reason that the large crocodile represents a race of mankind to which they are related. So that although occasionally it may be hunted for the price that its hide may bring, it is never eaten and never hunted consistently.

[226]
Next to the crocodile, turtles, including the matamata and tortoise, are to be found broiling over the fires in every Yaruro camp, and if they are not broiling they can be seen in shallow pools of water with their forelegs tied to their hindlegs. In this way they can keep alive but cannot walk away. The armadillo is seldom obtained and other meats appear occasionally on the diet of the Yaruros. Fishing is resorted to when neither crocodiles nor turtles are obtainable. The caribe, which is the piranha of Brazil, is esteemed but little. The tonino, which can be seen gracefully playing in the water or can be heard snorting in the rivers at night, is never hunted. It also is

1: Petrullo E-3 (1939-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

culture or themselves against a superior culture and ruthless "civilized" bandits. Their only consolation is Kuma and the Land of Kuma.

Nevertheless, being realists they not only continue their daily activities of hunting and gathering foods, but also in finding daily solace through their environment and the shamanistic contact with Kuma. The Yaruro is nature conscious. Perhaps his lonely existence has made him ecstatically responsible to the world about him, for often they talked of the beauty of various phenomena; but stronger than any such feeling is their sense of intimate relationship with the sun, the moon, the stars, their animal life. The falling stars at night are interpreted by them to be messengers sent by Kuma to encourage her people, the Yaruros; the moon is friendly, and on moonless nights the stars represent the crowds of their ancestors who live with Kuma. The wind blows incessantly and it blows to them the roar of the araguatos (the howlers), which, to them, represent distant relatives once human beings, but changed into monkeys by life in the trees at the time of the great flood; the toninos, frolicking at night in the water, are also another race who failed to climb the rope which Hatchawa let down to bring his people to the surface. It is in such a friendly world that the Yaruro literally sits, listens, and looks, almost communing with his environment. Perhaps it is not out of place to mention at this point that this reaction on the part of the Yaruros is not difficult to understand, that perhaps we ought not to rationalize this attitude of the Yaruro entirely on the basis of superstition or religious ideas; anyone who has lived on the plains, exposed day and night to nature, soon loses any feeling of lonesomeness. This response on the part of the Yaruros is shared by the llaneros, who do not seem to be so perfectly at ease as when they are alone in the plains.

THE YARURO UNIVERSE

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

781 Of great importance is the fact that the Yaruros live in a world which they understand perfectly. At night they watch the heavens for signs from their gods. Each night they read a new chapter in a great story book. During the day the winds, the skies, the sun, have much to tell them, and they watch and listen eagerly. Their world is not one of fear but one which, as created by Kuma, is excessively friendly and hopeful. Terror has been introduced by the white man.

771 For every species of plant and animal life a gigantic counterpart exists in the Land of Kuma. Originally the plants and animals, which have been domesticated by the white man, were given to the Yaruros, but the size of the horse and cattle frightened the Yaruros so much that they refused to mount one or tame the other. The white man seized the opportunity which has since made him master of the Yaruro country. However, they have no explanation for the superiority of the white race except sheer wickedness. This superiority is so startling sometimes that the Yaruros feel that the white man in some way must be closely affiliated with gods, good or bad. The appearance of the white man on the plains of Apure is a legendary event. A white man, the Yaruros say, appeared on a huge horse. He was covered with foul sores and destroyed everything in his path. The Yaruros are content to hunt and cultivate the soil. The result is that the civilized peoples raise crops, store them, but the Yaruros are condemned to wander about hunting for a daily dinner.

182 776

825 Many of the animal species, natural formations and constellations are to the Yaruros metamorphosed races of man. One explanation for the monkeys, especially the araguatos (the howlers), is that they are the descendants of a group of people who, to save themselves, climbed to the top of a tree during the time of the flood. The caymans represent another race of men who failed to take advantage of Hatchawa's rope to be lifted out of the hole in the ground. The toninos also are a race of metamorphosed humans.

182 773 The Yaruro, according to their conception of mankind, were Kuma's chosen people. They were created first of all the Indian tribes and that is why they were given the open plains to live in with an open sky overhead so that they might be in close touch with Kuma day and night. The Guahibos, on the other hand, or as the Yaruros called them, the Tciricoi, the forest people, were created last and occupy an inferior position.

776 774 In addition to playing a purely religious role, the gods function as ethical teachers in every shamanistic performance, a function which is shared by the spirits who are close relatives of the living Yaruros. It is they who visit their living descendants and speak through the body of the shaman, correct abuses, scold the evildoers, and praise the good.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Christian Venezuelans, which lies between the two lower celestial domes and existed prior to Ku'maⁿ.

It is to be noted that Ku'maⁿ was not responsible for creating her fellow primordial gods. She is not an omnipotent creator but is fundamentally limited to creating other-world and hither-world things familiar to the Yaruro. She exists in an independent but loosely coordinate status with other celestial beings or phenomena like Thunder, Sun, Moon, the stars, the rainbow, and possibly Dios — the prototype for personal status among the Yaruro. Furthermore, despite wide variation in creation myths, the fact stands out, too, that she must almost equal honors with Poa'naⁿ in the creation of all that is vital to the Yaruro in the hither-world in a creational division of labor closely paralleling the division of labor found in the actual economy. Further, Ku'maⁿ and Poa'naⁿ, by the link of marriage, provide a prototype for the essential productive and distributional unit, the household. Hachawa, their son according to some informants, and Iciai, Poa'naⁿ s'ster's son, both boys at the time of the creation, contribute little and are as much nuisance as help until they have matured, an apt reflection of the position of children in Yaruro economy. Today Poa'naⁿ and Ku'maⁿ seem preeminent in status among the gods, but at the same time are definitely merely *primi inter pares*, occupying the position of more experienced elders within the community of the gods, each of whom acts autonomously according to his own dictates.

The community of the gods is again prototypic for Yaruro hither-world life. Each god and his land constitutes a sort of village community populated by the god or gods, by dead *pumé*, by dead animals, and by the regular other-worldly animal population especially jaguars in human form and dress. The human-like inhabitants of the other-world eat, drink, dance, have sex relations, and visit from god's land to god's land. They enter into the web of kinship which ties the gods to each other, to the dead Yaruro, and to the live *pumé* of the hither-world in complex, if varying, genealogical connections. Even the great jaguar god, T'ó whose bailiwick is the first celestial dome and whose main task, under the general direction of Ku'maⁿ, is to cure, is considered distantly related and of the family of Poa'naⁿ. A number of animal species are similarly distantly related, but like those Yaruro who cannot be fitted into the kinship system, are merely connected to us nominally. The gods, the dead, and the live *pumé* equally observe kinship obligations. Thus kinship and visits among the autonomous lands of the gods are the chief ties holding the four other-worlds together, a prototype for Yaruro village and social structure. (3)

However, in relationship to the living, Ku'maⁿ is 'our chief'. More than any other god, she is turned to for advice, for ethical reaffirmations, and for fulfilment of needs. It is first to Ku'maⁿ bright and golden land that the *pumé* go at death, during unconsciousness, in dreams, and during the religious ceremonies, the *tonghés*. The other lands are visited later and are less important in the other-worldly journeys made by the living. The dead of Ku'maⁿ land are the first to be called upon by the shaman when, during the *tonghés*, he arrives in the other-worlds. He asks them, as well as Ku'maⁿ and the other gods, to

(3) Eliade (1954) emphasizes this prototypic quality of "primitive" ideologies throughout the book.

/11 cont./

O Y 775 776 way which leads to the other world it will meet after the village of the tiyo of Iʃiai, at the left, on the same side, the tiyo of the Otomaco. They sang and danced (shamanistic ceremony) during the day when Kuma and Iʃiai were still living on earth. When they ran off into the other world they continued to sing and dance but at night. During their songs they walked, the old men of past times used to say."

Y 533 539 Pedro Ramón Camacho completed his account with a quatrain of this song which had been repeated to him by a grandfather, but the meaning of which he did not know:

gwaǩarka hihi gwaǩarka hihi
gwaǩarka hihi gwaǩarka hihi
pideruba pideruba pideruba hihi
pideruba pideruba pideruba hihi

Y 773 825 136 The Otomaco are presented in Yaruro legends as being in the beginning three animals: the mono (15), the araguato (16),

15. Monkey (Cebus nigrivittatus), in Venezuelan.

16. Howling monkey (Alouetta ursina), in Venezuelan.

and the chigüíre (17).

17. Capybara, large amphibious rodent (Hydrochoerus hydrochoeris), in Venezuelan.

Y 773 825 The transformation of the Otomaco into monos and araguatos seems to have occurred at the time of the flood unleashed by Iʃiai to cleanse the world of all the moral disorder which reigned there. Some Otomaco took refuge in the trees

/11 cont./
773 out of reach of the waters, having refused to shelter themselves
825 on an elevated knoll as Iɟiai ordered them to do. The latter, to punish them, condemned them and all their family to become "monos and araguatos who will eat henceforth," he told them, "leaves, fruit, chiga (18), etc...."

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18. Chigo grain (Campsiandra comosa), from which the Yaruro apparently extract flour.

The origin of the chigüíre is illustrated on its part by the text reproduced next:

1st version (literal translation)

"Once upon a time, when the Kuma still lived on earth, an old Otomaco pumę (19). The Kuma had a little gourd

19. In Yaruro: man or Yaruro.

full of mosquitos (20) and plaga (21) and one day the Otomaco

[136]

20. Diurnal wounding gnats (Similium haemapotum Malloch), in Venezuelan.

21. Nocturnal mosquitoes, in Venezuelan.

asked her: "What is this, grandmother?" "No, son," she answered him, "do not try to uncork it because they are Iɟiai's sons. If you uncork it, /12/ the little beasts will eat you." The Otomaco, the old pumę, was stubborn and in an inattentive moment of the Kuma uncorked the little receptacle near a river. In an instant he was covered with bites and threw himself into the water. Then Iɟiai said to him that for

Y /12 cont./
773 having been disobediant he was going to serve as food for the
825 pumę's and be transformed into chigüíre. In the same instant
he was transformed into chigüíre."

2nd version (literal translation)

"The Kuma had a little receptacle filled with plaga and all kinds of zancudos (22). A pumę, the chigüíre, the

Y
[134] 22. Anopheles mosquitoes (Cellia argyritarsis), in Venezuelan.

Otomaco asked Kuma what kind of animal was in the receptacle. She answered that they were dangerous zancudos and that he must not open it because that would present danger. The Otomaco said: "I am going to open it." Then he opened the receptacle and thus the plaga came. If he had not opened it there would have been no plaga. When he had opened the receptacle, the mosquitoes began to bite him. The Otomaco threw himself into the water because he could not stand the bites and was transformed into chigüíre because he had disobeyed. Ijiai said to him: "You did not want to obey, you will be transformed into chigüíre which the pumę's will kill to feed upon." The bristles of the chigüíres are the zancudos. The present chigüíres are the sons of those who have disobeyed."

O
101 Otomaco territory seems to have been situated north of
131 that of the Yaruro, around the place where they supposedly were created: Los Caballos, near the Río Cunaviche. "All these dunes," Pedro Ramón Camacho said to us word for word, and at the same time his hand made a one-quarter turn of the horizon toward the north, "were once covered with Otomaco
O 172 villages. The remains of pimpina (23), of plates, of
415
Y
173 23. A pitcher of porous earthenware used as a water-cooler in Venezuelan.

/ /121 cont./

b) Somatology and Pathology.

113 Vincenzo Petrullo in his book Yaruros of the Capanaparo
162 River (1) has devoted one chapter to the physical characteristics

1. In Anthropological Papers, No. 11, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 123, pp. 161 to 290.

of the Yaruro. We refer the reader to this work, our own ob-
164 servations on this offering nothing very new. Let us add only that all the adults and some children of both sexes have their bodies and particularly the extremities of their limbs covered with white, painful plaques called carare, a fact already noted by Petrullo. According to the Yaruro, beginning with a certain, unspecified age—perhaps corresponding to puberty, for we have never observed it with the newborn and rarely with young children—the skin dries up in places and then loses its pigmenta-
164 tion. Again according to the Yaruro, this phenomenon, which
827 they seem to consider a blemish (they have frequently asked us if a remedy existed to get rid of it), is perhaps transmitted through the blood. When a wife is attacked by carare she infects her husband by pouring a drop of her own blood into his drink so that he will not abandon her.

164 Sanitary conditions among the Yaruro are on the whole extremely indifferent. Tests of blood from swords, carried out by Professor Mayer of the Institute of Hygiene in Caracas, and of blood previously drawn from some of the population reveal signs of severe anemia and very strong eosinophilia.

These Indians all suffer more or less, particularly during the rainy season, from colds, bronchitis, pneumonia, furunculosis, attacks of grippe with fever or marsh fever, headaches, caries and dental abcesses, pains which are doubtlessly rheumatic, and glandular inflammations. The colds, bronchitis, attacks

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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cessible to the senses or to understanding. For example, all cosmic or extra-cosmic personnel whose locations are variable, vague, or unknown, are capable of doing evil. Being neither known nor localizable, they are not part of the unified kin and cosmic structure in which gods, the dead, and men and their respective lands are tied together. They exist outside society, hence only loosely attached to, or even outside of, the cosmos. Thus disease and death are both caused by sorcerers (*brujos*, Sp; *yareké*, Y.). These are described as wandering about freely in the savanas where they attack persons. Not only can the Yaruro advert to them only in the most indefinite way with regard to form, but they also specifically deny that human beings are or can be sorcerers or that human beings practice witchcraft. Thus, to the Yaruro, the major evils of disease and of wicked hearts (*corazones malos*) of individual Yaruros are caused by unknowable spirits. Even the chief and father of the *yareké*, Abakári, is as indefinite in form as his sons, and the Yaruro either do not locate him at all, or are very much disagreed as to his locus. No proper Yaruro self has any personal contact with him. Though the *yareké* are kin-related among themselves, they are not "of our family" (*de la familia de nosotros*), hence outside of our society.

4. The good society. *In the good cosmos, the good society consists of kin-related gods, the dead, communities and individuals of largely coordinate and reciprocal statuses living in tranquility and sharing all things.* Gods, community, and individuals are all actors knowing the general principles of the cosmic society. Such principles include kinship, equivalent rights and privileges for all.

5. The determinants of action. *In the good society, action is guided by precept, suggestion, and by sensibility to the wants of others and of self, but compulsion and hostility are not permissible.*

6. Nature of precepts and principles of action. *In the good society, precepts and principles are general rather than specific and prescriptive.* The result is that patterns of behavior and thought in Yaruro society are quite unformalized, unritualized, and unspecified. All classes of behavior show a great range of variability and flexibility. The individual can choose to fulfil his obligations to the community, an the community to the cosmos, in various ways.

7. Freedom or restriction of will. *The individual not only has a broad range of choice of actions but is not compelled by the nature of the cosmos nor by the personel in it to follow any particular path. He has free will with regard to the ordained order of things* (4) .Each man is, in theory, as in fact, to a remarkable degree self-determining in actions and thought. Except in extreme divergences, he need not account to anyone.

Several dimensions which appear as dualistic distinctions in western thought are conceptually single in Yaruro ideology. The self, as the expe-

[828]

(4) Petrullo (1939, p. 229) first noted this aspect.

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riences in shamanism, dreams, unconsciousness, and immediately after death show, is conceived as being undifferentiated and unitary, though divisible into like, but unequally active parts. No mind-body distinction is made. Again in a static and limited universe within which, however, all parts, visible and invisible, sensible or not directly sensible, are in a flux of interaction, all things have some degree of reality. The distinction "real-unreal" as it is understood in the West is lack'ng among the Yaruro. Further, in this same universe, those parts which we might designate "immaterial" are, to the Yaruro, quite as concrete and sensed as the so-called "material" objects and events. The western distinction between "material" and "immaterial" is not a meaningful one to the Yaruro. Finally, the unity and continuity of what westerners would call "natural" and "supernatural" has been discussed above. Such a distinction is not made by the Yaruro.

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

At night each family group lay on the sands
521 talking a little, laughing a little. I made it a custom of visiting every night, and usually the men gathered around. The women, keeping in the background, made all sorts of inquiries concerning my country and people, but always through the men.

831 One cannot live on intimate terms with a group of people a week
123 without learning something of their sexual attitudes. Only too often is this factor dangled in front of him, so that if he were to base his report on recurrent experiences and situations it would be largely made up of sex and sex problems. However, the sexual element is strongly present, but it is in normal cases a simple matter.

121 A simple matter but of exceeding importance if we are to believe the psychologists. Basic to life, and to social organization, the attitude toward it has its effect on the life of the individual and on the culture, but equal the make-up of the indidivual and the culture produces the sexual attitude.

836 To begin with, this writer does not know anything about the sexual development of Yaruro boy or girl. He does not know what secret sexual play the children may indulge in, nor does he know whether the unmarried girl has any sexual relations. He thinks that the un-
838 married do. He also thinks that there is some kind of homosexuality among the boys, and even the men. The following is based on what he observed, heard, and saw without any undue prying about.

857 The sexes are kept apart from infancy. A baby girl is launched
855 into her future career as a woman almost from birth. She is the
593 special care of the mother and women folk. When she is able to play she plays alone, with other girls, or with the women. She never plays with the boys. When she is able to work she helps her mother, never her father nor her elder brothers. She may be helped in her work by her brother.

593 It is impossible to claim that the attachment is stronger between the mother and children than between the father and daughter. It would be necessary to investigate the problem from the psychological point of view. But such is the case socially and economically.

The maternal uncle does to a certain degree substitute for the father, but this substitution is formal and social.

867 From babyhood the child learns his relationship to those about
602 him. One woman is its mother. She it is who gives suck, holds, etc. Later he learns that he must call other women mother also. These are the sisters of his true mother. One man he learns to call father. This man is the one who is most with his mother, in whose canoe
602 they travel, etc. Other men he calls father also, the brothers of his true father. Thus relationships are defined sexually, familiarly, and formally. In respect to girls of his own age he learns that some he calls sisters and others by terms whose equivalent may be rendered

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

602 "sweetheart", "potential wife". At any rate, the boy learns that
582 members of the former class he can not marry, and that one, a particular one of the second class, will become his wife. Thus on those who stand in the familiar relationship he cannot cast sexual thoughts.

836 Intersexual activity before marriage was not observable and it seemed as if there would be little opportunity for it. Boys and girls are kept separate, the girls staying with their mothers, the boys with the men. At night there seemed to be the same division.

854 During infancy there is no organized play for the girl. Her
861 parents do not play as we are wont to do. She is not teased into
865 laughter, but tender care is given to her. She is fed, cleaned, kept in the shade, and made to wear ornaments. Dolls of clay may be made for her. During this period she is taken everywhere by the mother. From babyhood she participates in the collection of food, in its preparation and cooking, in the making of basketry, pottery, making and breaking camp, traveling in canoes, but always with her mother.
868 Gradually she learns to take a more active part in the female tasks. The important point is that the proper decorum for her is to keep to members of her own sex. She does not become a tomboy. If she learns to perform tasks it is only because the women are supposed to have a smattering of them anyhow. Paddling is one of these.

854 The boy's life is first shared with his mother, and although fondled
593 by the father, he remains with the mother until he is able to walk and paddle. Thus, whereas the girl never comes under the direct influence of her father, the boy is under the direct influence of the mother during his infancy and babyhood. Gradually he participates more and more in manly tasks, but as a matter of fact he never entirely disassociates himself from his mother. As long as he is unmarried he performs tasks for his mother and she takes care of him, performing such acts as cooking, delousing, etc. He gathers wood, lights fires, etc.

864 The children are not kept in sexual ignorance. At least the boys
831 seem to learn something of the sexual functions at an early age. From what I observed of Yaruro camp life, it seems that no attempt was made to keep knowledge of sex and sexual functions away from the children. In the first place, there is no sense of modesty so far as the sexual parts are concerned, and therefore there is no ignorance on the part of the children. There is very little, if any, sexual play among the adults during the day. Since the attitude toward the sexual parts of the body is one of indifference there is very little that may happen which would indicate any interest in those parts. Any knowledge that the children may have of sex must, therefore, be gathered from observation of their parents.

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Even if there were stronger interest in sex than seemed to exist, there would be little opportunity for the youngsters to indulge in any sexual relations, since their playmates tend to be parallel cousins and very often playmates are lacking altogether. In the small hunting groups often there may be only one or two unmarried young people. Under such conditions a boy would either have to seek sex relations with one of his moiety sisters or practice adultery with a woman of the opposite moiety living with his own hunting group. We may presume that neither incest nor adultery are unknown to the Yaruros. During my stay among them there was no evidence of that.

Another factor which tends to help the Yaruros live a strictly moral life is that upon reaching puberty both boys and girls marry if a mate is available, even though the wife or husband may be considerably older. Premarital romantic love life may be entirely absent on this account, but one suspects that another type of romanticism may be built on what is available. For instance, practically from babyhood the boy or girl knows whom he or she will marry and in waiting for the promised day one would suspect an emotional attitude is built up. It is certain that after marriage strong bonds of affection are developed between husband and wife. Strictly limited in choice, there can be no free play for one's desires.

In the Yaruro society prostitution is probably absent. I believe that today some degree of prostitution has been forced upon them by the peoples with whom they come in contact. Perhaps we should call it purchasing of sexual rights, with the Yaruros playing a docile if not hostile part. After all, they are forced to acquiesce in a great many practices foreign to their ideas.

The above is the sexual ambient. As a result the adults act in the following manner. Sexual intercourse is considered one of the numerous natural acts. It is not exaggerated, little talked or joked about, and judging from the sort of life they lead not over indulged in.

Among the men, woman is not discussed. Neither virtue nor sin is the subject of comment. She is let strictly alone and uncensored. Obscenity is rare.

If any homosexuality exists it must be established by inference. It is common among the hunting tribes for a man to have a companion with whom he hunts, travels, and with whom he spends most of his time. Such companionship seems to be closer before marriage than after.

I have observed two boys, unmarried because no girls were available, engaged in such acts as we are accustomed to impute to love making—holding hands, etc. Yet, lest we jump at hasty conclusions, it must be said that affection between men is demonstrated much more so than

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their attention. The shaman's position as link is emphasized by the fact that his wife invariably sits next to him during the *tonghés* to minister to him and to supply him cigarettes and drink. Thus, the socio-economic link of the household is also the unique link between the sexes in ceremonial life.

The various forms of socio-economic and ceremonial division of the sexes is even more remarkably underscored by the existence of female shamanism. As one might expect, shamanesses behave differently from shamans. Shamanesses sing only in the day-time. They, like Ku'maⁿ, sing from hammocks whereas men sing sitting on the ground or dancing. Furthermore, messages trasmitted to them from Ku'maⁿ are sent only to them, though the men hear and understand them. The men listen to these messages with care and respect and with the air that there are things to be learned from them which they would otherwise not hear. The shamanesses cannot receive male gods or their messages. Female shamanism seems to be an affirmation of the kin-bonds of the matri-centered local group as well as a means of asserting the values and rights pertaining to the women's world. The women's experience ideologically, as well as socially and biologically, is recognized as being systematically distinct from men's experience in life.

Behavior in the *tonghés* is very relaxed. Villagers laugh, joke, sleep, play, get up, walk about. Sometimes persons may even fail to attend if they have chosen to go to work the next day. The only thing explicitly forbidden, because Ku'maⁿ would consider it most indelicate, is sexual intercourse. Otherwise, the lack of formalism and freedom of individual behavior so often noted before is again found here.

The importance of the *tonghés* as the foremost way of reinforcing social relations and communal values as well as for curing is seen in several ways. First, when there has been no *tonghé* for several days, one begins to feel and hear a bruiting for *another* tonghé. It is felt that much time has elapsed since the last *tonghé*. Someone asks what's wrong that we haven't had a *tonghé* in so long. Another says we need a *tonghé*. Rumors of *tonghé* begin to be heard. By the fifth or sixth day another *tonghé* is held and community bonds are again reasserted. Again, the sexual division of labor and social life observed in the other- and hither-worlds is systematically carried through into religious observances. We have mentioned the seating of men separate from women and the separate greetings given to the gods. This theme is carried still further in the exclusive women's shamanism and the equally exclusive capacity of men to do curing, either as shamans or as purely private individuals.

The *tonghé* illuminates much about Yaruro ideology. First, shamans both male and female are not considered authorities possessed of special gifts and prerogatives who interpret lore for the entire community. Rather they are considered merely the comunity religious spokesmen for the public expression of community values and for curing, who, by their own choice, enjoy and are willing to undertake the long, arduous work of training and practice. They reaffirm community bonds by repenting in endless verses the precepts and knowledge contained in the Yaruro ideology. All knowledge and all experience is, at least potentially, open to all members of the community and even the private or personal experience of each is made known to all. Any member of

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

any of his brothers die he falls heir to the brother's wife or wives, who may be sisters or sisters of his own wife; likewise, should his mother's brother die his wife or wives, who is one of the group of his wife's mother's sister, would also become his wife. This system can be made plainer by examining figure 24. By following the moiety relationship one can see just whom the individual is allowed to marry. If it is considered that any of these individuals may actually become his wife, either because there are no other women of his own age group available, or because they have lost their own husbands, and therefore need a protector, the system becomes clear.

IN-LAW RELATIONS

Cross-cousin marriage being the prevalent type, it means that the son of a man's sister will marry his daughter and come to live with him. As soon as that happens a number of social taboos are imposed on the in-laws. The son-in-law from the time that he marries is prohibited from speaking to his mother-in-law, although he lives with the same hunting group and may even travel in the same canoe with her; he cannot eat before her or even near her; he cannot go close to her, even though his bows and arrows may be lying there; he cannot hand her any object; he cannot make his personal toilet in front of her; he cannot sing or dance close to her; he cannot travel alone with his mother-in-law, and if they are forced to travel together in a canoe with the wife of the son-in-law as one of the party, he takes his position in the bow and the mother-in-law sits in the stern. These taboos are reciprocal. If the two meet in a path they turn aside and go in opposite directions.

These taboos are the more remarkable since there are positive duties owed one in-law to the other. The son-in-law is obligated to supply food and protection to his mother-in-law. It is his duty to prepare firewood and bring her materials which she may need to make basketry. It is expected that he will gather delicacies for her, such as honey. On the other hand, his mother-in-law will often prepare food for her son-in-law, will make pouches for him, and show him favors in other ways. But these favors must be transmitted through the wife and daughter, or through other persons. In camp I have seen mother-in-law and son-in-law sitting with backs to each other hour after hour, day after day, never exchanging a word, always averting their eyes from the other's person.

Similar taboos are practiced between the father-in-law and daughter-in-law, but because the girl lives with her parents they weigh less heavily upon her and her father-in-law, since they rarely meet. The taboos, though, are more strictly observed, probably on account of the sexual temptation.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

22 1939), on the basis of later field research, he completely rejects his previous
241 stand.
114 In 1949, after his earlier publications, Le Besnerais (cf. 1954) made a
361 census of the entire Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, discovering among other things:

A) That most Yaruro settlements had dry season locations on or near the river, banks or on the sand bars in the river, and wet season locations back from the rivers on higher sand dunes,

B) that there were corresponding house types for each kind of location,

C) that a great many of these settlements appear to have had two divisions mainly in the wet season locations — often at considerable distances from each other, sometimes very close,

[241] D) that near all winter locations and in all settlements along the entire length of the Riecito and Capanaparo rivers gardens existed with standard crops mentioned in my own work (1961 *a*, 1962),

E) and, by implication, that these garden plots are not readily visible from the river nor from dry season locations.

241 Fiasson (1947), speaking of a trip probably made in 1945, mentions gardens for the Yaruro in the Capanaparo-Meta area. The missionary, Raymond Kook, showed me pictures in 1958 of gardens on the upper Sinaruco. And, in the neighborhood of the mission station, near Guachara and along the Caño del Medio and the Cunaviche River, all the Indians had horticulture. These Indians also reported gardens along the Arauca River. The linguist, Thomas P. Rootes, describes gardens along the Riecito and Sinaruco, and I have myself published in detail on Yaruro horticulture (1961 *a*).

114 In sum, present sources indicate horticulture for all Yaruro, going back at
241 least to 1945 or 1946 and undoubtedly earlier — a period at maximum no more than twelve years after Petrullo's *dry-season* visit in 1934. It is hard to believe that the horticultural practice was diffused the length and breadth of Yaruro-land and integrated into a well-organized transhumance and even into the world view all in fifteen years. Nevertheless belief is not adequate proof. The only recourse is to try to resolve the problem by earlier evidence.

114 The second major difference between my findings and those of Petrullo
591 relates to the asserted existence of matrilineal "clans", characterised, in localities,
614 by a sib core of women and their children plus the locally inmarried husbands. Nowhere in Petrullo is proof given for the *unilineality* which is implied by the term clan, though the *matrifocality* seems genuinely confirmed by the genealogies reproduced. Matrifocality is not congruent with matrilineality, and, try as I might, I was not able to establish the latter. I am not ready to assert that matrilineality therefore does not, or did not, exist but I was quite unable to elicit any evidence for it.

114 A related aspect is, of course, exogamy. Petrullo claims that marriage can
614 only occur reciprocally between the two clans, marriage *within* which would
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7: Leeds E-4, 5. (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

constitute incest. I believe one can show from Petrullo's own genealogies that either incest occurred, possibly as a result of the process of depopulation, or that clan exogamy did not exist at all, since there were no clans, and the marriages concerned were not incestuous.

A third important feature that Petrullo asserts existed among the Yaruro is matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. Aside from the fact that, associated with the matriliny Petrullo's matriclans would possess, one would theoretically expect patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, if preferential cross-cousin marriage existed at all, I was unable to confirm unilateral cross-cousin marriage preferences but got statements of preference for bilateral cross-cousin marriage as well as reports of bilateral cross-cousin marriage and bilateral marriages between an ego and a parallel cousin's offspring.[2]

A fourth important feature discussed by Petrullo is totemism. The clans are assertedly connected respectively with the snake god Poanã and the jaguar god, Tió. Not only was I unable to confirm this, but the ethnographic evidence, on the whole, appears to contradict it directly. Totemism, for example, would be quite inconsistent with the social organization of the *toŋ'bo* ceremony, the central socio-religious institution of the Yaruro which I have described elsewhere (1960, 1961 *b;* cf., also, Le Besnerais, 1951, 1950 *b,* and, with Dreyfus-Roche, 1954).

Thus we have not only ethnographic disagreement among three observers, but also the theoretical improbability of the original description which attaches matrilineal clanship to hunting and gathering nomadism, and to matrliateral cross-cousin marriage. Virtually all further published anthropological material on the Yaruro has taken the Petrullo report at face value. Some of these publications include a caveat about the report, but, unfortunately, others have, explicitly or implicitly, assumed its correcteness since they have used it as the starting point for historical, functional, or evolutionary reconstructions.[3]

Specifically the assertion is repeatedly made by Steward, Kirchhoff, and Steward and Faron that the Yaruro are one of a series of marginal tribes left over from an earlier wave of settlement and occupying interstitial areas among more advanced peoples. Steward (1946-1950, in various passages, esp. Vol. 5, pp. 678 *ff.*) tries to justify the marginal classification generally by designating characteristic traits present as well as those that should be absent. The Yaruro possess a large number of the latter, including horticulture, basketry, canoes,

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[2] The theoretical expectation of *patrilateral* cross-cousin marriage with matriliny is discussed in Homans and Schneider (1955, especially pp. 56-57) and elsewhere. The preference for bilateral marriage with cross-cousins or with offspring of parallel cousins is also found among the Jivaro (cf. Steward and Métraux, 1948, especially p. 626). This fact, with a great many similar traits of social organization and world view shared by the two cultures, is of considerable interest to the cultural origin of the groups discussed later in the paper where other parallels are mentioned.

[3] Cf. Kirchhoff, 1948, *a;* Steward, 1946-1950; Vol. 3, pp. 827-899; Vol. 5, pp. 669-679, *et passim;* Steward and Faron, 1959; Layrisse, *et al.,* 1961; Needham, 1960; Murdock, 1957.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

At night each family group lay on the sands
521 talking a little, laughing a little. I made it a custom of visiting every night, and usually the men gathered around. The women, keeping in the background, made all sorts of inquiries concerning my country and people, but always through the men.

831 One cannot live on intimate terms with a group of people a week
123 without learning something of their sexual attitudes. Only too often is this factor dangled in front of him, so that if he were to base his report on recurrent experiences and situations it would be largely made up of sex and sex problems. However, the sexual element is strongly present, but it is in normal cases a simple matter.

121 A simple matter but of exceeding importance if we are to believe the psychologists. Basic to life, and to social organization, the attitude toward it has its effect on the life of the individual and on the culture, but equal the make-up of the indidivual and the culture produces the sexual attitude.

836 To begin with, this writer does not know anything about the sexual development of Yaruro boy or girl. He does not know what secret sexual play the children may indulge in, nor does he know whether the unmarried girl has any sexual relations. He thinks that the un-
838 married do. He also thinks that there is some kind of homosexuality among the boys, and even the men. The following is based on what he observed, heard, and saw without any undue prying about.

857 The sexes are kept apart from infancy. A baby girl is launched
855 into her future career as a woman almost from birth. She is the special care of the mother and women folk. When she is able to play
593 she plays alone, with other girls, or with the women. She never plays with the boys. When she is able to work she helps her mother, never her father nor her elder brothers. She may be helped in her work by her brother.

593 It is impossible to claim that the attachment is stronger between the mother and children than between the father and daughter. It would be necessary to investigate the problem from the psychological point of view. But such is the case socially and economically.

The maternal uncle does to a certain degree substitute for the father, but this substitution is formal and social.

867 From babyhood the child learns his relationship to those about
602 him. One woman is its mother. She it is who gives suck, holds, etc. Later he learns that he must call other women mother also. These are the sisters of his true mother. One man he learns to call father. This man is the one who is most with his mother, in whose canoe
602 they travel, etc. Other men he calls father also, the brothers of his true father. Thus relationships are defined sexually, familiarly, and formally. In respect to girls of his own age he learns that some he calls sisters and others by terms whose equivalent may be rendered

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

602 "sweetheart", "potential wife". At any rate, the boy learns that
[582] members of the former class he can not marry, and that one, a particular one of the second class, will become his wife. Thus on those who stand in the familiar relationship he cannot cast sexual thoughts.

• 836 Intersexual activity before marriage was not observable and it seemed as if there would be little opportunity for it. Boys and girls are kept separate, the girls staying with their mothers, the boys with the men. At night there seemed to be the same division.

854 During infancy there is no organized play for the girl. Her
861 parents do not play as we are wont to do. She is not teased into
[865] laughter, but tender care is given to her. She is fed, cleaned, kept in the shade, and made to wear ornaments. Dolls of clay may be made for her. During this period she is taken everywhere by the mother. From babyhood she participates in the collection of food, in its preparation and cooking, in the making of basketry, pottery, making and breaking camp, traveling in canoes, but always with her mother.

868 Gradually she learns to take a more active part in the female tasks. The important point is that the proper decorum for her is to keep to members of her own sex. She does not become a tomboy. If she learns to perform tasks it is only because the women are supposed to have a smattering of them anyhow. Paddling is one of these.

854 The boy's life is first shared with his mother, and although fondled
593 by the father, he remains with the mother until he is able to walk and paddle. Thus, whereas the girl never comes under the direct influence of her father, the boy is under the direct influence of the mother during his infancy and babyhood. Gradually he participates more and more in manly tasks, but as a matter of fact he never entirely disassociates himself from his mother. As long as he is unmarried he performs tasks for his mother and she takes care of him, performing such acts as cooking, delousing, etc. He gathers wood, lights fires, etc.

864 The children are not kept in sexual ignorance. At least the boys
831 seem to learn something of the sexual functions at an early age. From what I observed of Yaruro camp life, it seems that no attempt was made to keep knowledge of sex and sexual functions away from the children. In the first place, there is no sense of modesty so far as the sexual parts are concerned, and therefore there is no ignorance on the part of the children. There is very little, if any, sexual play among the adults during the day. Since the attitude toward the sexual parts of the body is one of indifference there is very little that may happen which would indicate any interest in those parts. Any knowledge that the children may have of sex must, therefore, be gathered from observation of their parents.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Even if there were stronger interest in sex than seemed to exist, there would be little opportunity for the youngsters to indulge in any sexual relations, since their playmates tend to be parallel cousins and very often playmates are lacking altogether. In the small hunting groups often there may be only one or two unmarried young people. Under such conditions a boy would either have to seek sex relations with one of his moiety sisters or practice adultery with a woman of the opposite moiety living with his own hunting group. We may presume that neither incest nor adultery are unknown to the Yaruros. During my stay among them there was no evidence of that.

Another factor which tends to help the Yaruros live a strictly moral life is that upon reaching puberty both boys and girls marry if a mate is available, even though the wife or husband may be considerably older. Premarital romantic love life may be entirely absent on this account, but one suspects that another type of romanticism may be built on what is available. For instance, practically from babyhood the boy or girl knows whom he or she will marry and in waiting for the promised day one would suspect an emotional attitude is built up. It is certain that after marriage strong bonds of affection are developed between husband and wife. Strictly limited in choice, there can be no free play for one's desires.

In the Yaruro society prostitution is probably absent. I believe that today some degree of prostitution has been forced upon them by the peoples with whom they come in contact. Perhaps we should call it purchasing of sexual rights, with the Yaruros playing a docile if not hostile part. After all, they are forced to acquiesce in a great many practices foreign to their ideas.

The above is the sexual ambient. As a result the adults act in the following manner. Sexual intercourse is considered one of the numerous natural acts. It is not exaggerated, little talked or joked about, and judging from the sort of life they lead not over indulged in.

Among the men, woman is not discussed. Neither virtue nor sin is the subject of comment. She is let strictly alone and uncensored. Obscenity is rare.

If any homosexuality exists it must be established by inference. It is common among the hunting tribes for a man to have a companion with whom he hunts, travels, and with whom he spends most of his time. Such companionship seems to be closer before marriage than after.

I have observed two boys, unmarried because no girls were available, engaged in such acts as we are accustomed to impute to love making—holding hands, etc. Yet, lest we jump at hasty conclusions, it must be said that affection between men is demonstrated much more so than

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

838 572 among ourselves. Also, it is true that these acts are never to be seen between man and woman. For instance, I remember young men loafing at my camp with their arm around each other's necks, and even clasped in a tight embrace face to face in each other's arms, though standing up. I never observed any physical sexual excitement, though.

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

861 858 There is no direct and organized teaching of the children. They learn from example and from the precepts laid down by the adults in discussions, generally held at night. Certainly the child is not made to feel that he is the center of attraction; rather he is tolerated, though watched with fond eyes by the adults. The children are never admonished to do this or that or negatively. It may be said that they are put into a pattern of behavior, and the bonds of this pattern are indeed close and strong. There is no breaking them as long as life lasts. It must not be thought that these bonds are felt and 181 156 that there is resentment toward them. The Yaruro is in a sense tremendously individualistic, in that each individual is forced to depend on his own resources, but when it comes to group life he is merely a part of the whole.

861 851 The children are free to play, but from infancy they also share in the adult activities. A mother may make a basket, with the little daughter constantly beside her. As soon as the child is able she will help in the digging of roots, or placing them in the basket, or will help in the making of a basket, or the cooking, her share of the work gradually increasing as she grows older. However, a child is never told to do any work, but does so entirely imitatory of the adults and the older children, with complete freedom as well as free desire.

The boy in like manner imitates the older boys and the men. His games consist of constant practice with bow and arrow, but this play is done only in the late afternoon and in the evening. During the day, as soon as the child is able to do so it will accompany the mother or father in hunting for food, doing its share of the paddling, loading and unloading of the canoe, helping to carry the food, taking care of the dogs, and watching and trying to make bows and arrows, string, etc.

GROOMING

Yerkes writes of grooming as follows:

182 515 Grooming is used in this report to designate a pattern of social behavior whose essential features are visual examination, search and manipulation of the skin and hair of a companion with fingers and lips, removal of dirt, dandruff, scabs, parasites, and other extraneous materials, and their conveyance to the mouth of the groomer, whose lips, tongue, and jaws meanwhile may have

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

842
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262 When delivery is imminent a shelter is built for the prospective mother, apart from all other people. Her husband's moiety brothers build a similar structure for him also apart from the camp. The woman is tended by the women of her family and moiety and the husband by the men belonging to his moiety. Both abstain from eating fish, turtle, and crocodile. Iguana and deer meat and the usual vegetable diet are allowed. During delivery and for 10 days after the husband lies in a hammock and engages in no physical activity. Ordinarily he would sleep on the ground. His moiety brothers bring him food. After 10 days he visits his wife but continues to live alone and apart for a month. Now he hunts in the company of other men and is expected to supply his wife with food. The food taboos continue in effect for the full month for both husband and wife. Strict continence is practiced by the husband. When the month is over the family is reunited.

MENSTRUATION

152
841 The Yaruro's actual attitude toward menstruation is not one of fear or wonder. The phenomenon is accepted much as it is among us, as a disturbing but unavoidable event. In the literature on primitive peoples it is often reported that menstruation is held to be a dangerous period for the woman and for the people. One may question the correctness of this observation, if observation it be, with the suspicion that because certain taboos are observed fear is the motivating response. I have found the observance of taboos among a dozen South American tribes with whom I have had personal contact but there has been no indication of actual fear. One wonders if such events have not been too highly dramatized and rationalized by the civilized visitor rather than by the primitives.

841 Among the Yaruros the first period in a girl calls for special treatment at the hands of the women. The girl's face is covered with a

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piece of cloth. (Among the peoples of the Xingu in Brazil she is made to wear her hair over her face, and she is kept from the sight of men.) Whether during this period special initiatory rites are performed I was not able to find out. This part of Yaruro culture is considered to be in the women's domain, and, being a man, I was kept from delving into it.

MARRIAGE

The Yaruros are poor in social ceremonies. Anciently they may have practiced a great many of them but today social life is comparatively simple.

When a boy is ready to marry he may approach his father, or as a matter of fact, the father may approach the son. In any case he is sent to the shaman, who informs him that now he should be ready to assume the duties of a man, and proceeds to instruct him in the nature of those duties. He is told that he must love and cherish his wife; supply her plentifully with food, clothing, ornaments, and children; that he must never use harsh words toward her and that he must take care of her when she is sick; that he must never quarrel with her family, with whom he is expected to live; and of particular importance, that he must remember to take care of his father-in-law and mother-in-law. All of this is ordained by Kuma.

The shaman will then approach the boy's uncle who has a marriageable daughter. No special ceremony seems to take place. The boy simply goes to live with the wife's family and assumes his duties of taking care of her as well as of his parents-in-law.

SICKNESS AND DEATH

Not much material was available on sickness. It must be remembered that the Yaruros have been in contact with European ideas for several centuries and that they understand the use of medicine for the cure of a specific illness.

Nevertheless, Kiberoh, the evil night spirit, is in some fashion associated with illness. If Kiberoh enters the body of a person, the latter will become ill. In such cases the only cure is the intercession of Kuma, who can be called upon to help by the shaman or musico, a term adapted from the Spanish to describe the singing shaman.

The sick person is laid on the ground with his head pointing to the east. At sundown the shaman will stand to the north of the sick person and will proceed to sing, accompanying himself with the rattle. The rest of the people, with the exception of any woman in her menstrual period, line up behind the shaman and sing and dance as they generally do during any of the shamanistic performances. If they indulge in any dancing, however, they do not go around a

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

pole in a circle but merely move forward and backward. During the performance it is prohibited for anyone to pass by the head of the sick person. The shaman will sing all night and if by morning the sick person has not shown any marked improvement the woman shaman will lie in a hammock with her head pointing to the east and will continue the singing. Other women will sit in the hammock with her and sing all day long. I myself underwent such attention. If the wife shows little interest in the welfare of her husband it is concrete proof that she does not love him and it is believed he will die. In this there are two factors to be considered from my observation of these people. The first is that a lack of wifely interest is the equivalent of bad medicine and that the husband himself will feel so disconsolate that all desire to live will be lost.

If the sick person dies during the night nothing is done except to stop the singing and dancing. At daybreak his people will drink vast quantities of chica and prepare for the funeral rites. If the sick person happens to be a woman in her menstrual period it is important to note that she is in the care of the woman shaman. The man shaman does not dare to sing to her.

In the morning the dead person is washed by the women and the body is wrapped in a hammock and taken to the burial place. The brothers and the uncles carry the body. The father and mother do not accompany the body to the grave, but in the case of a married man the widow does. The body is interred in the hammock with the head pointing to the east. The bow and arrows, whatever clothing he may have possessed, and any equipment are buried with him, but neither food nor water is necessary. The night after the burial there is a feast in the camp, but the taboo on fish is observed by everyone. The shaman and the people will sing the equivalent of:

The dead one died here, now he has arrived in the Land of Kuma, and there he has been made young again (if a child dies, it becomes a young man or woman, according to the sex). He will know nothing but joy now and will have everything he may desire.

The widow goes on a strict diet for four days. All fires which were burning at the time of the death of the individual are put out and fresh ones are built. On the fourth day the two men, who have put the dead body into the pit, and the widow, bathe; they fast on the fifth. On the fifth night the shaman sings in order to find out if the dead person has reached Kuma, if he has been given a new name, if he has been made young, strong, and rich. For a month after this the widow keeps a strict diet and she is not married for a long time. It is believed that if a man marries a widow soon after her husband has died he will die soon of the same sickness.

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LIFE CYCLE

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MENSTRUATION

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The Yaruro's actual attitude toward menstruation is not one of fear or wonder. The phenomenon is accepted much as it is among us, as a disturbing but unavoidable event. In the literature on primitive peoples it is often reported that menstruation is held to be a dangerous period for the woman and for the people. One may question the correctness of this observation, if observation it be, with the suspicion that because certain taboos are observed fear is the motivating response. I have found the observance of taboos among a dozen South American tribes with whom I have had personal contact but there has been no indication of actual fear. One wonders if such events have not been too highly dramatized and rationalized by the civilized visitor rather than by the primitives.

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50% of the diet or a little less. The ideal figures would again be reduced, on the other hand, by allowing for the predations on gardens of animals, especially the pigs, which eat manioc and corn, the Guahibo Indians who allegedly steal sugar cane, and insect losses. Our figures, then, will be modified only a few units by the additional sources of foods. We may thus revise our population figure to between 100 and 105 (or, if a 15-year fallow period is assumed, the figure would be 75-80), figures which correspond to the Yaruro's own ideal of what a proper population for this area should be. If the population increased beyond this number of people, the Yaruro would have to exploit their gardens at a rate greater than the rate of land reconstitution, and also expand hunting, fishing, and gathering beyond the average long-term carrying capacity of the savanas and the rivers, thus reducing their potential productivity. Adding together the maximum populations supportable by these food resources, as well as by the recently introduced pigs, a figure approximating 125-150 persons might be reasonable for this particular territory. This gives a density of 2 persons per sq. mile, a characteristic figure for tropical forest tribes.[15]

If the population rose beyond this maximum capacity of the land-technology relationship, groups would either have to fission off, go on the warpath, regulate population by any of a number of internal institutions such as infanticide, or die either from extreme famines or from steady nutritional deficiency. Under present population conditions none of these is necessary, yet both fissioning and population regulation by contraception occur. Fissioning appears to be fostered by the search for settlement locations requiring minimum labor for maximum return and also to establish community authority under the person leading the fissioning group independent of that excercised by the community from which fissioning took place. Contraception appears to be a matter of choice revolving about maintaining a certain freedom from the cares of motherhood until such time as the marriage partners are reasonably convinced that the marriage is permanent. Indirectly, this contributes to the distribution of more effective female producers among the more effective male producers in the most productive areas, since a second marriage often involves shifting to a generally more effective husband whereas a shift to a less effective husband is scarcely to be found. Both fissioning and contraception, however, give evidence of techniques which were developed to handle man-food balance in happier days.

A number of formal characteristics of any ecology may permit us to deduce the form of society which would be expected on the basis of such characteristics. In so far as the ecological forms were to remain essentially unchanged over great periods of time, no changes in the forms of the social order attached to the ecological conditions would be expected. An internal equilibrium is maintained until such time as a dynamic imbalance occurs because of changes from internal or external sources. It is essential to examine to what extent the internal equilibrium prevents or fosters the occurence of dynamic imbalances in any particular ecological setting. We shall return to this question after the following itemization of Yaruro ecological forms.

[15] [for footnote see p. 43, category 116 -- Analyst]

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BIRTH

842 773 Biological conception is clearly understood. One of the myths tells of Kuma's desire to have a child. She asked Puaná to impregnate her in the thumb, but Puaná, who in these myths appears both as trickster and wise man, told her that such impregnation would result in an overpopulation and advised her to allow herself to be impregnated in the ordinary way. She allowed herself to be persuaded, and Hatchawa was born. It may be worth noting that though Hatchawa was the issue, he is referred to as the grandson of Kuma. Whether this inconsistency is to us merely an unexplainable situation, or whether it has greater significance, I was not able to find out.

844 846 616 262 When delivery is imminent a shelter is built for the prospective mother, apart from all other people. Her husband's moiety brothers build a similar structure for him also apart from the camp. The woman is tended by the women of her family and moiety and the husband by the men belonging to his moiety. Both abstain from eating fish, turtle, and crocodile. Iguana and deer meat and the usual vegetable diet are allowed. During delivery and for 10 days after the husband lies in a hammock and engages in no physical activity. Ordinarily he would sleep on the ground. His moiety brothers bring him food. After 10 days he visits his wife but continues to live alone and apart for a month. Now he hunts in the company of other men and is expected to supply his wife with food. The food taboos continue in effect for the full month for both husband and wife. Strict continence is practiced by the husband. When the month is over the family is reunited.

MENSTRUATION

152 841 The Yaruro's actual attitude toward menstruation is not one of fear or wonder. The phenomenon is accepted much as it is among us, as a disturbing but unavoidable event. In the literature on primitive peoples it is often reported that menstruation is held to be a dangerous period for the woman and for the people. One may question the correctness of this observation, if observation it be, with the suspicion that because certain taboos are observed fear is the motivating response. I have found the observance of taboos among a dozen South American tribes with whom I have had personal contact but there has been no indication of actual fear. One wonders if such events have not been too highly dramatized and rationalized by the civilized visitor rather than by the primitives.

841 Among the Yaruros the first period in a girl calls for special treatment at the hands of the women. The girl's face is covered with a

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

838 572 among ourselves. Also, it is true that these acts are never to be seen between man and woman. For instance, I remember young men loafing at my camp with their arm around each other's necks, and even clasped in a tight embrace face to face in each other's arms, though standing up. I never observed any physical sexual excitement, though.

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

861 858 There is no direct and organized teaching of the children. They learn from example and from the precepts laid down by the adults in discussions, generally held at night. Certainly the child is not made to feel that he is the center of attraction; rather he is tolerated, though watched with fond eyes by the adults. The children are never admonished to do this or that or negatively. It may be said that they are put into a pattern of behavior, and the bonds of this pattern are indeed close and strong. There is no breaking them as long as life lasts. It must not be thought that these bonds are felt and 181 156 that there is resentment toward them. The Yaruro is in a sense tremendously individualistic, in that each individual is forced to depend on his own resources, but when it comes to group life he is merely a part of the whole.

861 851 The children are free to play, but from infancy they also share in the adult activities. A mother may make a basket, with the little daughter constantly beside her. As soon as the child is able she will help in the digging of roots, or placing them in the basket, or will help in the making of a basket, or the cooking, her share of the work gradually increasing as she grows older. However, a child is never told to do any work, but does so entirely imitatory of the adults and the older children, with complete freedom as well as free desire.

The boy in like manner imitates the older boys and the men. His games consist of constant practice with bow and arrow, but this play is done only in the late afternoon and in the evening. During the day, as soon as the child is able to do so it will accompany the mother or father in hunting for food, doing its share of the paddling, loading and unloading of the canoe, helping to carry the food, taking care of the dogs, and watching and trying to make bows and arrows, string, etc.

GROOMING

Yerkes writes of grooming as follows:

182 515 **Grooming is used in this report to designate a pattern of social behavior whose essential features are visual examination, search and manipulation of the skin and hair of a companion with fingers and lips, removal of dirt, dandruff, scabs, parasites, and other extraneous materials, and their conveyance to the mouth of the groomer, whose lips, tongue, and jaws meanwhile may have**

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

516 high and the hips carried well forward. As they walk along the soft sands they do not lean forward as a white man would to push against the yielding sands. The torso is held erect on the pelvis and the weight is shifted from hip to hip with the legs making a gliding motion beneath. In this way the walk is really a shifting of weight from one foot to another, the foot being planted almost flat on the ground. I noticed that on a hard trail the ball of the foot strikes the ground before the heel. They make a graceful picture as they walk about.

When sitting they double their legs under them, a position difficult to assume unless one has practiced it from childhood. The favorite sleeping posture is on the side with the knees drawn up close to the mouth. When sitting on the sands, if forced to pick up an object lying some distance away, the women especially would walk on all fours to it and bring it back without rising to a standing posture. In this manner I have seen women pick up firewood lying 50 yards away from the fire.

482 Loads are carried by men and women in nets suspended by a band
● 854 from the forehead. Young children, who generally accompany their mothers on their food-gathering expeditions, are carried astride the hip, feeding at the breast as the mother goes about her work.

147 The physical endurance of the Yaruros is rather low. A day of hard paddling at a speed greater than their ordinary style, and they are exhausted. It is difficult to say whether this is due to their poor diet or simply to low racial vitality. It is certain that the American primitive is not as acclimated to the tropics as the Negro who, living on the same food as the Indian, will nevertheless outwork the latter.

177 The Yaruros today have been pushed to the Capanaparo and the Sinaruco Rivers. Rarely do they dare to wander far away from the banks of these two rivers. Since the days of the missions the indigenous tribes have been the victims of exploitation, even to the extent of enslavement. They are free booty for anyone who can catch them. The ranchers have sought to enslave the Yaruros, but an even more general sport has been the taking of the Yaruro women. Bandits and revolutionary groups sweeping along the llanos have not eased the Yaruro problem. Crocodile hunters, upon meeting with a band of Yaruros, will demand their women, and if the Yaruros should be reluctant to turn them over, death may be the price. I was told both by the Racionales, that is the peons, and the Yaruros, that about one month before I arrived in their midst about 150 Yaruros had been
185 rounded up and killed by the local "Jefes Civiles." The Yaruros are a hunted people, and they know that their extermination is imminent.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

iron hoe, which is also made by the Yaruro out of any heavy scrap of iron that they may gather. Sometimes they will work for the ranchers and with their earnings purchase this type of hoe from a trader. However, such a digging tool is quite a luxury and sharpened sticks are more common.

MORTARS AND PESTLES.—During the rainy season, the Yaruros gather chigua, a seed, which they dry and pound into flour. Mortars of wood shaped as shown in figure 20, *a*, *b*, are used and the pestle is any ordinary hard stick.

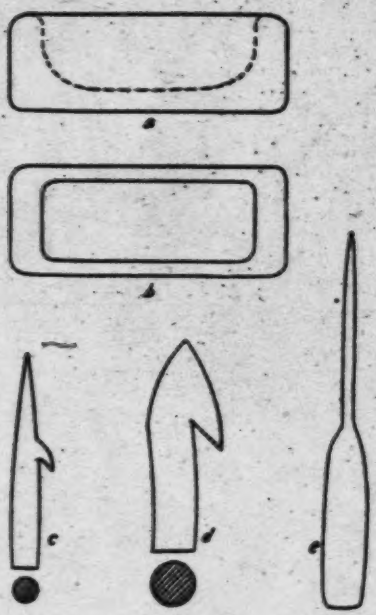

FIGURE 20.—*a*, *b*, Wooden mortar. *c*, Bone or iron point used for hunting chiguire. *d*, Hook used for manatee. *e*, Cooking paddle.

COOKING LADLES.—These are small wooden paddles used in cooking, especially when meat is boiling in a pot (fig. 20, *e*).

HAMMOCKS.—The Yaruros prefer to sleep on the sands, especially during the dry season. The men make hammocks, however, small ones generally used by children as cradles, and by the women shamans when they sing, during the day. During the rainy season they may employ them for sleeping.

The fiber employed to make the hammock string comes from the moriche leaf. The string may be very fine, of course, depending on the interest of the maker. It is made by the men. To weave the hammock a loom is made of two poles thrust into the sand to which are fastened two crosspieces at both the top and bottom. The string is then wound around these crosspieces. The weaver employs a knotter's netting technique. When the entire hammock has been woven the weaving is held in place by another string thrust through one of the woven rows.

ROPE.—The fiber mostly employed by the Yaruros is taken from the leaf of the moriche and the macanilla. The inner cortex of the leaf is stripped off and dried and then is taken apart strand by strand. These long fibers are then moistened and twisted together in two's and three's into a string by rolling them on the thigh with the palm of the hand. A stronger string is made in the same way and used for making hammocks. The bow strings are made from the fiber of the macanilla.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

291 177 after I had been among the Yaruros for a time the women often discarded their camisoles, even though I were present.

291 286 462 The men would normally wear a breechclout which originally was woven by the women from the fibers of the moriche palm leaf, but now it consists of a piece of cloth. Formerly the women wove wide belts of the same fiber for the men, but this is no longer done. The breechclout is held in place by a string tied around the waist.

291 287 The women, underneath their camisoles, still wear the old-fashioned Yaruro girdle, which is made from the fibers of the moriche palm. The fibers, which are about 2 feet long, are fastened together at one end. This end is slipped through a hair rope tied around the waist, and the whole mass of fibers passes between their legs and under the waist string. Plate 25, 1, shows a Yaruro woman wearing one of these girdles. It is fastened in such a way that an enormous knot is formed in the rear, and when wearing their camisole the women have the appearance of sporting large tails.

562 291 301 The women on the whole seem to be more conservative than the men in their clothing and body decorations. Below the knees and around the ankles they wear a thin string, and often they have necklaces of carved asabache figures, which are shown in plate 21.

DELOUSING TOOL

412 515 462 302 An implement that is in great vogue is the delousing tool shown in plate 20, 2. The serrated end is used as a comb to expose the lice, which are seized between the fingers and crushed between the teeth. The pointed end is employed to crush blisters raised on the body by mosquito bites. These tools, also fashioned by the men, are used exclusively by the women to groom their menfolk and each other.

CARRYING NETS

482 286 854 Carrying nets, of the knotless variety, are woven and used to carry children and food. When carrying children the net is slung across the chest from one shoulder; when carrying food it is supported by the head.

COOKING

252 462 The culinary art among the Yaruro is poorly developed. Much of the fruit and the eggs are eaten raw. Fish is eaten half raw and the meat of the crocodiles and turtles is merely warmed over the fire. Sometimes the meat is boiled. In the afternoon the women who have gathered firewood are to be found in camp waiting patiently for the men. On the hot coals they will have eggs and changuango. If the hunt is successful, and no hunt is considered

1 [see category 116, and plate 15, - - - Analyst]

1: Petrullo 5-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

602 "sweetheart", "potential wife". At any rate, the boy learns that
[582] members of the former class he can not marry, and that one, a particular one of the second class, will become his wife. Thus on those who stand in the familiar relationship he cannot cast sexual thoughts.

836 Intersexual activity before marriage was not observable and it seemed as if there would be little opportunity for it. Boys and girls are kept separate, the girls staying with their mothers, the boys with the men. At night there seemed to be the same division.

854 During infancy there is no organized play for the girl. Her
861 parents do not play as we are wont to do. She is not teased into
[865] laughter, but tender care is given to her. She is fed, cleaned, kept in the shade, and made to wear ornaments. Dolls of clay may be made for her. During this period she is taken everywhere by the mother. From babyhood she participates in the collection of food, in its preparation and cooking, in the making of basketry, pottery, making and breaking camp, traveling in canoes, but always with her mother.
868 Gradually she learns to take a more active part in the female tasks. The important point is that the proper decorum for her is to keep to members of her own sex. She does not become a tomboy. If she learns to perform tasks it is only because the women are supposed to have a smattering of them anyhow. Paddling is one of these.

854 The boy's life is first shared with his mother, and although fondled
593 by the father, he remains with the mother until he is able to walk and paddle. Thus, whereas the girl never comes under the direct influence of her father, the boy is under the direct influence of the mother during his infancy and babyhood. Gradually he participates more and more in manly tasks, but as a matter of fact he never entirely disassociates himself from his mother. As long as he is unmarried he performs tasks for his mother and she takes care of him, performing such acts as cooking, delousing, etc. He gathers wood, lights fires, etc.

864 The children are not kept in sexual ignorance. At least the boys
831 seem to learn something of the sexual functions at an early age. From what I observed of Yaruro camp life, it seems that no attempt was made to keep knowledge of sex and sexual functions away from the children. In the first place, there is no sense of modesty so far as the sexual parts are concerned, and therefore there is no ignorance on the part of the children. There is very little, if any, sexual play among the adults during the day. Since the attitude toward the sexual parts of the body is one of indifference there is very little that may happen which would indicate any interest in those parts. Any knowledge that the children may have of sex must, therefore, be gathered from observation of their parents.

1: Petrullo E-8 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1, 2, 3. As soon as the night chill is dispelled the men leave to hunt and the women to gather roots and seeds. The equipment of the women consists of basket carried with a tump band across the forehead, and digging stick. Children are carried astride across the hip or in a carrying net. The aboriginal clothing of the Yaruro women is the girdle shown in these photographs, now worn even if the individual possesses a camisole.

(End Plate 8)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

285

1. Woman weaving a mat. Note the use of the foot.

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● 854

2. Women foraging for food. Note: braided hair, method of carrying basket, women's girdles, bands below the knee and on the ankles, method of carrying child, and digging stick.

(End Plate 13)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

At night each family group lay on the sands
521 talking a little, laughing a little. I made it a custom of visiting every night, and usually the men gathered around. The women, keeping in the background, made all sorts of inquiries concerning my country and people, but always through the men.

831 One cannot live on intimate terms with a group of people a week
123 without learning something of their sexual attitudes. Only too often is this factor dangled in front of him, so that if he were to base his report on recurrent experiences and situations it would be largely made up of sex and sex problems. However, the sexual element is strongly present, but it is in normal cases a simple matter.

121 A simple matter but of exceeding importance if we are to believe the psychologists. Basic to life, and to social organization, the attitude toward it has its effect on the life of the individual and on the culture, but equal the make-up of the indidivual and the culture produces the sexual attitude.

836 To begin with, this writer does not know anything about the sexual development of Yaruro boy or girl. He does not know what secret sexual play the children may indulge in, nor does he know whether the unmarried girl has any sexual relations. He thinks that the un-
838 married do. He also thinks that there is some kind of homosexuality among the boys, and even the men. The following is based on what he observed, heard, and saw without any undue prying about.

857 The sexes are kept apart from infancy. A baby girl is launched
855 into her future career as a woman almost from birth. She is the
593 special care of the mother and women folk. When she is able to play she plays alone, with other girls, or with the women. She never plays with the boys. When she is able to work she helps her mother, never her father nor her elder brothers. She may be helped in her work by her brother.

593 It is impossible to claim that the attachment is stronger between the mother and children than between the father and daughter. It would be necessary to investigate the problem from the psychological point of view. But such is the case socially and economically.

The maternal uncle does to a certain degree substitute for the father, but this substitution is formal and social.

867 From babyhood the child learns his relationship to those about
602 him. One woman is its mother. She it is who gives suck, holds, etc. Later he learns that he must call other women mother also. These are the sisters of his true mother. One man he learns to call father. This man is the one who is most with his mother, in whose canoe
602 they travel, etc. Other men he calls father also, the brothers of his true father. Thus relationships are defined sexually, familiarly, and formally. In respect to girls of his own age he learns that some he calls sisters and others by terms whose equivalent may be rendered

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

593 The sense of strict inviolability of personal rights carries over to personal services. Never did a husband order his wife to do anything outside of her proper domain. While I lived with them, in spite of the excellent care they gave me, even to the point of anticipating my wishes in a great many cases, never did a husband request his wife to prepare food for me. He asked her if she would, acting merely as my messenger. 604 No closer relationship can exist than between maternal uncle and nephew, yet even he does not feel free to ask any service of his nephew, nor to take the latter's personal property.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 Sexual dichotomy in economic activities is clearly defined. In a general way, it may be said that the rougher, harder, and more dangerous work belongs in the province of male activity and that there is no task which calls for strength or danger that properly belongs in the realm of woman's activity. Should any woman be engaged in a hard or dangerous piece of work and a man happens to be present there is a tacit assumption of the task by the latter. Hunting and fishing and presumably the act of fighting in war are man's tasks. The gathering of roots, fruits, seed, and their preparation belongs to the women. [222] It is interesting to note that the gathering of honey, which entails some risk, is done by the men. The making of canoes, the making of implements, of hammocks, the activities in making camp are all in man's domain. The preparation of food and the making of pottery and basketry are woman's tasks.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 Hunting and fishing are male occupations exclusively. As soon as the young boy is able to toddle about he is made to play with bow and arrow and learns to make these indispensable tools. It is a common sight to see little boys who are too young to be taken along by the men on hunting expeditions playing at the game of hunting, and when a man is in camp busily preparing his hunting equipment his young son is by his side working industriously on miniature bows and arrows.

225 The equipment of the hunter is simple. Bow, arrow, and canoe are indispensable. A Yaruro does not like to roam on land, but there is no need for him to do so since he can get his game in the watercourses or along their banks. So he sets off in the early morning, generally accompanied by his hunting companion, to look for crocodile (*Crocodilus babu*). He will hunt for other forms of life only reluctantly, having a special liking for crocodile meat.

Because of the shyness of crocodile the hunter is most often forced to shoot at it from a distance. Since an arrow will seldom kill one

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

LIFE AFTER DEATH

761 775 To the modern Yaruro death is a desirable event. It holds great promise rather than terror for him. He believes that the dead will continue to live in the Land of Kuma. That is, in the land of the Mother Goddess, where he will be restored to a life of pristine happiness in the world which is identical with that which existed before the coming of the white man. In that world, in the Land of Kuma, he will have freedom to hunt if he pleases, he will have an abundance of food, he will have horses, cattle, and tobacco. He will lead a life of eternal bliss, watching over the affairs of his relatives and descendants on this earth, visiting them occasionally through the shaman and conversing with them. Apparently his only wish is that his people will die and join him in the Land of Kuma at the earliest possible time. A better idea of this life after death can be obtained by turning to the chapters on the shamanistic performances and legends.

PLAY

522 152 The spirit of play is known to the Yaruros. In fact, they laugh so much and so often that one might get the impression that they take life very lightly. For instance, their response to any accident is laughter. A man may fall out of his canoe or hurt himself in some way, or a woman may break a pot; any such accident is taken as a fine joke by everyone else.

616 606 There is inner-moiety and joking relationship, but members of one moiety do not play pranks on members of the other moiety. In fact, even in camp the mother-in-law will keep aloof from any levity engaged in by the son-in-law, and vice versa.

533 535 524 In the dancing and singing there is gaiety, especially when Puaná visits his people. Then is a time for much laughter and joking. However, there is no formalized play among the Yaruros. Anciently it is reported that the Otomacos had a ball game. Gilii has given us a description of it.[8]

857 462 861 The most common form of play among the children is an imitation of the activities of the grown-ups. The little boys will pretend that they are hunting and fishing or canoeing; the little girls will pretend that they are making pottery, basketry, or painting their bodies. The toys which the children use are miniature implements of hunting and food gathering. The only objects made differently for children to play with which are not an imitation of anything used by the adults are small clay figures representing human beings. These are arranged by the child in imitation of human beings dancing around

524 323 532

[8] If the Yaruros knew this ball game they have forgotten it since then.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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Even if there were stronger interest in sex than seemed to exist, there would be little opportunity for the youngsters to indulge in any sexual relations, since their playmates tend to be parallel cousins and very often playmates are lacking altogether. In the small hunting groups often there may be only one or two unmarried young people. Under such conditions a boy would either have to seek sex relations with one of his moiety sisters or practice adultery with a woman of the opposite moiety living with his own hunting group. We may presume that neither incest nor adultery are unknown to the Yaruros. During my stay among them there was no evidence of that.

Another factor which tends to help the Yaruros live a strictly moral life is that upon reaching puberty both boys and girls marry if a mate is available, even though the wife or husband may be considerably older. Premarital romantic love life may be entirely absent on this account, but one suspects that another type of romanticism may be built on what is available. For instance, practically from babyhood the boy or girl knows whom he or she will marry and in waiting for the promised day one would suspect an emotional attitude is built up. It is certain that after marriage strong bonds of affection are developed between husband and wife. Strictly limited in choice, there can be no free play for one's desires.

In the Yaruro society prostitution is probably absent. I believe that today some degree of prostitution has been forced upon them by the peoples with whom they come in contact. Perhaps we should call it purchasing of sexual rights, with the Yaruros playing a docile if not hostile part. After all, they are forced to acquiesce in a great many practices foreign to their ideas.

The above is the sexual ambient. As a result the adults act in the following manner. Sexual intercourse is considered one of the numerous natural acts. It is not exaggerated, little talked or joked about, and judging from the sort of life they lead not over indulged in.

Among the men, woman is not discussed. Neither virtue nor sin is the subject of comment. She is let strictly alone and uncensored. Obscenity is rare.

If any homosexuality exists it must be established by inference. It is common among the hunting tribes for a man to have a companion with whom he hunts, travels, and with whom he spends most of his time. Such companionship seems to be closer before marriage than after.

I have observed two boys, unmarried because no girls were available, engaged in such acts as we are accustomed to impute to love making—holding hands, etc. Yet, lest we jump at hasty conclusions, it must be said that affection between men is demonstrated much more so than

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GROOMING

Yerkes writes of grooming as follows:

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

LIFE AFTER DEATH

761 775 To the modern Yaruro death is a desirable event. It holds great promise rather than terror for him. He believes that the dead will continue to live in the Land of Kuma. That is, in the land of the Mother Goddess, where he will be restored to a life of pristine happiness in the world which is identical with that which existed before the coming of the white man. In that world, in the Land of Kuma, he will have freedom to hunt if he pleases, he will have an abundance of food, he will have horses, cattle, and tobacco. He will lead a life of eternal bliss, watching over the affairs of his relatives and descendants on this earth, visiting them occasionally through the shaman and conversing with them. Apparently his only wish is that his people will die and join him in the Land of Kuma at the earliest possible time. A better idea of this life after death can be obtained by turning to the chapters on the shamanistic performances and legends.

PLAY

522 152 The spirit of play is known to the Yaruros. In fact, they laugh so much and so often that one might get the impression that they take life very lightly. For instance, their response to any accident is laughter. A man may fall out of his canoe or hurt himself in some way, or a woman may break a pot; any such accident is taken as a fine joke by everyone else.

616 606 There is inner-moiety and joking relationship, but members of one moiety do not play pranks on members of the other moiety. In fact, even in camp the mother-in-law will keep aloof from any levity engaged in by the son-in-law, and vice versa.

533 535 524 In the dancing and singing there is gaiety, especially when Puaná visits his people. Then is a time for much laughter and joking. However, there is no formalized play among the Yaruros. Anciently it is reported that the Otomacos had a ball game. Gilii has given us a description of it.[6]

857 462 861 The most common form of play among the children is an imitation of the activities of the grown-ups. The little boys will pretend that they are hunting and fishing or canoeing; the little girls will pretend that they are making pottery, basketry, or painting their bodies. The toys which the children use are miniature implements of hunting and food gathering. The only objects made differently for children to play with which are not an imitation of anything used by the adults are small clay figures representing human beings. These are arranged by the child in imitation of human beings dancing around

524 323 532

[6] If the Yaruros knew this ball game they have forgotten it since then.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 8519 Yaruro 8519

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-36) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

838 572 among ourselves. Also, it is true that these acts are never to be seen between man and woman. For instance, I remember young men loafing at my camp with their arm around each other's necks, and even clasped in a tight embrace face to face in each other's arms, though standing up. I never observed any physical sexual excitement, though.

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Even if there were stronger interest in sex than seemed to exist, there would be little opportunity for the youngsters to indulge in any sexual relations, since their playmates tend to be parallel cousins and very often playmates are lacking altogether. In the small hunting groups often there may be only one or two unmarried young people. Under such conditions a boy would either have to seek sex relations with one of his moiety sisters or practice adultery with a woman of the opposite moiety living with his own hunting group. We may presume that neither incest nor adultery are unknown to the Yaruros. During my stay among them there was no evidence of that.

Another factor which tends to help the Yaruros live a strictly moral life is that upon reaching puberty both boys and girls marry if a mate is available, even though the wife or husband may be considerably older. Premarital romantic love life may be entirely absent on this account, but one suspects that another type of romanticism may be built on what is available. For instance, practically from babyhood the boy or girl knows whom he or she will marry and in waiting for the promised day one would suspect an emotional attitude is built up. It is certain that after marriage strong bonds of affection are developed between husband and wife. Strictly limited in choice, there can be no free play for one's desires.

In the Yaruro society prostitution is probably absent. I believe that today some degree of prostitution has been forced upon them by the peoples with whom they come in contact. Perhaps we should call it purchasing of sexual rights, with the Yaruros playing a docile if not hostile part. After all, they are forced to acquiesce in a great many practices foreign to their ideas.

The above is the sexual ambient. As a result the adults act in the following manner. Sexual intercourse is considered one of the numerous natural acts. It is not exaggerated, little talked or joked about, and judging from the sort of life they lead not over indulged in.

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If any homosexuality exists it must be established by inference. It is common among the hunting tribes for a man to have a companion with whom he hunts, travels, and with whom he spends most of his time. Such companionship seems to be closer before marriage than after.

I have observed two boys, unmarried because no girls were available, engaged in such acts as we are accustomed to impute to love making—holding hands, etc. Yet, lest we jump at hasty conclusions, it must be said that affection between men is demonstrated much more so than

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

At night each family group lay on the sands
521 talking a little, laughing a little. I made it a custom of visiting every night, and usually the men gathered around. The women, keeping in the background, made all sorts of inquiries concerning my country and people, but always through the men.

831 One cannot live on intimate terms with a group of people a week
123 without learning something of their sexual attitudes. Only too often is this factor dangled in front of him, so that if he were to base his report on recurrent experiences and situations it would be largely made up of sex and sex problems. However, the sexual element is strongly present, but it is in normal cases a simple matter.

121 A simple matter but of exceeding importance if we are to believe the psychologists. Basic to life, and to social organization, the attitude toward it has its effect on the life of the individual and on the culture, but equal the make-up of the indidivual and the culture produces the sexual attitude.

836 To begin with, this writer does not know anything about the sexual development of Yaruro boy or girl. He does not know what secret sexual play the children may indulge in, nor does he know whether the unmarried girl has any sexual relations. He thinks that the un-
838 married do. He also thinks that there is some kind of homosexuality among the boys, and even the men. The following is based on what he observed, heard, and saw without any undue prying about.

857 The sexes are kept apart from infancy. A baby girl is launched
855 into her future career as a woman almost from birth. She is the
593 special care of the mother and women folk. When she is able to play she plays alone, with other girls, or with the women. She never plays with the boys. When she is able to work she helps her mother, never her father nor her elder brothers. She may be helped in her work by her brother.

593 It is impossible to claim that the attachment is stronger between the mother and children than between the father and daughter. It would be necessary to investigate the problem from the psychological point of view. But such is the case socially and economically.

The maternal uncle does to a certain degree substitute for the father, but this substitution is formal and social.

817 From babyhood the child learns his relationship to those about
602 him. One woman is its mother. She it is who gives suck, holds, etc. Later he learns that he must call other woman mother also. These are the sisters of his true mother. One man he learns to call father. This man is the one who is most with his mother, in whose canoe
602 they travel, etc. Other men he calls father also, the brothers of his true father. Thus relationships are defined sexually, familiarly, and formally. In respect to girls of his own age he learns that some he calls sisters and others by terms whose equivalent may be rendered

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

593 The sense of strict inviolability of personal rights carries over to personal services. Never did a husband order his wife to do anything outside of her proper domain. While I lived with them, in spite of the excellent care they gave me, even to the point of anticipating my wishes in a great many cases, never did a husband request his wife to prepare food for me. He asked her if she would, acting merely as my messenger. 604 No closer relationship can exist than between maternal uncle and nephew, yet even he does not feel free to ask any service of his nephew, nor to take the latter's personal property.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 562 Sexual dichotomy in economic activities is clearly defined. In a general way, it may be said that the rougher, harder, and more dangerous work belongs in the province of male activity and that there is no task which calls for strength or danger that properly belongs in the realm of woman's activity. Should any woman be engaged in a hard or dangerous piece of work and a man happens to be present there is a tacit assumption of the task by the latter. Hunting and fishing and presumably the act of fighting in war are man's tasks. The gathering of roots, fruits, seed, and their preparation belongs to the women. [222] It is interesting to note that the gathering of honey, which entails some risk, is done by the men. The making of canoes, the making of implements, of hammocks, the activities in making camp are all in man's domain. The preparation of food and the making of pottery and basketry are woman's tasks.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 868 857 Hunting and fishing are male occupations exclusively. As soon as the young boy is able to toddle about he is made to play with bow and arrow and learns to make these indispensable tools. It is a common sight to see little boys who are too young to be taken along by the men on hunting expeditions playing at the game of hunting; and when a man is in camp busily preparing his hunting equipment his young son is by his side working industriously on miniature bows and arrows.

225 411 501 The equipment of the hunter is simple. Bow, arrow, and canoe are indispensable. A Yaruro does not like to roam on land, but there is no need for him to do so since he can get his game in the watercourses or along their banks. So he sets off in the early morning, generally accompanied by his hunting companion, to look for crocodile (*Crocodilus babu*). He will hunt for other forms of life only reluctantly, having a special liking for crocodile meat.

Because of the shyness of crocodile the hunter is most often forced to shoot at it from a distance. Since an arrow will seldom kill one

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

CANOES

[481] 501 502 868

The Yaruros dislike to travel any distance afoot. The canoe, therefore, is practically his only means of transportation. As a result, they are extraordinarily good canoemen, learning both how to build and to manage one from childhood. It is not an uncommon sight to see little children of 5 or 6 years of age paddling furiously in midstream. Their expertness can best be illustrated by the following incident: The llanos are exposed to the trade winds in the dry season, which at times blow very hard. On our return from La Urbana we found the crossing of the Orinoco to the mouth of the Capanaparo a dangerous undertaking.

The Yaruro dugouts are clumsy affairs at best, but in addition to that, ours had a gaping hole about 10 inches in diameter in the stern and it was with some qualms that I stepped into it to negotiate the rather rough waters with the help of a 12-year-old boy. Since the Yaruro steers from the bow, that place of honor was allotted to the youngster, I furnishing the power. During the passage across I despaired several times of being able to hold the canoe in the right direction, but whenever we found ourselves caught in some especially difficult whirlpool this lad would turn and laugh, not in derision but in encouragement, which was calculated, I suppose, to bolster my spirit, but helped not at all in easing the strain on my arms. His knowledge of the currents and his proper timing in signaling to me to paddle one way or the other, as well as deft steering, finally got us across safely. When this incident was over and I looked back over the rough waters, my respect for Yaruro canoemanship increased manifold.

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Sails are used on the Orinoco and its tributaries, both by the occasional traders and crocodile hunters. The Yaruros have had ample opportunities over several centuries to learn how to make use of them. In fact, some of the younger men who worked occasionally for the ranchers, or traders, do know how. However, in their daily plying up and down the rivers, hunting and fishing, they never employ the sail.

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Their conservatism is further illustrated by another fact. The Racionales will always pole their canoes when traveling upstream. The Yaruros know how to do this also, but only when they are working for someone else. In their everyday life they depend entirely on the paddle.

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The steersman generally sits in the bow, especially when moving downstream and the paddler is alone, pulling the canoe after him. The paddler in the stern, if one is present, really furnishes the motive power. The Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-

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3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Finally, the Yaruro deny any considerable long-term oscillations in the environment and consequently in the resources. The extremes, particularly the minima, of habitat factors which regulate food and population balances, according to Liebig's Law, fall within narrow limits and again elicit no special institutions of management or of equilibrium maintenance to compensate for them, as in the case of the potlatches of the Northwest Coast of America, the buffalo hunts in the Great Plains of the United States, or the use of pigs in Melanesia.[23]

VI

One more point may be made regarding the ecology as limiter of chieftainship among the Yaruro. The tools, techniques, and resources require no very extensive, highly specialized or esoteric knowledge. In fact any man or woman, and any child as well, has access to such knowledge, and it is easily acquired by all members of the society who thus have, at least potentially, equal access to control over the means of life. There is no specialized knowledge, at least with respect to technology and habitat, which requires a specialized repository in the form of a chief or learned person. Yaruro knowledge, itself dependent upon the inventory of tools, techniques, and resources, inhibits any tendency towards the development of any sort of specialists in technical or managerial knowledge. As one might expect, there are no true specialists in Yaruro society. Here and there women make pots and certain women seem to have a special bent for making woven sacks but these are not properly specialities. Nor, from a technological or ecological point of view, is male or female shamanism in any way a speciality. They do not appear to be specialists even in esoteric knowledge. Knowledge of the general type described here might be called 'dispersive' or 'egalitarian' since it tends to become more or less uniformly distributed among the members of the society. A consequence of the existence of this type of knowledge, associated with the kind of technology described, is that there will be no specialised training of any specialists and, of course, no specialised personnel to do such training. This is the situation which obtains among the Yaruro both with respect to technical and managerial activities. Thus, in Yaruro knowledge, there is no source for the support of an institutionalized and strong chieftainship.

VII

In one respect, the ecology encourages chiefly functions. A balance is struck between the cultural resources, the possibilities that the habitat affords for their production, and the length of time that areas of land can be exploited. This is particularly true of the horticultural lands since they can no longer be used after three years of cropping, and it becomes necessary to move on. The result is that there is a slow migration of resource areas, chiefly of horticultural areas across the tribal territory. The lands in cultivation move further and further from any given village until a point of suspension is reached at which the walking and working

[23] Cf. Suttles, 1960 a, 1960 b; Llewelly and Hoebel, 1941; Vayda, 1961; Vayda, Leeds, and Smith, 1961.

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841 piece of cloth. (Among the peoples of the Xingu in Brazil she is made to wear her hair over her face, and she is kept from the sight of men.) Whether during this period special initiatory rites are performed I was not able to find out. This part of Yaruro culture is considered to be in the women's domain, and, being a man, I was kept from delving into it.

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MARRIAGE

527 The Yaruros are poor in social ceremonies. Anciently they may have practiced a great many of them but today social life is comparatively simple.

885 When a boy is ready to marry he may approach his father, or as a matter of fact, the father may approach the son. In any case he is sent to the shaman, who informs him that now he should be ready to assume the duties of a man, and proceeds to instruct him in the nature of those duties. He is told that he must love and cherish his wife; supply her plentifully with food, clothing, ornaments, and children; that he must never use harsh words toward her and that he must take care of her when she is sick; that he must never quarrel with her family, with whom he is expected to live; and of particular importance, that he must remember to take care of his father-in-law and mother-in-law. All of this is ordained by Kuma.

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584 The shaman will then approach the boy's uncle who has a marriageable daughter. No special ceremony seems to take place. The boy simply goes to live with the wife's family and assumes his duties of taking care of her as well as of his parents-in-law.

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SICKNESS AND DEATH

751 Not much material was available on sickness. It must be remembered that the Yaruros have been in contact with European ideas for several centuries and that they understand the use of medicine for the cure of a specific illness.

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753 Nevertheless, Kiberoh, the evil night spirit, is in some fashion associated with illness. If Kiberoh enters the body of a person, the latter will become ill. In such cases the only cure is the intercession of Kuma, who can be called upon to help by the shaman or musico, a term adapted from the Spanish to describe the singing shaman.

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755 The sick person is laid on the ground with his head pointing to the east. At sundown the shaman will stand to the north of the sick person and will proceed to sing, accompanying himself with the rattle. The rest of the people, with the exception of any woman in her menstrual period, line up behind the shaman and sing and dance as they generally do during any of the shamanistic performances. If they indulge in any dancing, however, they do not go around a

[841]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

on his father's side he calls "hami." His grandfather on his mother's side is referred to as "hiateh," and his grandmother on his mother's side as "homa." It may be that these terms merely mean, as has been suggested by other authors in discussing relationship terms, "feeble one," the equivalent perhaps of old men and old women in our own language. (Fig. 24.)

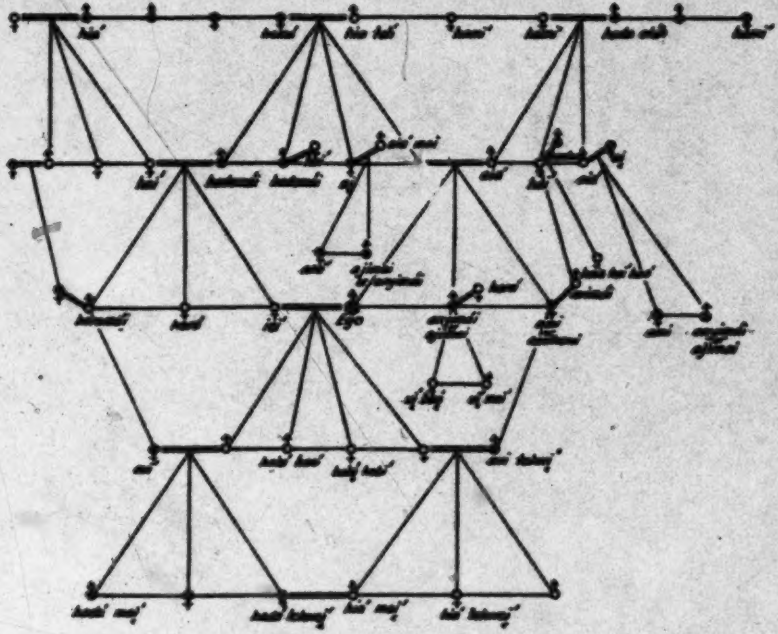

FIGURE 24.—Relationship chart.

Since a boy looks to his maternal uncle for instruction and spends with him a good portion of his time, he is also coming in contact with his future wife, who should be a daughter of one of the brothers of his mother. These female cross cousins he calls "gnohó," which was translated for me as the equivalent of "sweetheart", and his male cross cousins he calls "keramái" (brother-in-law), which is the usual term of address and greeting when a Yaruro meets another belonging to the opposite moiety. When he marries one of these girls, he refers to her as "ieyitokwi" or "young woman." Later he addresses her as "ieyi kui," which means "my woman". Her sisters whom, before marriage, he called "nyohó" (sweetheart), now he calls and refers to each as "kera." On the part of the girl, before marrying the boy, she calls him "nyowuh," and upon marrying him she refers to him as "oi," meaning "man." His brothers whom before